THE YEAR BOOK OF EDUCATION

1949

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NOTE

THE year 1948 was the centenary of the death of Marc Antoine Jullien de Paris, and it was officially celebrated both in Paris and in Geneva, the two towns where Jullien lived and worked. He has deservedly been called the "Father of Comparative Education." In his *L'Esquisse et vues preliminaires d'un ouvrage sur l'Education comparée,* published in 1817, Jullien quite clearly formulated the purposes and methods of the comparative study of educational problems. He was the first to suggest the establishment of an international Bureau of Education and his views found their realisation in the Bureau of Geneva and in UNESCO. THE YEAR BOOK OF EDUCATION is one of the main sources for comparative study, and the Editorial Board joins Paris and Geneva in paying tribute to Marc Antoine Jullien.

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INTRODUCTION

It has been the aim of the Editorial Board, in the first post-war volumes of the Year Book, to give an account of the effect of the Second World War on education in all parts of the world, of the material and moral damage that has been wrought, of the reactions of the peoples to invasion and suffering, of what has already been accomplished in the way of educational reconstruction, and of educational plans for the future.

It has seemed to us that such a survey would serve to promote more than one good purpose. It would enable men and women who are grappling with the problems of education in one country to feel the weight of the corresponding problems in other countries. In this way it would serve to promote the sense of common purpose among educationists throughout the world. In so far as the survey reveals the same fundamental educational problems arising in different countries in different forms according to political, social, and economic reconstruction, it will promote the true study of Comparative Education. If it makes the experience of one country available to all, it cannot fail to be of practical assistance to all who are attempting to solve educational problems anywhere. And here it should not be forgotten that the experience gained in the course of an honest effort which fails or which meets with only partial success is sometimes of greater value than the experience of an easily won success.

At an early stage it became apparent that this world-wide aim could not be accomplished within the compass of a single volume of the Year Book. We have boldly attempted to accomplish it in two. Thus the 1948 volume and the present volume must be considered together as an attempt to make a world survey, subject to all the disabilities of nearness in historic time, of a great problem.

We cannot hope that our achievement is free from imperfection or serious fault; we shall be honoured if it is accounted an honest effort which has met with partial success. The Institute and the Publishers have been greatly encouraged by the reception accorded to the 1948 volume, and by the evidence that it met a real need and was welcomed by many labouring in the cause of education. We feel bound, however, to attempt to remove one serious ground of misunderstanding. This is not an effort to present a balanced view of the world of education as seen through the eyes of my English-speaking colleagues of the Editorial Board and against the background of our philosophy. Such a year book might have had its value, but it would not be this Year Book. We have sought with some care to select contributors who are able to speak from within

the circumstances they relate and to declare the matter as it appears to them. In rendering this service we give our contributors the greatest possible measure of freedom. It is very easy to say of the result that here a small problem has been magnified and here a great matter has been ignored; and that the problems of this or that country would be simpler if only they were tackled in our way. All these are matters for the assessment of our readers. Our duty is to provide the evidence, and this we do, with rare exceptions, in the form of signed contributions which must stand or fall by the reputation of their authors as competent to give an account of what is being thought and said among educationists in the countries with which they deal.

Tribute should be paid to our Joint Editors. A scrutiny of the table of contents can only suggest the labour that is involved in selecting the members of so large a team of contributors, enlisting their co-operation, and in explaining to them the part which their contributions might take in the structure of the whole volume.

The 1949 YEAR BOOK OF EDUCATION goes out with a message of goodwill to those in every land who are devoting themselves to the welfare of children and young people, and who by their labours are laying the true foundation for the building of a better world.

G. B. JEFFERY.

MESTON TRAINING COLLEGE. MADRAS.

SECTION I

SPECIAL STUDIES

CHAPTER ONE

THE PROBLEMS OF INDEPENDENCE

THE 1948 YEAR BOOK was devoted to a study of the effects of the Second World War upon education in Europe and the English-speaking lands. The present volume is intended as a continuation of this survey although, at first glance, it may seem that attention is turned mainly to the effects of nationalism and economics upon education, or to a study of racial and language problems, to the exclusion, almost, of a consideration of the effects of war. The reasons for the change of emphasis, however, are clear.

Outside Europe, the fighting took place mainly in deserts or jungles, at sea or on small islands. Devastation was therefore less obvious (except in Japan, parts of China, the Philippines, and Burma), and the direct influence of war on social and cultural life was small. Indirectly, however, it has had deep effects. In India, Africa, Soviet Central Asia, and even Latin America the rate of industrialisation was speeded up. Everywhere, and especially in the East, the activity of nationalist movements was intensified and the masses of the people responded. Some nations gained full independence, others still struggle to achieve it, and everywhere national feeling grows stronger. In general, indeed, it may be said that while in Europe most countries are striving to realise democratic ideals in their social and educational systems, it is the achievement of unrestricted and acknowledged national independence which is the paramount driving force in many non-European countries.

To those in charge of education, this aim of complete independence raises a multitude of difficult problems. The schools, for example, are expected to foster, or even to create, a national culture and to teach the national language to all. At the same time, most modern states contain racial or linguistic minorities whose claims to equal treatment and whose demands for the provision of education in their own tongue have to be taken into account if their loyalty is to be strengthened or maintained. Then, again, it is useless to speak of independence in the modern world unless the state has at its disposal a secure basis of industrial power. Nor will the populations be satisfied unless material conditions constantly improve—a result which is even looked for as one of the fruits of independence. This means that scientific, technical, and industrial development must be generously encouraged—for example, by the provision of technical education of the right kind.

Thus, those in charge of the educational systems of most non-European countries have to take into account carefully the demands of linguistic and racial minorities and, in addition, the pervasive effects of strong and vocal nationalist movements and of rapid economic change. All four factors, the racial, the linguistic, the national, and the economic are, of course, interrelated and affect educational movements and reforms as a combined influence. Nevertheless, for the sake of clarity of analysis, it is simplest to treat them separately.

Ethnic and Racial Problems

During the last five hundred years there have been vast movements of population and much intensified contact between peoples of different races and cultures. North America, once the home of a few million hunters and nomads, was colonised by settlers from every European land and by slaves from Africa. As in Australia and New Zealand, the descendants of the original inhabitants, at one time rapidly diminishing in number, are now increasing and accommodating themselves to new conditions. In South America the conquered Indians and the African slaves are amalgamating with their former masters, and the resulting fusion may in time produce a new and original culture. Elsewhere, in the East for example, communities of traders, administrators, or workers attempt to isolate themselves to some degree from the surrounding people and try to maintain the traditions and way of life of their European, Indian, or Chinese homelands.

Even in ancient times such migrations would have raised problems, but the comparatively recent organisation of the whole world into Nation-States has aggravated the situation. For the governments of these states constantly extend the range of their activities. No longer do they merely maintain public order and provide security against external enemies. They concern themselves with economic life, public health, education, the care of the sick, the old, the needy, and the unemployed. They interfere constantly and directly with the everyday life of the people, and may either reinforce or destroy cultural patterns. Moreover, it is very generally felt that if these modern governments are to function effectively, they must command the unwavering allegiance and support of the citizen body. In many important regions they seem to find it increasingly difficult to tolerate dissent. The claim is advanced that, especially in periods of crisis or difficulty, every subject must be ready to devote himself to the welfare of the state: there can be no divided loyalty. A few countries, such as Sweden or Denmark, have very homogeneous populations, united in language, race, religion, and historical tradition. This, however, is somewhat unusual. Often, one finds more than one language used, as in Belgium or Switzerland, or more than one religion accepted, as in the

Netherlands, where Protestants and Catholics are both strong. Or, what is perhaps more serious, within the national boundaries there may exist ethnic communities, groups bound by ties of race or nationality, living within an alien civilisation and remaining to some degree distinct therefrom. A typical example is provided by the United States of America where, besides Negroes and Indians, one finds even now many persons who think themselves not simply Americans,[1] but Armenian-Americans, Swedish-Americans, Italian-Americans, and so on.

In earlier times, a group of men and women sufficiently determined to maintain a way of life not approved by the surrounding population could simply move away to empty lands, as did the Puritans in the seventeenth century or the Mormons in the nineteenth. But frontiers are now closed, and there is no easily cultivated land left unoccupied. Adjustment between dissenting and minority groups and dominant or majority groups must therefore be sought.

Broadly, either of two courses may be pursued. On the one hand, an attempt may be made to meet the claims of ethnic communities and to preserve their identity. This is the policy of the Soviet Union, which fosters the cultural autonomy of Tartars, Uzbeks, Armenians, and so on. It was also adopted, with much success, with the French Canadians, and the principle was recognised when the Minorities Commission of the League of Nations was established. Or, on the other hand, as in the United States, one can try to diminish the distance between the various groups and to fuse them—the policy of the " melting-pot." Which of these policies, autonomy or assimilation, or what combination of them, is adopted, and the degree of success achieved, depends upon a multitude of factors. If an ethnic group is settled as an historical community in a specified area, like the Armenians, autonomy is possible. And it is difficult to pursue a policy of assimilation if, as with the Bantu in South Africa, the ethnic communities are large and the cultural distance between them and the dominant groups is great and physically obvious. On the other hand, if the communities are much intermixed, as happens with persons of European descent in the U.S.A., assimilation is clearly a wise aim. Again, claims to religious autonomy can usually be met without much difficulty, provided the number of sects or religions is small and the claims made on their behalf relatively modest—" freedom of worship " may well be accepted, but a demand for the control of schools may be refused if such control is felt to involve much expense, or if the doctrines to be taught are considered harmful to the public welfare.

When considering the policies to be adopted towards ethnic communities, perhaps the most important factor of all to be taken into

[1] Sir Arthur Keith has proposed the name Yusanian (U.S.A.-nian) for citizens of the U.S.A.

account is the attitude of the dominant group. If it welcomes adhesion to its ranks, makes little distinction between its older and newer members, offers full opportunity to "converts" in all phases of social life, then very often the ethnic communities tend to dissolve or, at least, readily to accept arrangements proposed to meet their claims to relative autonomy. Nor will they, in such cases, lack in loyalty to the national governments of the areas in which they live. There are many examples of successful adjustment: the Mormons in the U.S.A.; the Irish Catholics in Australia; and even, perhaps, the Maoris in New Zealand.

In all cases of inter-group adjustment problems of educational policy are central, and upon the arrangements made for the control of schools and of curriculum will depend the success or failure of the whole policy; that is, whether or not the ethnic communities develop the loyalty towards government which is necessary to economic prosperity, social harmony, and public welfare. The subordinate groups or ethnic communities watch the schools with hope and suspicion. For, on the one hand, they desire for their children a chance in life, perhaps the opportunity for social advancement or financial betterment, but, on the other hand, they do not want them estranged from things they consider vital. The dominant groups, too, keep their eye on educational policy. They hope that the children of dissenting groups or ethnic communities will grow up into well-disciplined citizens, loyal to the state, obedient to its laws, respectful of the social patterns, but they may be somewhat fearful lest these children be given too good a chance of competing successfully with their own. They exhibit, in high degree, the eternal vigilance which is the price of dominance.

It has already been said that the attitude of the dominant or majority groups towards ethnic communities is itself a function of what might be called the cultural and ethnic distance between the groups. It is usually felt that some persons are more desirable, less to be feared, more likely to strengthen the community than others. In the U.S.A., for instance, immigrants from English-speaking lands and from North-Western Europe are more welcome than those from Southern or South-Eastern Europe—and not simply because of the language they speak, though this is an element. Those from Asia or from the Middle East are not desired at all. It is here, of course, that the puzzling problem of race comes in.

Racial Problems

Many persons, especially in English-speaking and Northern European countries, believe that easily recognisable somatic traits found, if not in all, at least in "typical" representatives of ethnic communities are not only hereditary but closely related to psychological and cultural traits. For example, the blond hair of the

" Nordic " is by some believed to indicate physical courage and lack of humour; the crinkly hair and black skin of the Negro, childishness and love of rhythm; the eyes and skin of the Chinese, wisdom and wiliness, etc. It is also assumed that such physical traits are indices of cultural capacity, which means, presumably, that they predispose persons possessing them to the acceptance of cultural patterns of a certain kind and to the rejection or destruction of others. If this were so, it would be dangerous for Europeans, for example, to accept into their communities too many Negroes. Views of this kind were, as everyone knows, taken to the limit by Adolf Hitler and made the excuse for odious cruelties. It should be noted, however, that in moderated form they are accepted by many who utterly reject any variety of Nazi or Fascist doctrine. Further, such ideas cannot be considered absurd *a priori,* since character is influenced by the balance of the endocrine-gland system and this, as Sir Arthur Keith and others have suggested, may also be responsible for external bodily features.

When discussing questions of race, we should begin by noting that the whole problem has become acute only within comparatively recent times. So far as is known, the ancient world was remarkably free of racial prejudice. Obviously, differences in appearance, manners, dress, language, culture were noted, and everyone thought his own way of life the best. Then as now it was realised that it was difficult to form a community out of groups whose members differed too widely in culture or who accepted incompatible codes of conduct. Yet there is little evidence that members of other cultural groups were considered less than fully human because they had another colour of skin, or that differences of race were considered more fundamental than those of religion or habit. The Hebrews seem to have been an exception and, perhaps, the Greeks too, although it is by no means certain that talk of " barbarians " indicated belief in *racial* superiority. It is, in any case, quite certain that there is no instinctive repulsion whatever between human races. Wherever and whenever they have come into contact, they have mingled their blood freely. The Mestizos, Eurasians, and Mulattoes are no more than present-day examples of a process which has always gone on.

Originally, and even now in popular usage, the word *race* was used to denote common origin from the same parents, or from a legendary hero. It seems that Buffon was the first to give the word a biological significance and it may be admitted that stability and uniformity of usage can be achieved only by applying it in a sense acceptable to biologists; i.e. to denote hereditary (genetic) characteristics, those which depend upon *genes.* Applying it in this sense, one notes immediately that it is extremely difficult to specify, in a completely satisfactory manner, unambiguous racial characteristics —the existence of mixed and intermediate types causes confusion,

the impossibility of finding pure races makes matters worse. This is illustrated by the lack of agreement among anthropologists regarding the number and definition of human races. Some speak of four—the pygmy, black, yellow, and white; others of three—Europid (with nine sub-races), Negrid (with five sub-races), Mongolid (with four sub-races); still others of seven—European, intermediate, Hunan, Indo-Manchurian, Africo-Malayasian, Pacific-American, and Australian. In the search for a sound method of classification, the following, amongst others, have been studied; cranial index, facial angle, rate of growth, metabolic rate, body temperature, rate of heat elimination, sensory acuity, bodily strength, fertility, sex-ratio among offspring, relative immunity from diseases like malaria or tuberculosis, sensitiveness to drugs such as cocaine, body odours. In many cases marked differences between races have been found, but it is never easy to say whether these are not simply the result of somewhat superficial adaptation to climate, diet, habits of work, and ways of life—the product of environment and not of heredity.

The most promising line of investigation is that which uses the proportion of the different blood-groups (O, A, B, AB, and Rh) in a population. Among American Indians, for example, fewer than five per cent. are group A and fewer than 5 per cent. group B. Among South Koreans and Ukrainians, on the other hand, about 35 per cent. are group A and 25 per cent. group B. If this method of classification is accepted as valid, some interesting results emerge. For instance, the Jews are certainly not a single race, nor are the Indians, nor the Chinese. In Europe, too, the fluctuation of blood-groups shows that the inhabitants are thoroughly mixed.

The investigations so far made into the problems of race differences have established certain results, and a few are listed below. They are important for the shaping of educational policy, since most anthropologists assume that they apply *a fortiori* to mental traits, whose hereditary stability is less than that of physical characteristics:

(*a*) Most physical traits, denoted as racial by common consent, are far more variable than was formerly thought. A generation ago Boas demonstrated that the children of immigrants to the U.S.A. underwent modifications in stature and cephalic index under the new environment. Such findings have been amply confirmed. For example, a study of Japanese immigrants to Hawaii led Shapiro to say that " man is a dynamic organism which under certain circumstances is capable of very substantial changes within a single generation."

(*b*) All talk of "higher" or "superior" and "lower" or "inferior" races is nonsense and usually vicious nonsense. There are no pure races. Miscegenation is in no way physically harmful to the offspring. As a rule, these tend to display higher vitality than

their parents. There may be sociological objections to miscegenation, but there are no biological ones.

(*c*) All racial differences are differences between groups and all statements about them must be considered as statistical: from them nothing can be predicated about individuals. For instance, reverting to the blood-groups, although most Eskimos are O, any particular Eskimo may be A, B, or AB. Again, there are always great overlaps between groups. Thus, race M may be taller than race N, but many individuals of race N will be taller than the median of race M.

Racial Differences

It goes without saying that when the man in the street speaks about " the difference between races " he is not thinking of differences such as those investigated by anthropologists or physiologists. Warner, Loeb, and Havighurst, in their book *Who shall be Educated?*, quote examples which are significant of popular attitudes. A doctor in one of the southern States put it like this: " I don't say God put the Caucasians here to be the superior race, but since they have a superior intellect and intelligence . . .," or, as another said: " The negroes are really just like children. They can't be left to themselves; they don't have the ability to get along. They really need white people to direct them."

In such typical statements two distinct assertions are made. First, that negroes as a race are less intelligent than whites; secondly, that (presumably through hereditary flaws of character) they are unable to run their own affairs or to participate in democratic government. There is evidence on both points. Intelligence tests have been widely used in the United States, and for many years. The first studies comparing the capacity of whites and negroes appeared to favour the racialists. On Binet tests the negroes scored only about 90, and with groups tests their I.Q. ranged from 58 to 92. Similar results were obtained with Indians and Mexicans and, what was more puzzling, with Italians and Poles, although Chinese and Japanese did almost as well as white Americans. Later and more careful investigations completely exploded these hasty conclusions. First, it was shown that negroes in the north of U.S.A., though inferior to northern whites, were yet superior to whites in several southern States. Then Clark gave the National Intelligence Test to five hundred negro elementary school children in Los Angeles. Their median I.Q. (104·7) was slightly above that of the white comparison group. Similar results were obtained in New York. In general, it was shown that there was fair correspondence between standing in the tests and the socio-economic status of the groups tested. There are marked differences, not only between adults in various occupational levels but also between their children: the professional and moneyed classes rank

higher than skilled or unskilled labourers. There is also rather close correspondence between standing in the tests and amount of education received. In fact, negroes often do less well than whites because they grow up in a poor environment and because they find it harder to get enough schooling. Environmental factors cannot be ignored, and comparisons can be made only when environmental differences are negligible. "It is safe to say," states Otto Klineberg, "that as the environment of the negro approximates more and more closely to that of the white, his inferiority tends to disappear."

These conclusions emerge from studies on American negroes. Dr. Biesheuvel's researches, of which an account is given in the present volume, not only give confirmation from a different point of view, but serve admirably to illustrate the complexity of the whole question. It appears safe, in any case, to say that we know little about hereditary differences in intelligence or intellectual capacity, and that the more carefully we look for them, taking pains to equalise environmental factors, the more hazardous it becomes to say they exist.

Let us turn now to the second claim—that negroes are racially incapable of participating in a highly developed civilisation. Here, one does well to bear in mind the evidence of history. Almost every race has, at some time, been in the vanguard and made worthy contributions to the welfare of mankind. At a time when Egypt, Mesopotamia, China, and India were the homes of great civilisations, Europe was inhabited by barbarians. Would the civilised races have been justified in considering Europeans constitutionally incapable of cultural progress?

There is also plenty of direct evidence. An example may be chosen from Mexico. For four hundred years the Indians, in self-defence, had retreated into inaccessible regions. There, after the Revolution of 1910, an education policy was adopted the motto of which was "To educate is to redeem". It was based on the conviction that the Indians had a unique contribution to make towards Mexico's growth. Experimental schools were established and they have utterly disproved the old conception of the Indians as indolent, unresponsive, stupid, human cattle, etc. Instead, Indian students have clearly demonstrated "praiseworthy industriousness, incomparable morality, racial pride, and a capability for unlimited progress." Clearly, all this in no way implies that it would be easy to raise the economic or cultural standards of Indian tribes in Mexico, Bantus in South Africa, negroes in the southern States, to those of the whites of European descent within a few short years. The extremely perplexing sociological problems remain. Again, there is no doubt that, in so far as human beings are the product of the whole group among whom they are brought up, there are great differences between, say, the English and the Zulus, the Spaniards and

the Chinese. These differences, however, are chiefly sociological in kind and, at most, only very vaguely and far from certainly connected with racial traits, glandular balance, or physiological make-up.

This being so, how is one to explain the prevalence of racialism among dominant groups in countries like South Africa or the southern States of U.S.A.? In both, slavery was at one time prevalent and the black population had a low status. The Negroes and Bantu still suffer from many disabilities, some legal, some enforced by habit and convention. The schools open to them are usually less well equipped than those intended for white children, their teachers are usually poorly paid, the path to secondary education and especially to the university is much steeper and more arduous. In general, then, to be white is to belong to a privileged caste, membership of which confers unearned advantages. Naturally, this position is one which the privileged attempt to justify by rationalisation: racial pride and arrogance must be considered primarily as one of the techniques by which the continuance of dominant position is assured. It may be noted that it is always accompanied by a certain fear of the subordinate racial group—not fear that the latter should rise in active revolt but lest it deflect development from the traditional channels and lest power and control pass from the dominant group.

This much being admitted, it is still somewhat puzzling that racial arrogance should be found among certain peoples and not amongst others. In a paper on Racial Conflict prepared for the Indian Council of World Affairs, Irawati Karve traces the beginnings of racialism to Judaism, with its doctrine of a chosen people, and adds that Christianity has helped in some ways to spread it. It is not impossible that some interpretations of religion strengthen racialism, yet as the articles by Dr. Matta Akrawi and Dr. Kinany make abundantly clear, there is a complete truce of races under Islam—there are in Muslim countries no racial problems, as that term is usually understood. The question of the Kurds in Iraq, for example, is cultural or sociological or political, not racial.

Racial Conflicts

The Muslim areas are not the only ones relatively free from racial conflict. In China, many sub-races, at least as different from one another as Moors from Scandinavians, have lived together for thousands of years, while Hindu society, too, allowed the peaceable mixture and fusion of races. How long this state of affairs will persist in another question, for almost all Asian nations face the problem of culture conflict. The lessening of European influence and the intensification of government activity may cause such conflicts to flare up and, perhaps, racialism may develop. One factor

which may well have prevented its development until now was the unity of feeling promoted by white racial arrogance.

In the coming years the governments of India and China will occupy themselves increasingly with the education and social life of tribes still at a primitive level. They will then meet problems not unlike those faced by white administrators in African or Australasian colonies, problems created by the necessity of adapting and transforming primitive societies. There may be danger that, under such circumstances, the intercultural problems become complicated by the intrusion of racial factors. Incidentally, it seems that the Japanese rarely claimed racial superiority. They did assume that their own regime and national character were the best—and they made themselves as thoroughly disliked as the Germans in the occupied countries. There is, however, no evidence here of what can properly be called racial conflict.

Again, in Singapore, Malaya, Java, and Siam there exist coherent Chinese communities. It is claimed that these should be provided with schools in which the Chinese language is taught and loyalty to China fostered. Here, too, is a situation where racialism may grow; in Malaya, for instance, there are seeds of Malay-Chinese racial, as well as cultural, strife. Lastly, it should be noted that the growing strength of a nation may lead it to extend protection to overseas groups. The Japanese Government, in the past, protested at the unequal treatment accorded to its nationals by the U.S.A. Indians show deep and bitter resentment of the policy of the South African Government, and Indians in Burma may one day set problems to the Burmese authorities. Clearly, increased outside support may aggravate racial tension by causing minority groups to harden their attitude and by causing the majority to feel that national prestige is involved in the maintenance of a position.

In Soviet Asia, racial problems do not exist and would not be allowed to exist.[1] The non-Russian Central Asian peoples of the Soviet Union are comparatively small groups (from a million to six million) and somewhat scattered. Their lands are rich and ripe for development. The most generous encouragement has been given to all forms of native cultural expression, educational systems have been set up, libraries, schools, and universities provided. Economic plans and foreign policy are geared to those of the Union, but cultural autonomy is fostered. This policy has been successful in enlisting the loyalty and even enthusiasm of the population. In many respects, it resembles that of the Mexican Government towards Indian tribes, and displays affinities with present tendencies of British colonial administration in Africa and elsewhere.

In New Zealand, too, one cannot speak of racial conflict. It is

[1] Racial discrimination, whether in public or in private life, is considered in law a criminal offence.

noteworthy that here, during recent years, the former policy of gradual assimilation is giving way to one calculated to encourage cultural autonomy, while leaving open the possibility of full adoption of Western ways of life. This resembles the present policy of the U.S.A. and of Canada towards the Indians and Eskimos. They are allowed to keep up their group life, and group leadership is encouraged. Help is given to them to solve their economic and cultural problems in their own way, though the path to assimilation is left fairly open.

In Latin America, too, racial conflict is not much in evidence—the reasons are analysed by Dr. Freyre in his article. The United States, however, presents one of the best-known and most carefully studied instances of racial tension in the world. It would be utterly misleading to attempt to sum up briefly so complex a situation. One may say, however, that the dilemma arises through a clash between old habits of thinking, on the one hand, and new tendencies, arising both from a changing industrial pattern and from the professed democratic doctrines, on the other. Modern technology takes no account of skin-colour, and the Negroes have shared the American dream of equality and of full opportunity for all. They cannot cheerfully submit to a subordinate position, nor to the playing of a caste rôle. As Irawati Karve put it (speaking about India): "The question of racial conflict would not arise if people accepted the status of their caste and if uncomfortable doctrines like human equality did not come along with democratic forms of government."

In South Africa, too, the situation is far from satisfactory. The Bantu suffer from many disabilities which cannot be reconciled with acceptance of democratic ideals. Since, on the whole, they have not yet reached the educational or economic standards of the American Negroes, their dissatisfaction is less strongly expressed. Yet, unless an enlightened and wise policy is pursued, Bantu racialism and even Bantu nationalism may emerge—a result already prophesied in 1932 by the Native Economic Commission.

Nationalism

The term "nation" is used to denote a large group of human beings who feel themselves to be a unity as a result of history and through the possession of common traditions. The feeling of community which draws them together may be based on religion, language, race, customs, or manners—though not all these factors need be present—and it is strengthened through the experience of functioning jointly in political enterprises, that is, either of operating a state or of striving to establish a state. The possession by the group of a compact and clearly dissociated territory is an advantage. The group may be an independent political unit, or, like

the Welsh nation, part of a larger unit, or, like the Jewish nation, it may be geographically scattered.

Human groups take pride in their common characteristics and in the achievements of their members. This is the seed of national feeling or nationalism, which may, under certain circumstances, give birth to political movements aiming at asserting national independence, especially when this is felt to be threatened or suppressed by other nations. The threats resented may take various forms, but are generally those which seem to menace factors which promote the unity of the national group—for example, religion or language. The assertion of national independence may involve attempts to increase the area of territory controlled by the group; or to assimilate other groups; or to promote and spread the unifying factors such as language.

In the Roman Empire, national feeling was weak or absent: there was no unity of race, language, or religion, while the vast extent of territory governed, together with the vagueness of its frontiers, also prevented the growth of a real spirit of community. Nor could mediaeval Christendom be a source of national differentiation: its spiritual essence was super-racial and supernational. Although the term "nation" was used in the universities and in the legal definition of the "Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation", both uses were related simply to certain areas and not to national units.

The modern use of the term seems to have its source in the two revolutions of the eighteenth century. The Americans, basing their nationalism on unity of territory and political sovereignty, declared themselves a "nation" without, of course, claiming to be a separate linguistic-cultural unit. Conscious of their cultural identity with the English, some went so far as to advocate the adoption of Hebrew as the official language—evidence of a desire for separateness and distinctness.

France, under the Bourbons, gradually evolved French national unity out of various nationalities—French, Basques, Bretons, Flemings, Alsatians. The French Revolution carried the process farther by its official declaration of France as a nation and by prohibiting regional languages in law or in school. This insistence on the use of an official language did not, however, discriminate against the equality of all citizens before the law. In fact, at this period, neither American nor French nationalists were exclusive: they paid no attention to religion and little to race; all men who accepted their political ideas and were ready to make common cause with them might join their "nations." Even to-day a German-speaking Alsatian, educated in Germany, may be a Prime Minister of France, and Negroes may become members of the *Chambre* because they are French citizens. Such political nationalism can never develop into blind hatred of aliens, for it is strongly based on a generous humanism. Nor do factors like economic prosperity or size of

territory or even political sovereignty stir human emotions as deeply as do religious beliefs, linguistic affinities, or racial origins, whether imagined or real.

It is on identities of religion, language, race, customs, and not on legal definitions, that modern nationalism has fed. In its most extreme form, in Nazi Germany, it led to a physical extermination of some kinds of aliens. This intransigent, and some would add perverted, kind of nationalism was born among oppressed and dismembered nations in Central and South-Eastern Europe at the beginning of the nineteenth century. There were four main centres: Germany, split up after the Thirty Years War and threatened by Napoleon's imperialism; Italy, divided into small States and under foreign domination; the West Slav countries, where Czechs and Poles feared total Germanisation; and the Balkans, where Greeks, Serbs, and Bulgars felt oppressed by the Turks. Prophets of nationalism—Fichte in Germany, Mazzini in Italy, Palacky in Bohemia, Czartoryski in Poland, Ypsylantes in Greece, Karageorgi in Serbia—rose in defence of their national cultures and their right for survival. At first their claim was the appeal of suppressed nationalities, based on humanitarian grounds, declaring that each national culture had a specific contribution to make to European civilisation and should therefore be regarded as sacred. The unfortunate results of the Revolutions of 1848 led to an embittered struggle between the nationalities and to rival indoctrination of the rising generations in a more exclusive national attitude. In this second period, the battle for language and culture was carried on in the Press, the school, and social organisations. Foreseeing the possible reconstruction of Europe on ethnic lines—a reconstruction largely achieved after 1918—each nationality staked exaggerated claims to disputed areas and defended them vigorously. A third period of open hostility began with the Balkan wars of 1912 and ended in 1945. One may hope that now the cycle of the intense nationalist movements in Europe has reached its climax and that a new period of regional multi-national federations is at hand. If we interpret this tendency aright, the end of the period of European national entanglement is in sight, whether under Communist supernational leadership in Eastern Europe or under humanist democratic leadership in the West.

At the same time, we witness the growth and spread of nationalism in the Middle and Far East, and even in America and Africa, on the very lines which led Europe to the verge of disaster. It is not impossible that the experience of Europe may save other lands from the dangers created by aggressive and exacerbated nationalism, and lead them more directly to regional federations but, at present, the signs are not too promising.

Outside Europe, one finds some nation-states controlling a compact territory and enjoying full political sovereignty, though they

have not yet developed a distinct national culture. National feeling here expresses itself by the attempt to create cultural-linguistic differentiation from other nations. One might say in such cases that one witnesses a movement from nation-state to nationality. The converse can be observed in cases where groups are united by language, religion, and culture but do not yet enjoy national independence. As extreme examples of these two trends, one might, perhaps, cite the U.S.A. and the Zionist movement. With the United States, one finds a state controlling a vast territory, enjoying economic prosperity, in command of great political power. Its national feeling expresses itself largely by the attempt to assimilate heterogeneous elements and to build up a distinct American culture. On the other hand, Jewish nationalism, possessing an ancient language and a religious-cultural tradition, is directed towards the acquisition of territory and political independence. In intermediate cases, both tendencies may be pursued simultaneously, and thus the pattern becomes more complex.

Professor Kandel's article deals with nationalism from the point of view of the nation-state and describes the results of totalitarian-nationalist policy in education. The five Soviet articles approach the problem from the cultural-linguistic point of view and show how regional nationalism can be encouraged within a multi-national federation. The apparent contradiction between the Soviet "nationalism" described by Professor Kandel and the promotion of local "nationalism" described by Soviet Ministers of Education is resolved if we bear in mind the distinction between the two aspects of nation-state and nationality. Mexico gives an even clearer example of the way in which the two tendencies may be combined. Mexican nationalism strives to attain a double aim: first, to free the country from foreign economic bondage, and thereby to attain independence in fact as well as in legal status; secondly, to build up a specifically Mexican culture by reviving Indian traditions and craftsmanship.

In the Middle East we note a different combination. At first the movement had pan-Islamic ideals and was promoted by the Sultans of Turkey as Califs of Islam. With the disruption of the Ottoman Empire the incipient movement split into pan-Turanism and pan-Arabism, shifting the emphasis from religion to racial origin. Gradually the Turks abandoned both Islam and race as the foundation-stones of their nationalism, and concentrated their efforts on building up a linguistic-cultural community mainly through education. A similar change occurred in the Arab lands. Without abandoning Islam, the Arabs, in their efforts to unite all tribes and creeds who speak Arabic, put forth as the principle of unity their language and the historical heritage of the Baghdad Califate. In each case, it was no longer possible to use either Islam or the idea of identity of race as the rallying-point. The new Dominion of

Pakistan, on the contrary, bases its claim to separate " nationhood " on Islam, thus continuing the movement of pan-Islamism after it had been discarded in its birth-place. Whether a distinct Pakistan " nationality " can be created from two widely separated areas the future alone will show.

The Dominion of India, with its racially heterogeneous population and its numerous languages, has to stress, as unifying factors, attachment to the land, common traditions, customs, and manners, and the idea of historical destiny. Similar movements can be discerned in Indo-China and Indonesia. In these countries, however, it is the racial opposition to European Powers which was the starting-point of nationalist movements, and, quite possibly, the anti-European propaganda conducted by the Japanese may have given them encouragement.

In Africa, racial opposition is still in its initial stages and, as the articles on Africa attest, has not yet assumed a nationalist character. But the community of colour and of economic interest may well grow ultimately into a Bantu or Swahili nationalism. For it is evident that nationalism has become a world-wide movement which is shaping the destiny of mankind.

Language Questions

Language problems do not always and necessarily arise from the desire to stress national characteristics or to differentiate a national group from others. Certainly the attempt to revive a half-forgotten idiom comes from such causes and, in the same way, a demand from ethnic minorities or suppressed groups for the use of their language in school and law court has its roots in nationalism. But, in multinational states, a federal language (*lingua franca*) is more or less an administrative necessity and once chosen it serves as a unifying factor. Both tendencies, the unifying and the differentiating, create problems of educational administration and school organisation. In addition, psychological problems arise, since many students will have to pursue their studies in a language different from that which they speak at home. Thus, in any discussion of language problems, three aspects have to be distinguished: the political or administrative, the cultural or national, and the psychological. All three had their importance in ancient and mediaeval times, but only the first was recognised. A few languages, used for religious and legal purposes, had currency over large areas: Latin in Western and Greek or Old Slavonic in Eastern Europe, Arabic or Persian in the Middle East and North Africa, Sanskrit in India, classical Chinese in the Far East. In most areas and for many centuries the language of the masses, the vernacular, the " vulgar speech " of the people, had no literary or cultural status. The classical languages, more and more divorced from life, permeated with religion and metaphysics, developed a deadening formalism and encouraged narrow

dogmatism. Mass education was out of the question and only brilliant and unusual minds could withstand the severe grind required to acquire learning. On the other hand, thanks to their supernational character, the classical languages promoted a universal humanism which ignored local and tribal differences.

The rise of vernacular speech to the status of official national languages had two far-reaching consequences. First, it made mass education and the dissemination of scientific knowledge possible and even imperative. Secondly, with the growth of nationalism, it promoted a certain particularism and even, to some degree, a narrowness of outlook. The aim of education is to encourage the first, that is the spread of knowledge, and to eliminate the second, that is isolation. Probably one condition of success is the study of a second language everywhere.

A single general solution of the language problem is, of course, out of the question. Each case has to be studied in its own historical and social setting. The non-European countries may, however, conveniently be divided into three chief groups. The first consists of countries which have never been subjected to foreign domination and which possess their own classical languages and culture. Strictly, China alone qualifies for inclusion in this group, since both Japan and Korea have been under Chinese influence, since Turkey and Persia were long dominated by Arab-Muslim culture, and since Egypt, Syria, and Lebanon are not entirely Arab, are in part Christian, and have been under European control. But for our purpose we may classify all these as independent countries with their own traditions. The second group consists of countries, with their own classical languages and traditions, but which are or were long subject to European rule and influence. It includes India, Pakistan, Burma, Indo-China, the Philippines, Indonesia, Algeria, Morocco, Soviet Georgia and Soviet Armenia, and lastly, with marked limitations, the Central Asiatic Soviet Republics and certain Latin-American Republics. The third group includes areas or provinces inhabited by more or less primitive tribes with no written languages (until recently) and controlled by European Powers. To this group belong the African colonies of Great Britain, France, and Belgium, the Far Eastern areas of the U.S.S.R., the Indians of North America, and the Mandated territories of Australia. As regards their linguistic problems the three groups differ in a most marked manner, although within each group the variation is also considerable. In the present volume four articles are devoted specifically to language difficulties; these are the articles by Professor Chatterji (India), Dr. Rieger (Hebrew), A. Marsh (Irish), and P. P. Brown (West Africa), but most of the other articles mention such problems when describing the general situation in their countries.

We shall start with the political aspect, as represented in the large

federations. Three countries, reviewed in this volume, have this problem in common: the U.S.S.R., India, and China. In the U.S.S.R. there are 180 different languages in actual use, but more than 50 per cent. of the total population speak Russian (Great Russian), and an additional 25 per cent., the Ukrainians and the White Russians, understand Russian and learn it quite easily. In these circumstances Russian was quite naturally accepted as the federal medium. In all fifteen constituent non-Russian Republics, therefore, Russian is a compulsory second language, and pupils of secondary schools of all nationalities have to pass an examination in Russian language and literature for their matriculation. This requirement ensures uniformity in the civil service and armed forces throughout the Union, and makes possible the transfer from one part of the federation to another. To facilitate the learning of Russian by the Turkish and Mongolian tribes all their alphabets were recently changed to the Cyrillic (Slavonic) script instead of the Latin, which was adopted during the initial stage of the Soviet regime. All non-Russian Republics contain a considerable number of Russian-speaking citizens, and the Russian language may be heard in bazaars and in daily gatherings of party and social organisations. This circumstance makes the acquisition of Russian speech more natural than it would be if one had to rely on school teaching alone, and, on the whole, the Asiatic tribes learn Russian sufficiently well to attend Russian higher technical institutes in those branches which are not taught in their own institutions. It appears that the problem of bilingualism is satisfactorily solved.

The situation in India resembles that of the U.S.S.R. in many respects. It is also a great Union of several races, of many religious traditions, and of more than a hundred distinct linguistic groups. But there is also a fundamental difference. Unlike the U.S.S.R., India has no language spoken and understood by the majority. Even Hindustani, the *lingua franca* of India, is spoken only by about 100 million—less than a third of the population—and it is a foreign language to the majority. At present the rôle of federal language is played by English, which, however, is spoken only by a small minority of intellectuals. Its position is similar to that of the classical languages of old: it fosters international understanding, but it can never promote mass education in India. The use of English in legislation and in higher education creates as many difficulties as it solves. It obstructs the growth of national culture and leads to a disunity of mind which we shall presently discuss. The adoption of Hindustani and Urdu as the official languages of India and Pakistan respectively creates a peculiar difficulty. Hindustani and Urdu are very similar in structure and vocabulary; some linguists even assert that they are variants of the same language. But each is championed by a religious community—Hindustani by Hindus and Urdu by Muslims—and each clings

tenaciously to the script inherited from the past. Unless both scripts are taught in schools the two communities will be separated as much by the written word as by religion.

Officially, China is not a federation, but her constitution recognises five distinct nationalities: Chinese, Manchus, Mongolians, Tibetans, and Muslims. In the past, literacy was limited to a small class of civil servants, and classical Chinese performed quite satisfactorily the task of a federal medium. Now that a policy of mass education has been accepted as desirable, the position has changed. As is well known, classical Chinese is a silent language with a logographic script. It is understood and written by scholars from all provinces in the same way, yet is pronounced in mutually incomprehensible speech in the north and in the south—much as Arabic numerals are written in the same way everywhere in Europe and America and yet pronounced differently. The introduction of an easily taught phonetic script would lead to the creation of many distinct languages and to a loss of national cultural unity. At present, therefore, phonetic script is used only in the preliminary stages of learning to read the logographs.

Being an isolating language, Chinese is probably best expressed by logographs and, in any case, the Chinese attach high value to the classical script, which has become an aesthetic element of their whole culture. It has been estimated, however, that as many as eighty thousand logographs exist and, certainly, anyone who is considered well educated needs to be able to use at least five or six thousand—the learning of which is a formidable task. Nevertheless, it has been found possible to select about one thousand two hundred of the most useful, and it appears that these suffice for most purposes—they form the nucleus essential for mass education. Even then, a standard pronunciation is needed if the language is to become a national medium and, for this purpose, the Mandarin speech of the Peiping region has been chosen.

It will be noted that we refer only cursorily to the problem of the reform of the scripts used in various countries. In a complete survey, however, close attention should be paid to this aspect of language problems. There is no greater obstacle to the spreading of literacy and to the raising of educational standards throughout the world than the diversity and complicated nature of the scripts used as well as the involved and muddling shapes of the symbols used. Nothing exceeds the complexity of the Chinese logographs, but there are many written languages which employ several hundred characters. The difficulty of making typewriters in such cases is a trivial illustration of the difficulty which such countries have in adapting themselves to modern civilisation. Some linguists go so far as to assert that the universal adoption of Roman script would be a greater progress than the acceptance of a world language. This particular problem is discussed in a report published in 1934

by the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation under the title *L'adoption Universelle des Caractères latins.*

We come to the second aspect of linguistic problems—the preservation or fostering of national cultures. In the cases of Ireland, the Jewish community, Indonesia, and Turkey, what is asked for amounts to the creation of a modern language out of somewhat moribund languages, which were used chiefly for religious purposes, as Hebrew, or else were spoken by peasant communities only, as in Ireland, Indonesia, and Turkey. In the Asiatic-Muslim Republics of the Soviet Union, the problem was similar. In Korea it meant the revival of the national medium suppressed by the Japanese for forty years. In Arab countries it is a problem of adapting classical Arabic to daily use without creating local national languages, and thereby disrupting the unity of the Arab lands. To revive an old language and to adapt it to modern academic and technical usage is a formidable task. Thousands of scientific terms have acquired international significance, and attempts to create equivalents from old roots of disused languages are proving excessively difficult and usually unsatisfactory. Latin and Greek terms have had to be incorporated even in Indonesian, which has no classical connections. The Latin alphabet has been introduced in both Turkey and Indonesia, and many new words have been coined for things and ideas unknown to the peasantry of those countries. In Turkey this process has been successfully completed, but in Indonesia it is still in the initial stage and is complicated by the multiplicity of local dialects. The revival of Hebrew is described in a special article, which should be compared with the article on the revival of Irish. The Arab countries encounter a difficulty of their own in the divergence between classical Arabic and the many dialects of the various areas, as well as in the nature of the Arabic script, with its avoidance of the longer vowel signs.

The revival and creation of national languages, however successful, has its limitations. Academic learning and scientific literature cannot be simply translated into the new idioms, and it will take years before all the textbooks and reference books necessary for higher studies become generally available. The learning of a second language is therefore still a necessity even for the development of the national culture itself. Such languages as English, French, Russian, German and Spanish will for a long time retain their importance beyond their linguistic frontiers. Universal bilingualism, which already exists in some parts of U.S.S.R., seems to be the next stage in all countries. Here we confront the last aspect of language problems, the psychological. The article by P. P. Brown points out the difficulties of transfer from one linguistic plane on to another. Within the limits of the same linguistic group and between languages of similar cultural level this transfer does not create psychological problems. But when transfer from an isolating

or agglutinative language to a flexional language is necessary and the two idioms are on different cultural planes, we encounter difficulties. The speakers of primitive agglutinative languages learn with great effort the flexional modifications of European languages, and do not possess in their native speech the highest abstractions of science, art, philosophy, or religion. As a result, the sense impressions and the primary objects connected with the native idiom are dissociated from the abstract terms learnt in the foreign language. Verbalism and superficiality are inevitable. In such countries as Mexico, U.S.A., or the U.S.S.R., the Indian or Siberian tribes are surrounded by Spanish, English, or Russian-speaking populations, and are in daily contact with them. They become bilingual quite naturally and continue their secondary and higher education in Spanish, English, or Russian without developing a "split" mind. In Africa, however, the situation is different. Many persons live in their tribal communities, seldom meet Europeans, and mature through their native idiom. Exceptional individuals succeed in acquiring a European language and culture, but inevitably lose touch with their native communities. If the cultural elevation of the African masses is the goal of European administration, the native speech and culture must inevitably be taken as the starting-point. In this respect the articles on French Africa, Belgian Congo, and the British colonies clearly show the difference of approach to the problem. In the Belgian Congo the population is split into many linguistic groups, with divergent traditions and beliefs. There is no native basis for creating a "Congolese" nation. The Belgian authorities therefore use native dialects only in the primary grades as a means of introduction to a French-speaking culture.

A similar policy is pursued by France, although some French colonies have large linguistic groups with an indigenous culture. French policy definitely aims at the creation of a "black" France in Africa, and does not intend to build up a native indigenous culture. Nevertheless the French administration has been compelled by circumstances to use native dialects as the medium of instruction in primary schools. Practice, therefore, does not differ much from the British, but the aim is different. British policy officially declares its aim to be the gradual growth of the native community into an independent group with its own native culture and language. Thus the French use native speech in order to facilitate the spread of French culture, whereas the British use English in order to help the natives to build up an indigenous culture. In practice the British aim has met many linguistic obstacles. Local dialects, spoken by small tribes, were entirely unfit as a basis for cultural independence, and languages, such as Swahili in East Africa, had to be substituted for local speech. In this way the principle of native medium in school has sometimes had to be aban-

doned, since Swahili was also a foreign language for many groups.

These examples, which are described in detail in the contributions to this volume, display the universal character of linguistic problems in education. Seldom is the solution a purely educational one: politics, economics, and national aspirations often decide the language of instruction, irrespective of psychological obstacles or pedagogical considerations.

Economic Factors

Sir Fred Clarke and Professor Sergius Hessen, in their articles, direct attention to the technological and economic changes which are affecting every part of the modern world. The social transformation which results from these changes is having upon human life an effect so profound that some economists speak of it as a Second Industrial Revolution, while others compare it with the "Neolithic Revolution" which resulted from the domestication of animals, the adoption of agriculture, and the discovery of metals.

When studying the action of these technological and social changes upon education, it is helpful to distinguish three cases. First, that of countries like France or Great Britain, which have an experience of machine industry as well as of modern urban life going back more than a hundred years, and where the entire population has been affected. Secondly, countries like India or the Soviet Union, where industrialisation is fairly recent and where a large part of the population is as yet comparatively little affected. Thirdly, countries like the non-self-governing territories of Africa, where industrialisation has made little progress so far and where it has affected only a small fraction of the people.

It is well to note that the use of the word "industrialisation" to describe the changes in methods of production now going on may lead to misunderstanding. As a rule, it is interpreted to mean what Karl Marx called "machine-facture" in opposition to "manu-factures". But many countries have been radically transformed simply by the development of modern communications and of wiser, more scientific, methods of cultivating the soil.

The Second Industrial Revolution, indeed, may transform social life even when factory industry is not established. Malaya, depending so largely for the livelihood of its people upon a large and steady demand for natural rubber, is an example. Denmark provides another and a very different one.

Turning now to the first group of countries, we note immediately certain striking features. Techniques of production are changing rapidly, partly through the ever-increasing use of oil-driven engines and electric motors; partly through increased rationalisation, itself brought about both by the invention of automatic machines employing devices like photo-electric cells and by the application of analytic time and motion studies; partly through consumer demand

for new inventions like television sets. Such countries have the advantage of being able to draw upon a large reservoir of skilled and experienced workers, accustomed to the conditions of modern factories—a large and well-disciplined industrial army. On the other hand, they are handicapped in many ways and their industrial resources seem less buoyant than they were. The cost of the agricultural products they are forced to import shows a constant tendency to rise, while their own manufactures seem to fall in relative price. Many countries are now themselves making goods formerly produced in the European workshops—competition grows faster, it seems, than demand. Further, several of these countries have been greatly impoverished through devastating wars.

In countries like these we note, first, a clash between what is often called the "liberal" and the newer "utilitarian", scientific, technical, or vocational educational ideals. This is in no way surprising. Educational systems had been long established, they were securely built and widely spread. They were adapted or adjusted to the social needs of a system which has now disappeared or which, at the very least, is being radically transformed. The conflict or tension between old and new is here the projection upon the educational plane of a pervasive social revolution. Nor can this conflict be resolved easily by the defeat of either side. The abandonment of the "old" classical liberal ideals—the ideals of *culture générale*—might well mean the loss of the very values and traditions which have led to human advancement and social progress. On the other hand, the defeat of the "new", or even its weakening, might involve losing the possibility of still further advance and material improvement. It is worth adding that, in the U.S.A., where classical liberal education was never strongly entrenched, this particular conflict of ideals was and still is much weaker than in Europe. Nevertheless, in comparatively recent years, it has come increasingly to the fore and is now, as elsewhere, a major issue—though the challenge has come from the "traditionalists", as might be expected, since in the U.S.A. the "progressive" defenders of the new scientific pragmatic methods were dominant and orthodox.

Other results of the on-going revolution can clearly be discerned. Manual workers are now controllers of expensive and delicate devices and no longer merely strong men moving heavy weights. Owing to increased calls upon their nervous energy, they are unable or, at least, unwilling to work long hours. Their leisure-time grows and their status rises. In consequence, increasing attention is paid to adult education, which is an activity partly cultural-recreational, since the workers have more free time; partly social-political, since they have growing political influence; partly vocational, since many feel a need for re-training or adaptation to new jobs. Again, the demand for highly trained operatives, possessing general scientific or engineering knowledge, grows constantly as

scientific methods and techniques of production and research are adopted. Hence, an increasing demand for higher education: students flock in great numbers to universities and higher technical schools. Similarly, as the old forms of apprenticeship decay, the need for elementary technical education becomes greater and is to some extent met by continuation schools.

Pervading everything, there is in these older countries a spiritual and moral *malaise*: the new conditions are strange and men are not yet accustomed to them. Both Sir Fred Clarke and Professor Hessen consider this point, analyse it, and stress the fact that it presents all educators with a challenge and an opportunity.

The position in countries like the Soviet Union (and even in some respects the U.S.A.) is in many ways different from that in Western Europe. Here the problem is not one of transforming an economy well adapted to older methods of production, but rather of extending the use of modern methods over the whole of the State and of mobilising the population in their service, so as to achieve maximum efficiency and output. This means, in the first place, establishing at least facilities sufficient to provide everywhere a good elementary education, so that all may know how to read and write—because illiterates cannot make modern machine industry or scientific agriculture function effectively—and so that all workers may be habituated to the disciplines and punctualities of modern life. It is worth noting, incidentally, that both the Chinese and the Russian educationists recognise three kinds of literacy— (*a*) reading and writing; (*b*) political literacy; (*c*) technical or productive literacy. When they speak of "literacy campaigns" they include far more than the first—the articles from Soviet Asia and from China, printed in this volume, make this abundantly clear, and further illustrations can be found in the important UNESCO publication called *Fundamental Education—Common Ground for all Peoples.* Like all countries now undergoing industrialisation, the Soviet Union is helped by the fact that the possibilities of technical education are better understood than they were. As social inventions go, this type of education may be described as comparatively recent, even though traces of it are found in seventeenth-century England and though the Russian technical schools date back to Peter the Great and incidentally were taken as a model in the U.S.A. during the last century. In earlier times, when a ruler wished to introduce new industries into his dominions he imported skilled workmen—Flemish weavers, for instance, or Venetian glass-makers. Possibilities of action were limited by the smallness of the number of workers who could be persuaded to emigrate, by the slowness of apprenticeship methods, by the reluctance of those who knew them to share with others the technical secrets which were the basis of their privileged prosperity. Nowadays, there are few real scientific secrets, technical schools are easily and quickly built, and efficient methods

for communicating to others skill and special knowledge have been worked out. During the Second World War, for example, the Americans trained in a few months remarkably expert engineers, pilots, submarine commanders—even skilled linguists.

These developments open up astonishing possibilities of establishing new industries or trades almost anywhere. They involve the removal of what was in the past one of the barriers to the adoption of new methods of production.

In countries of rapidly growing industrialisation, we find—as might be expected—pride in extent of achievement and interest in the attainment of universal literacy: both are conditions for a general advance towards higher standards of material and social welfare. There is, too, great faith in the promise of scientific progress: faith as marked as it was at the beginning of the industrial period in Western Europe, among the Physiocrats or Utilitarians. Dr. Ch'ü's article makes it clear that the Chinese share this enthusiasm. The long-drawn-out civil war—China has known little peace since 1910—has, however, hampered quantitative growth and slowed advance in the provision of educational facilities.

The conflict between "old" and "new" educational ideals in the Soviet Union is not intense. At one time, narrowly technical education was promoted. But since 1934 the importance of a more balanced, general educational diet as a necessary basis for technical specialisation is better appreciated. Among the Chinese, American educational ideals exercise dominant influence and are accepted almost too readily. Nevertheless, attachment to the cultural glories of the past is so strong that it seems likely that tension between "new" and "old" will appear before long. This attachment is often revealed in unexpected ways: even in technical schools one may see students lovingly expending time and energy on calligraphy. In India, again, the clash between "old" and "new" has not yet assumed the form which it is likely ultimately to take. English educational ideals were long accepted even though the struggle for national independence often made patriotic Indians attack them. But there is growing up a people's education, drawing inspiration from Mahatma Gandhi's teachings, and its aims are not fully in accord with those pursued in higher educational institutions. One task which the Indians will have to face before long is that of harmonising these different and to some degree antagonistic traditions. In India as in China, the struggle between "old" and "new" is only in its incipient stage, and it is too soon to say precisely what forms it will assume.

In the African colonies, as in other industrially backward lands, education is seen as the master-key to social progress. Without it, malnutrition, ill-health, and high infantile mortality cannot be removed. Hence, everywhere, demands for elementary education and for "mass education" work at the adult level are put forward. But

education is always a costly business, and it is far from clear where or how the funds necessary to provide schooling and a full range of educational facilities are to be obtained. It is useless to expect a rate of progress or to propose schemes that would involve an expenditure greatly in excess of what the economy of the countries concerned could bear. What, presumably, is needed is a sort of educational Lease-Lend between the wealthy and the poor nations; but one dare scarcely hope that such ideals will be realised.

The industrially backward countries display in marked manner, in their economy as in their education, the double tendency evident in other fields, namely that towards autarchy and that towards international interdependence. In most of them some developments arise in response to local needs or from a desire to provide locally what formerly could be obtained only abroad—the foundation of university colleges in the West Indies and in Africa is an illustration. On the other hand, one also observes other developments which are responses to demands arising in Europe or in highly developed countries. In East Africa, the British need for edible oil is calling into being vast schemes of modern agriculture, and associated with these schemes one finds special educational plans having as a principal aim the training of the workers. In the Near East, at Abadan for example, the growth of oil industries has brought to birth model towns and technical schools near the Persian Gulf.

Such developments inject into the life of the peoples of the East and of Africa new and powerfully disintegrating forces. Just as in the West at an earlier date, the old pattern of life is being destroyed. The family is no longer the educative and formative agency which it was, and the school is expected, in some ways, to take over the functions no longer discharged. In addition, the position of women changes: they begin to leave the confines of the home and to play rôles of increasing importance in economic and in social life. All this is illustrated in the articles on Soviet Asia and on Iran: as a feature indicating this sort of change, they mention the establishment of kindergarten and pre-school facilities, a response to new demands. In addition, one finds that everywhere, increasingly, secondary schools and universities attract women, who see in education a powerful instrument of emancipation, a key to wider freedom and increased dignity.

Conclusion

It has been pointed out earlier, at the beginning of this paper, that the factors we have passed under review—the effects of racial differences, nationalist movements, language barriers, and economic change upon education—are all closely interrelated and exercise their effects as a combined influence. The reasons are clear. The

development of modern industry, the effective harnessing of science to the production of material goods, presupposes active and efficient administration and government. The latter cannot be established unless a high degree of harmony exists in the society served. Language barriers are an obstacle, nationalism a help, to the achieving of unity within the State. However, to refuse minorities the cultural rights they demand or the use of their own vernacular language makes it difficult for them to be fully loyal. The educational system in general is an instrument of social action by which cultural and linguistic autonomy as well as national feelings may be fostered or thwarted. Wise educational policy, therefore, adjusts nicely the antagonistic claims and achieves a balance between them: it deals with the conflicts constructively, satisfying legitimate and acceptable demands. It does more, too. By the facilities it offers, it selects from the whole population those with the gifts necessary to enable them to render service to society, and equips them with the training they need. In this way, it facilitates the quick and widespread adoption of new scientific techniques, so that perennial human needs may be more satisfactorily met, without, however, abandoning its links with the old traditions which served to inspire and give form to the national cultures of the modern world.

EDITORS.

CHAPTER TWO

NATIONALISM AND EDUCATION

Education as a Social Process

IN the current plans and proposals to promote international understanding and co-operation or world citizenship there is some danger not so much that the obstacles to the success of such aspirations may be overlooked as that the foundations upon which modern educational systems have been built, or are even now beginning to be built, may be ignored. The major principles and ideals on which a sound educational system should be built may be discussed and even accepted widely, but their interpretation in practice may differ in various parts of the world. Since, so far as can be foreseen at present, the peoples of the world will continue to be organised in entities known as nations, it is important to consider the forces that determine the character of a national system of education.

The one aim of education which has had a continuous history from primitive times to the present has been to induct the young into membership of the group, community, or nation. The transmission of the cultural heritage has always been considered to be the essential basis for the development of consciousness of kind or group membership. In order to maintain the stability of the group and to perpetuate it, its members must be instructed in a common body of knowledge, in common ways of thinking and behaving, in common ideals—in all those aspects that develop a sense of "belongingness." The process of education in this sense may go on unconsciously and without direct instruction; the ways of behaving, of thinking, of working, are acquired unconsciously by the mere fact of living in a community, both through force of habit and through the pressure of social approval or disapproval. Not until a body of knowledge is accumulated which is regarded as important for the perpetuation of the group does formal instruction begin. The underlying principle of formal education then becomes "Train a child in the way he should go, and even when he is old, he will not depart from it." The "way" in which the child should go is determined by the culture of the group in which he is to play his part as a member. The ultimate purpose is to secure the solidarity, preservation, and survival of the group.

The first aim of education at all times, as Professor W. E. Hocking has pointed out, has been to provide for the reproduction of the type. The second aim, which emerged later in the history of education, has been to provide for growth beyond the type, but

even this aim can be achieved only within the framework of the culture of the group or society concerned. Acculturation or assimilation to the group culture takes place informally and unconsciously. When formal education is provided, however, those aspects of the culture are selected which a group or society regards as most essential for its own coherence and survival. This statement applies as much to national systems of education as it does to education in primitive groups. A culture may change and may make new demands upon the school, but within that culture there are certain constant features. The aim of adapting the educative process to cultural changes is a recent development.

The State and Education

The outstanding characteristic in the development of education in the last century and a half has been the fact that educational systems have been organised to preserve, maintain, and promote the ends of nationalism. Throughout the Middle Ages the control of education was vested in the Church. From the sixteenth century on, the state gradually emerged and contested the right of the Church to control education. At the same time the principle was also adopted that the state had the right to determine the type of religion to be adopted and observed within its own borders (*cujus regio, ejus religio*). The result of this trend was that the state entered into a partnership with the Church in determining the character and controlling the administration, supervision, and content of education.

As the nation-state gradually emerged and established itself from the end of the eighteenth century on, the state slowly began to subordinate ecclesiastical control to the fulfilment of its own ends, which were defined in terms of national honour, prestige, and power. Education gradually began to be used as an instrument for transmitting every aspect of the culture of a group organised as a nation-state which would develop likemindedness, loyalty, and patriotism. Accordingly education derived its significance primarily as a concern of the political, social, economic, and broadly cultural environment in which it finds its place. It has, in other words, become an instrument of national policy. It is in this setting that it becomes necessary to define the meaning of a nation and of nationalism.

Criteria of Nationalism

Infants everywhere are born with the same biological, physiological, and psychological tendencies. As a result of differences in environment and more particularly as the consequence of that organised and selected environment which makes up the content of formal education, they become in a very few years more conscious of their differences from, than of their likeness to, children of other

groups. In other words, they soon realise that they are English, French, German, Italian, Russian, American, and so on. What, then, are the criteria of nationalism?

The first and oldest criterion of group membership which has been carried over into the concept of nationalism is that a nation is or should be a racial unit with common ancestors, common kin, common language, common culture, and certain common intellectual and emotional characteristics. It is on such claims that some recent national revivals have been based, notably in Nazi Germany. The general assumption is that the members of a nation are sprung from the same racial stock, e.g. Nordics or " Aryans "[1] in Germany. Only those anthropologists who are under political coercion would to-day claim that any national group is racially pure. So far as Germany is concerned the truth was told, perhaps in a moment of aberration, by Wilhelm Frick, Hitler's Minister of the Interior, when he said, " So many ethnic cyclones have roared over old Europe that there is very little left of pure racial stock anywhere." This statement was repeated in another form by Ewald Bause, a leading authority on military science: " As a result of its position in the centre of Europe, the German people is a compound of several races." But it is not necessary to turn to the anthropologists for evidence that all modern nations are racial mixtures—Great Britain, France, Italy, India, South Africa, and the United States in particular. Race is not a criterion of nationalism but a general physical characterisation, which may even alter with changes in living conditions. It is not a spiritual fact, and people may be of the same race and have the same physical characteristics without necessarily constituting a nation.

The second criterion of nationalism is that all members of the same nation speak the same language. It is in this sense that the first emphasis in an Americanisation programme is to teach the English language. So, too, the first step taken by the conquerors of new territory is to impose their own language on the conquered, as did the Germans in the areas conquered from Poland, Denmark, and France, or the Italians in the provinces restored in the north after World War I. The imposition of the language of the conqueror has also been a normal process in colonial dependencies. In the same way the emphasis in national revivals has been on the cult of a common language—Celtic in Ireland, Hebrew in Palestine, Afrikaans in South Africa, Catalan in Catalonia, and so on. And yet the fact remains—and is illustrated by South Africa, Canada, Switzerland, Belgium, and other countries—that nations can exist even though their populations are bilingual and even multilingual. It is not necessarily true that all who speak the same language are of the same nation, as,

[1] The term " Aryans " as used in Germany in application to race is contrary to its scientific definition as a linguistic group.—EDITORS.

for example, the English-speaking or Spanish-speaking peoples of the world. In general, however, each nation does tend to speak one language, but even the quality and accent of speech may be a divisive rather than a unifying factor within the same nation. The U.S.S.R. is often cited as an example of a federation of peoples of different races and speech, in which minority groups are permitted to retain the right to use their own language and develop their own culture. It is too often forgotten, however, by those who use this example, that both language and culture must be within the framework of the ideology common to all the Soviet Republics.

The importance attached to a common language as the binding force of a nation has been extended to the written language. This has been clearly demonstrated in those nations which have passed through revolutions in this century. Thus one of the first tasks undertaken in the U.S.S.R. in the field of education was the liquidation of illiteracy. A change in the written language of Turkey followed immediately on the political change following World War I. The unification of China, apart from current political conflicts, is dependent upon the development of a common spoken language and other simplification of the written language. The progress of Japan towards becoming a democracy depends upon the substitution of Romaji for the traditional script, which is a serious obstacle to the extension of literacy to the masses.

A third criterion, and with common race one of the oldest criteria, is that the essential basis of a common nationalism is a common religion. This was adopted as the basis of State organisation following the Reformation on the principle already mentioned —*cujus regio, ejus religio*. In some countries this criterion is illustrated by the survival of a state Church. So strong has been the binding force of a common religion, that its ritual and symbolism have been adopted by totalitarian ideologies. While it is true that certain nations—Ireland, Holland, Scotland, and the American colonies—were cradled in religious unity, the development of religious tolerance in the nineteenth century gradually deprived this criterion of its older significance.

Of all the factors which have played a part in the development of the modern concept of nationalism one of the most important has been the occupation of a common territory. This is the first essential, but it does not by itself imply a common nation unless there is also present a common government which may inspire common loyalties. The resettlement of Europe after World War I, based on the right to self-determination, implied a combination of territorial, political, and cultural unity, but even then care had to be taken to protect the rights of minorities.

The concept of a common territory is emphasised in Barrès' definition that: "A nation is marked by the possession in common of an ancient burial place and the will to preserve the heritage

undivided." The emotional association of the territorial concept of a nation is marked in the use of " *la patrie* " in France, " the Motherland " in Soviet Russia since World War II, " *Vaterland* " in Germany, and in the line of one of the national hymns of the United States (" Land where our fathers died "). The concept was perverted by association with the race theory in the Nazi idea of " Blood and Soil."

None of the criteria so far discussed can alone explain the basis of nationalism. Group cohesion is founded on gregariousness, herd instincts, desire for protection, and the need for self-preservation and security which come from sympathy and love of approval or fear of disapproval. These in turn are based on and give rise to a feeling of consciousness of kind, or likemindedness, or belongingness.

As groups or societies settle down with recognised boundaries, they acquire more bonds of solidarity through the acceptance of a common Government, which gives expression to their ideals and aspirations, their traditions and culture, and their desire for protection and security. The process of nation-building was slow, however, and nations gradually developed as smaller entities surrendered their sovereignty or rights to the larger and stronger authority in return for greater protection and security or as a result of force and conquest. The larger entity or nation having become established, scope was provided for the development of corporate or community life, growth, self-consciousness, and self-respect which arise from sharing in a common culture.

Nationalism can, accordingly, be best defined as a spiritual quality. Hence a nation is a group of individuals sharing a common culture, inhabiting a common territory under a common government, and generally using a common language. The state or government represents the common will, thoughts, and feelings of the nation, which has been best described by Sir Ernest Barker as " The house of thought which men have made that their minds may dwell there together."

Education and Politics

As the state and nation gradually became synonymous, the importance of education for their preservation and progress began to be recognised. Education became more than a process of initiation into community membership; it became, as Plato and Aristotle had conceived it to be, a political institution. Plato in the *Republic* stressed the importance of education and rearing, for, as he said, " If by a good education the citizens be made reasonable men, they will readily see through all the questions "; that is, the questions that are fundamental to the stability of the state. In the *Politics* Aristotle enunciated the same principle when he wrote, " Of all things that I have mentioned, that which contributes most to the

permanence of constitutions is the adaptation of education to the form of government."

These principles were generally adopted from the eighteenth century on, but were interpreted differently according to differences in the form of government. The *Allgemeine Landrecht,* enacted in Prussia in 1794, provided that: "Schools and universities are state institutions charged with the instruction of youth in useful information and scientific knowledge. Such institutions may be founded only with the knowledge and consent of the state."

The same principle was adopted by Napoleon, when he reorganised the French system of education in 1806, in the statement that: "Of all political questions that (education) is perhaps the most important. There cannot be a firmly established political state unless there is a teaching body with firmly recognised principles. If the child is not taught from infancy that he ought to be a republican or a monarchist, a Catholic or a free-thinker, the state will not constitute a nation; it will rest on uncertain and shifting foundations; and it will be constantly exposed to disorder and change." Accordingly in 1808 it was decreed, in terms almost identical with those of the Prussian *Allgemeine Landrecht,* that: "No school, no establishment of instruction whatsoever, may be set up outside the Imperial University and without the authorisation of its head," the Imperial University being the central administrative authority for education.

There was thus established the principle that: "As is the state, so is the school," which became the guiding principle when most national systems began to be established in the nineteenth century. Education became an instrument of national policy directed to producing loyal and patriotic subjects.

In the same period when the Prussian Code and Napoleon stressed the authoritarian concept of the state, that the state has the right and duty to assume a monopolistic control over education in order to mould all individuals according to the pattern which it desires, another concept was enunciated by George Washington in his "Farewell Address" (1796), when he urged his fellow-citizens to: "Promote then as an object of primary importance institutions for the general diffusion of knowledge. In proportion as the structure of government gives force to public opinion, that opinion should be enlightened." Thus, while the purpose of education in Prussia and France was direct indoctrination to a pattern desired by the state, Washington placed the emphasis on education for enlightenment as the basis of government, an emphasis repeated by every great leader in American public life from Washington's day to the present. (See U.S. Office of Education, Bulletin 1940, No. 10, *Expressions on Education by Builders of American Democracy.* Washington, December, 1941.)

In England the state refrained from intervening directly in the

creation of an educational system and left its provision to voluntary groups, which have been permitted to retain their vested interests even after publicly maintained elementary and, later, secondary schools were established. The principle upon which England proceeded and which appears on the surface to be negative is as positive as that which stressed indoctrination for the ends of the state. This principle has been best stated by John Stuart Mill in his essay *On Liberty*: " A general state education is a mere contrivance for moulding people to be exactly like one another; and as the mould in which it casts them is that which pleases the predominant power in the government, whether this be a monarch, a priesthood, an aristocracy, or the majority of the existing generation; in proportion as it is efficient and successful, it establishes a despotism over the mind, leading by natural tendency to one over the body. An education established and controlled by the state should only exist, if it exist at all, as one among many competing experiments, carried on for the purpose of example and stimulus, to keep the others up to a certain standard of excellence."

There thus appeared early in the nineteenth century two contrasting principles upon which the development of national systems of education was based. The one principle, subordinating the individual to the state, was responsible for the emergence of educational systems in which the function of the schools was to mould the minds of the young. Under the other principle it was held that the state should not seek to impose a single and uniform pattern of education on all schools but should encourage education for the promotion of enlightenment. The two principles represent a conflict between the theory of education as emotional conditioning and the theory that the purpose of education is to develop the intelligence of each individual as a rational human being to the fullest.

The line of demarcation between the two principles and the theories of education that result from them are not always clearly adhered to. Even those nation-states that were authoritarian in their control of education reserved one part of their systems for the protection of academic freedom. In those educational systems, on the other hand, in which the state conceives it as its function to provide those conditions under which teachers can exercise professional freedom, certain limitations on that freedom may be imposed by public opinion.

Nationalism and Totalitarianism

In the totalitarian revolutions which took place after World War I the principle of state control was carried beyond the scope of formal education and was extended to the control of all aspects of a national culture and the conscious and deliberate suppression of any views or ideas that could be interpreted as contrary to the

interests of the state or its dominant ideology. The state alone through the party in power or through its dictator could define the purpose and mission to which the individuals were to be moulded and bent. The supreme purpose of the life of the individual is the conscious and willing acceptance of duty and sacrifice for the state. The nation, like the state, under totalitarianism becomes monolithic. The essence of totalitarianism in Nazi Germany was expressed by the term *Gleichschaltung*, which was defined as " the national condition in which every human being thinks and acts in a way co-ordinated with the thoughts and acts of every other human being." The same concept was implied in the Fascist dogma, " Everything for the state, nothing outside the state, nothing against the state," or that " Il Duce is always right." It has its counterpart in Soviet Russia in the requirement that everybody must be " In the right line," and in the idea of Emperor-worship in Japan, where students were forbidden " to harbour dangerous thoughts."

The effect of totalitarian control on all aspects of culture is clear. It becomes completely state-controlled and state-directed, and is deliberately designed for the development of narrow, aggressive nationalism, under which any debt to a foreign culture, past or present, is disowned even to the extent of claiming recognisable borrowings as autochthonous. There are thus developed state-controlled cultures—Nazi, Fascist, Communist, and so on—which further intensify the narrow nationalism cultivated in other ways and which set up barriers to the free flow of ideas between nations.

In education, every part of the curriculum is employed for purposes of indoctrination. Mathematics and science become Nazi or Communist; the Nazis showed that even such subjects as arithmetic and biology could be used to condition the mind of youth. In all totalitarian regimes physical education is the propaedeutic for military training. The story of the employment of education to promote the ends of the state in Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy is already sufficiently well known and needs no repetition.

In Japan the control of education became progressively more rigid as the new imperialistic policy developed. The direction of Japanese education had, of course, been defined by the Imperial Rescript on Education, issued on October 30th, 1890, and read in schools on the occasion of every anniversary since its publication and on some ceremonial occasions. The Rescript enjoined all students to practise the virtues of filial piety and loyalty to the Emperor and the destiny of Japan. The totalitarian trend was facilitated by this Rescript, which, combined with indoctrination of pupils in State Shinto, laid the foundations for inculcation of loyalty and unquestioning obedience to authority. The state-controlled textbooks were directed to the same ends. The intensification of the programme of education began in 1925, when army officers were assigned to middle and higher schools to take charge

of military training and so began to influence the work in physical education. The unrest among students, the result of unemployment and lack of prospects of employment, led to the establishment in 1929 of the Bureau of Student Control, which a few years later became the Bureau of Thought Control. In 1937 this Bureau was succeeded by the Bureau of Educational Reform, charged with the task of improving education " in the light of the fundamental meaning of the National Polity." As in other totalitarian countries, membership in the Youth Corps was made compulsory in 1938 and provided a further opportunity for continued indoctrination in loyalty to the Emperor and the Imperial Will.

Describing the changes in Japanese education in the years immediately preceding Japan's entry into World War II, John Morris, in *Traveller from Tokyo,*[1] writes as follows:

> Every subject is now presented to the growing child from an exaggeratedly nationalistic point of view. The white races are everywhere represented as oppressors whose decadence is ushering in their destruction. At the same time, of course, much is made of Japan's contributions to the thought, culture, and progress of the world. . . .
>
> The most dangerous changes have taken place in what could be roughly described as moral training. The growing child is now taught, almost from infancy, that its primary duty is not to its parents but to the state, to which it belongs, to be done with as the state desires. It is taught to worship the armed forces, and told that the greatest honour is to die in battle. . . .

The author refers to the intensification of military training at the sacrifice of time that should be devoted to study as a result of the growing influence of the army officers over the headmasters of the schools to which they were attached. When Pearl Harbour was attacked, Japan had already become completely totalitarian, with one important difference that, contrary to what happened in Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy, liberals were repressed but not suppressed. It was clear, however, to the members of the United States Educational Mission to Japan that the Japanese liberal educators whom they met in 1946 had not been able to maintain any contacts with educational developments outside their country for some fifteen years.

The most striking development in education in the U.S.S.R. in the post-war years has been the new emphasis on nationalism and patriotism. Devotion to Communism has been combined with loyalty to the Motherland. Pride in the achievements of the Red Army in what is now called the Great Patriotic War is to be inculcated, but apparently no reference is to be made to the contributions of Russia's allies. The ideal of education for Bolshevik character is stated as follows:

> A morally educated individual, according to our understanding, is one who in his conduct subordinates his own interests in the service of his

[1] Cresset Press, 1943.

Motherland and his people. Such service presupposes wrath and hatred toward the enemies of the Motherland who imperil the battle-won rights of the people and all that has been created in the realm of material and cultural life by both the older and the younger generation. Communist morality presupposes action and makes struggle obligatory.

The earlier tendency to ignore pre-Revolutionary history has changed, for:

In the history of our country the Great Russian people occupy a special place. The history of this people is the history of its heroic struggle for independence and freedom against innumerable enemies—against invaders and conquerors.

This spirit of heroism is to be continued not only through the inculcation of patriotism through the study of history and through the performance of services in daily life, but also through direct military preparation. In the book from which the above passages are quoted, *I Want To Be Like Stalin*, from the Russian text on pedagogy by B. P. Yesipov and N. K. Goncharov,[1] a section is devoted to " Elements of knowledge having special significance for the military preparation of the future defenders of the Motherland." The definition of these elements of knowledge reads as follows:

An important part of education in Soviet patriotism for the growing generation is the cultivation of readiness to defend the socialist Motherland.

Military-political preparation of the rising generation of our country is directed toward the improvement of health and the development of strength, hardiness, agility, bravery, and courage. It is directed also toward the cultivation in the young of a consciousness of those purposes for which it is necessary to fight. The grandeur of these aims, the knowledge of the genuine truth about the essential nature of the struggle, and the knowledge that our truth is the truth of all toiling mankind instil into our youth that zeal with which they go forth to study and sport, to the physical culture grounds, and to the circles of the Society of Soviet Aviation and Chemistry; that zeal with which they participate in ski-ing expeditions, in marksmanship and other athletic meets and contests; that zeal with which they pass the tests qualifying them to wear the insignia, " Ready for Labour and Defence."

Already in the primary school work is conducted for the purpose of equipping the pupils with those elements of general knowledge which are closely related to the military preparation of future warriors. Here they become acquainted with the types of arms used in the Red Army; here they learn that the military equipment of our army is on the level of contemporary technology and that the warrior must possess knowledge of the foundations of science and achieve mastery of technique. . . .

In all educational work devoted to the preparation of future citizens to defend the Motherland, it is necessary to remember that to vanquish the enemy is impossible without the most burning hatred of him. Passionate love of the Motherland needs inevitably strong hatred of the enemy. Enslavers of people, destroyers of culture, and stranglers of liberty are hated by all to whom the freedom and independence of the Motherland are dear.

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[1] Translated by George S. Counts and Nucia P. Lodge, with an Introduction by George S. Counts. (New York, The John Day Co., 1947.)

This final paragraph may perhaps appear to be inconsistent with another a few pages earlier:

> Forward-looking men and women of the past who passionately loved their people and their Motherland were never confined within the framework of a narrow nationalism. " Patriotism, living and active," wrote Dobroliubov, " is to be distinguished precisely by the fact that it excludes all international animosity; and an individual inspired by such patriotism is ready to work for all mankind, if only he can be useful. Genuine patriotism as a personal expression of love for mankind cannot be reconciled with hostility toward particular peoples."

The same pattern of nationalistic claims is followed in Soviet Russia as in Nazi Germany, Fascist Italy, and Imperialist Japan. This is the claim of the contributions made by the nation to the culture of mankind, as may be gathered from the following passage:

> V. G. Belinsky in the *Almanac of 1840* wrote: " We envy our grandchildren and great-grandchildren who are destined to see Russia in 1940 standing at the head of the civilised world, giving laws to science and art, and receiving reverent tribute from all enlightened humanity." These remarkable words have been fulfilled.

Were Belinsky living to-day, he might perhaps be inclined to refer to the imposition of laws on scientists, artists, and all other creative workers to keep them in the right line. Whether "these remarkable words have been fulfilled" or not, they serve to promote one of the stated aims: " National pride and national self-consciousness are characteristic of Soviet patriotism. These qualities must be cultivated in our children."

The process of indoctrination in nationalism, patriotism, and loyalty is continued in totalitarian regimes beyond the stage of formal education. What is done in the schools is continued in youth organisations and in the years of military training. When to these influences for conditioning the mind is added complete control of all other aspects of a nation's culture—the press, radio, films, the creative arts—totalitarianism is complete. The process of ensuring conformity and loyalty to the particular totalitarian ideology becomes at the same time the process for indoctrination in narrow and aggressive nationalism, which predisposes the mind to regard everything outside one's own nation as hostile to it.

Nationalism and Democracy

At the opposite extreme stands the democratic, liberal, or pluralistic state, which rests upon the collective will of its citizens and is their agent. The totalitarian propagandists are unanimous, whatever their ideology may be, in their criticism of this principle or ideal. Democracy for them represents the cult of individualism, and of selfishness of individuals and groups ready to sacrifice the

interests of the nation as a collective whole to their own interests and without any strong emphasis on a sense of duty or responsibility and without any ideals of discipline or loyalty. Government by majorities is, in their opinion, government by a party which is temporarily in power used to promote its own interests rather than those of the state or nation as a whole. Freedom of the individual to think and act as he pleases without a sense of duty and discipline results, as they believe, in an absence of uniformity and in chaos. The answer of democracy is that it is only through the free exchange of ideas and opinions and through variety of reactions to changing circumstances that progress can be achieved.

What the totalitarian propagandists fail to realise is that the freedom and variety of opinions which they mistake for chaos are encouraged within a framework of common ideals and of a common sense of nationalism. Education does not take place in a vacuum. Even before entering school the young child has already acquired from its immediate environment certain common habits, common way of behaving, common language, and common ideas. Life itself educates. The function of the school is to select those aspects of a common culture which society regards as necessary and desirable to induct the younger generation into its membership. It is through this process that the young are made aware of the fact that they belong to the larger community known as a nation. No nation, however, refrains from cultivating a sense of national pride and national self-consciousness, of loyalty and patriotism. The issue in the cult of nationalism is whether its aim should be to develop a sense of pride and self-consciousness in the achievements of a nation, or whether it is to be infected with a sense of hostility to other nations.

The conflict between these two aims became a crucial issue between the education authorities and a large body of the teachers of France in the period between the two wars. The authoritarian control of education, inherited from the days of Napoleon, was continued under the Third Republic, partly because such a system of administration appeared to be logical, and partly on the plea that a nationally controlled system of education would provide the necessary protection against enemies at home and abroad. National security (*securité d'abord*) was to be assured through education. But the emphasis on patriotism and loyalty was not made the object of every part of the curriculum; they were to be cultivated through moral instruction and the study of history. France, according to the Instructions for Elementary Schools (1923), had nothing to fear from studying the truth in history. The textbooks in this subject, however, followed the outlines prescribed by the authorities. Despite the insistence in the official instructions that France had nothing to fear from the truth, the teaching profession, through one of its leading associations, the *Syndicat des Institu-*

teurs, protested against the use of the history textbooks sanctioned by the authorities. The *Syndicat* went farther; it threatened to refuse to use history textbooks which incited hatred against other nations and undertook the preparation of a textbook more consistent with its ideal of promoting international understanding. It is interesting to note, however, that the only subject which came under criticism was history.

In England it would be difficult to find any subject or any time devoted to direct indoctrination in patriotism or nationalism. National pride and national self-consciousness are as deep-rooted as in those countries in which they are made the direct object of indoctrination. That cult of national solidarity which is directly inculcated in the schools of other countries is not felt to be necessary in a country which has not been invaded for nearly a millennium, which is protected by the sea, and which in the course of centuries has become homogeneous. Nor does a nation which built up an empire feel the need for that direct instruction in nationalism which is apparently necessary in a country which is seeking to establish itself as a nation. Patriotism in England is taken for granted and, as Kipling showed in *Stalky and Co.,* any attempts at sentimental moralising about it are resented. There are, of course, patriotic organisations that would like to have the direct and systematic teaching of patriotism made a compulsory part of the school curriculum. The reply of the then President of the Board of Education, Lord Eustace Percy, to such a proposal presented to him by a deputation of the Royal Society of St. George in 1927 was characteristic of the English system of educational administration. "The Central Department," he said, "in matters of teaching, curriculum, pedagogics, and so on, should act by advice—by instruction in the sense of suggestion—by the issue of teachers' handbooks rather than by direct regulation. . . . If governments, whether local or central, begin to prescribe to the teacher a certain method of teaching or even attempt to influence him in such matters, we run the risk of all those evils that we have seen in various forms, both in the Prussia of the past and in the Russia of to-day." While it is generally accepted that the aim of education should be to produce intelligent citizens, it would be difficult to find anywhere specific directions to inculcate patriotism or nationalism. This does not mean that the English are less patriotic or less consciously national than members of other nations. The acceptance of the ideals of patriotism and nationalism is expected to grow out of the performance of duties rather than something to be inculcated by direct propaganda and indoctrination.

If the nationalistic trend in education is not considered urgent in England because of the homogeneity of the population, the heterogeneity of the American people, made up of waves of immigrants from different parts of Europe, has imposed the necessity of a

programme of Americanisation or nationalisation. The need of such a programme was already recognised as early as the middle of the eighteenth century by Benjamin Franklin. In his *Proposals relating to the Education of Youth in Pennsylvania* (1749), one of the arguments used by Franklin was that his proposed academy would meet the "great want of persons" properly qualified for public offices, for as he wrote, "And this is the more necessary now to be provided for by the English here, as vast numbers of foreigners are yearly imported among us, totally ignorant of our laws, customs, and language."

After the War of Independence it was generally recognised by the leaders of educational thought that a new type of education must be developed, adapted to the genius of the new Republic and different from the "aristocratic" pattern of European education. Accordingly, among the aims of American education, two have been dominant—the education of citizens as intelligent members of American democracy, and the induction of the immigrants and their children into that democracy. In so far as nationalist indoctrination was one of the aims of American education, it was conducted in the main through the study of history, with particular emphasis on the War of Independence.

National pride was developed in part by constant reference to the freedom and opportunity enjoyed by Americans as contrasted with other peoples, and by the rapid progress made possible by the unlimited resources and possibilities of the country. National self-consciousness developed more rapidly after the Spanish-American War and particularly after World War I. National pride, based on the material well-being available to every individual citizen as well as on the form of government, was now supplemented by a consciousness of power and of the position of the United States in the world.

As a consequence of the newly awakened sense of nationalism there gradually developed a certain suspicion of movements of thought which might threaten the foundations of that nationalism. The principle enunciated by Washington, with its strong plea for a system of education directed to develop enlightened citizens, continued to be honoured but with certain reservations. The United States provides an excellent example of the growth of a national system without direction from a central national authority. The control of education, because it was not mentioned directly in the Constitution, was left in the hands of each State, which in turn delegated that control to local authorities under its general supervision. Education thus became a concern of the public in each area to a far greater extent than in any other country. Education may in all countries be said to reflect a people's culture, but in the United States the public is closer to its schools and has an important voice in determining educational policy either indirectly

through elected representatives in the legislatures or more directly through pressure on the local education authorities.

In general the public is not concerned with and does not interfere with the content or methods of instruction in reading, writing, arithmetic, and mathematics, language or literature; in some parts of the country it may prohibit the teaching of certain parts of science. To other parts of the curriculum, however, the public does not remain equally indifferent. Throughout the country it is extremely vigilant about the teaching of all the social sciences—history, civics, and economics. Since these subjects are considered to be the basis of national solidarity, any ideas that conflict with accepted beliefs are regarded as subversive or foreign importations, which constitute a threat to the foundations of nationalism. Hence the tendency on the part of the public to impose both direct and indirect controls through the enactment of loyalty oaths, censorship of textbooks, and dismissal of teachers on suspicion of engaging in subversive activities. There has thus developed a conflict between educational theorists, who seek to develop citizens of the future not only informed but trained to be critical and open-minded, and the public in general, which insists on training for conformity with its concepts of patriotism, loyalty, and nationalism.

It is with the teaching of history that the American public is chiefly concerned. When, a few years ago, *The New York Times* published as the result of its own inquiry reports that high school and college students were ignorant of American history, several legislatures hastened to pass laws requiring high schools to teach American history. In the period between the two wars there was a strong movement among American teachers to promote international understanding and co-operation, and a number of school systems introduced courses to achieve this end. An investigation conducted by Dr. Bessie Pierce, and published in *Civic Attitudes in American School Textbooks* (1930), revealed that the school textbooks in history continued unchanged and were still devoted to nationalist indoctrination. Direct instruction is supplemented by patriotic symbols and ceremonials; the Stars and Stripes wave over every school, and each school day is opened by saluting the flag and the recital of the pledge of allegiance—ceremonials which by constant repetition may perhaps become formal and miss some of the aims which they are designed to promote.

The examples that have been cited up to this point have been drawn from those nations which have employed education as a conscious instrument for the inculcation of a sense of nationalism. The essential differences between the methods employed in totalitarian and democratic states are clear. The totalitarian state, insisting on conformity to a single pattern of thought and tolerating no departure from it, uses every aspect of national culture that can mould the mind, whether by direct instruction in school or by

informal pressures throughout life. The democratic State, while it accepts the principle that freedom of thought and freedom of expression should be guaranteed and protected, seeks nevertheless to promote certain common convictions as a fundamental basis for national security and stability, but in general concentrates mainly on one aspect of its culture—its history.

Nationalism and the Teaching of History

The importance attached to history as the most essential subject for nationalistic indoctrination is indicated by the fact that it is the first subject whose content is revised to respond to political changes. Thus in the last years of World War I the history syllabus for Prussian schools was revised in order to promote greater concentration on the development of loyalty to the Hohenzollern dynasty. After the establishment of the Weimar Republic a more comprehensive revision was undertaken, with an emphasis on the social history of the German people in place of the traditional emphasis on militarism and the Hohenzollerns. This revision was followed immediately after the National Socialist Revolution by another which emphasised militarism, the heroic spirit, *Lebensraum*, and the task of obliterating " the disgrace of Versailles."

Another interesting illustration of the changes in the teaching of history can be found in Soviet Russia, where, after the pre-Revolutionary period had been virtually ignored in the school programme, the subject has been more recently revised in line with the new nationalistic policy. The subject received particular attention in Turkey, where after the Revolution, all schools, public and private, were required to follow the state-prescribed history syllabus and foreign missionary schools were compelled to employ Turkish teachers to give instruction in it. Somewhat similar was the intent of a Bill proposed after Péron came into power in Argentina to require all schools, both national and foreign, to display the national flag and to appoint native teachers of history in schools maintained by foreign groups. So, too, in Japan, all schools, whether national or private denominational schools, were compelled to teach State Shinto.

The sense of nationalism or group membership is not altogether or in all cases dependent for its development on formal education. The influence of national traditions and culture for the development of national consciousness is strong even among peoples which have not yet created formal systems of education, and in those nations which, although they have established schools and have even passed laws of compulsory attendance, still have a high percentage of illiteracy in their populations. Even without formal education or direct indoctrination, the fact remains that it is the culture that educates and that the members of each group or nation become what their culture makes them. The serious problem that con-

fronts the world arises from the fact that national cultures tend to becomes barriers between nations and to emphasise differences between them which stand in the way of mutual understanding. The idea, " My country, right or wrong," becomes deep-rooted as a consequence. Education, when used as an instrument of nationalistic indoctrination, tends to perpetuate from generation to generation the traditional concept of narrow, aggressive nationalism, and to develop and transmit antagonisms and prejudices. Investigations into the content of textbooks dealing with the Latin-American countries and with Canada, which have been recently conducted in the United States, revealed either an undue emphasis on the more striking and spectacular differences or the inclusion of basically inaccurate information. And these investigations were made after the Good Neighbour Policy had been adopted.

The problem which arises from the practice of using education as an instrument of national policy is not created by the fact that a nation seeks to induct its younger generation into those habits, ways of behaviour, and ways of thinking—in other words, into the culture which makes possible a common language of discourse between its members. The problem is created by the tendency, which has grown more marked in the past century and a half, to indoctrinate national minds with ideals of loyalty and patriotism devoted to the protection of narrow national interests and to foment a certain antagonism between other nations and themselves. Mussolini was not the inventor of the idea " We or they "; too frequently it has been disseminated subtly and unconsciously. Patriotism and loyalty have become confused with military service on the battlefield. Youth has been taught that the greatest glory is to die for one's country, but rarely that sacrifice is also needed to live for it, or that service through the arts of peace may enrich the life of a community, a nation, and humanity.

The general method of inculcating a sense of nationality fully confirms Renan's definition of a nation: " What constitutes a nation is not speaking the same tongue or belonging to the same ethnic group, but having accomplished great things in common in the past and the wish to accomplish them in the future." That a nation is held together by common loyalties to its past and by its hopes for the future is true. But in formal education what has usually been given the chief emphasis among the great things accomplished in the past have been the military victories, territorial expansion, imperialism, or manifest destiny. The great things to be accomplished in the future are too often to redress defeats or to regain territory that has been lost.

The emphasis in the teaching not only of history but of other subjects—geography and literature, for example—has been on the crude, tribalistic concept of nationalism, which, combined with the tradition of historiography, has placed the emphasis on military

history and on national superiority. The heroes of the child are the heroes of the battlefield; the heroes of peace—those men and women of ideas and ideals, the religious leaders, the inventors, the poets, the artists, the writers, the composers, all those who have contributed so much to the improvement and advancement of human welfare and have enriched the heritage of culture for man everywhere—these are generally ignored. And even when they are mentioned, the story of their constructive contributions are not woven into the fabric of the lessons of history as a whole. The inevitable consequence of the emphasis on militarism and military exploits as an expression of nationalism is to develop an emotional attitude not only in favour of war as a national policy, but of hostility to other nations, or, if not hostility, at any rate a feeling of contempt towards members of other races and nations. It is for this reason that the definition of a nation by Huxley and Haddon, in *We Europeans,* comes nearer to the actual facts than many other definitions which have been or are current. Their definition reads as follows: " A nation has been cynically but not inaptly defined as a society united by a common error as to its origin and a common aversion to its neighbours."

From the first—the common error as to its origin—is derived the race theory, which was the keystone of Nazi policy and propaganda; from the second—the common aversion to one's neighbour—comes the practice of grouping members of other nations under unexamined labels and stereotypes. Both attitudes stand as obstacles in the way of a programme of education to promote international understanding.

Is a New Concept of Nationalism Possible?

The discussion of what has been described as " The Menace of Nationalism " does not mean that the national environment and its culture can be disregarded in any system of education. It points rather to the urgent need of substituting for the traditional narrow concept of nationalism a concept which is based on a realisation of the contribution that one's nation has made and can make to human culture and welfare. Pride in one's nation would be no less, if through education children and youth were taught to understand not only that contribution but also the debt owed by every national culture to the cultural heritage of all mankind. That heritage has been accumulated as the result of the contributions of men of all ages, races, and nations. This is as true of art and music as of the humanities and the sciences, which, despite the fact that they bear the imprint of national mentalities and cultures, have become the possession of humanity everywhere.

Education, both formal and informal, cannot avoid starting with the environment in and for which the pupil is being educated. National systems of education have, however, tended to define that

environment too narrowly. The cultural environment is something that grows and expands in range and meanings with the intellectual and emotional growth and development of the human being. Education cannot be put into a strait jacket unless the world is to continue to consist of a congeries of discrete entities with no other interests than their own. National interests are too frequently set above human interests, with the inevitable result that there is established a double standard of morality, which engenders suspicion and mistrust of members of other nations. Justice, fair play, and honourable conduct, however, are ideals which are common to all mankind and transcend boundaries.

The greatest obstacle to the development of international understanding lies in failure to realise that the ideal of internationalism is not something that is in conflict with nationalism or something to be added to other aims of national education. The essential task is to reconstruct the aims of education so that the idea emerges naturally that in the world to-day nations are integral and co-operating parts of a larger whole. Internationalism must, in other words, begin at home, and, unless the traditional separation between national and international concerns is to be perpetuated, there should be no break in gauge between education for nationalism and for internationalism. That separation is becoming illogical in a world in which space and time are being annihilated and "we enjoy the fruits of other nations as readily as we do our own," and also suffer from their misfortunes.

The urgent need of a new direction was recognised in the period between the two wars, when the first attack was made on the problem of school textbooks. In 1925 the League of Nations adopted the Casares Resolution, and in 1932 the Resolutions adopted by the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation, in which proposals were made for the revision of school textbooks in order to secure the elimination from them of all incitements to contempt for or hatred of other nations. There were no suggestions in these proposals that an international censorship of textbooks should be established, but rather that nations should enter into agreements to exchange textbooks in order to discover what revisions might be desirable. This practice was adopted by the nations—Norway, Sweden, Denmark, and Finland—which constituted the Norden Association. Similar efforts were made in the Western Hemisphere following resolutions adopted at the Pan-American Peace Conference held in Buenos Aires in 1936. Finally, the Constitution of UNESCO included in its Preamble the declaration: "That ignorance of each other's ways and lives has been a common cause throughout the history of mankind ot that suspicion and mistrust between the peoples of the world through which their differences have too often broken into war."

Fear of external interference with the educational concerns of a

nation prevented this movement from making any headway. It is not realised as widely as it should be that the plans proposed for the revision of school textbooks have sought to place the responsibility for taking the necessary steps upon each nation. An external authority could serve only as an intermediary between nations in such matters; it could not force any nation to change the content of instruction or of textbooks. The question may arise some time, however, whether a strong international organisation should not be endowed with power to do more than draw the attention of a nation to the desirability of eliminating from its textbooks statements which not only incite to hatred and contempt for other nations, but definitely conduct propaganda in favour of war. A study of the textbooks under the Nazi and Fascist regimes—the extremist forms of nationalism—would have provided convincing evidence of the direction of national policy in Germany and Italy.

The revision of school textbooks would be only a partial measure to prevent incitements to hatred and contempt and the cultivation of war-mindedness. The whole spirit of national education needs to be reformed in a world which is becoming increasingly interdependent. As long as the world continues to be organised in national groups, national systems of education will be inspired by the culture of the nation they serve. That would in any case be a sound educational principle. But there is nothing in that principle that would militate against bringing out the interdependence of that culture with the culture of other nations and of mankind. UNESCO, while it defines in its Constitution the common aims that should guide education everywhere, definitely provides that the independence, integrity, and fruitful diversity of the cultures and educational systems of the States Members of the Organisation shall be preserved. There could not, from the nature of things, be created an international system of education; even the centralisation of the control of national systems is considered undesirable. As Sir Michael Sadler pointed out at the beginning of the present century: "Education is a thing far too closely intertwined with the fibre of national life, too intensely bound with its past history and its social and political conditions for it to be practicable, even if it were desirable, to import an educational system from abroad," or, it may be added, to impose an educational system which does not spring from the soil of its own culture. On another occasion Sir Michael Sadler referred to the English system of education as characterised by "variety set in a national framework." What the world sorely needs is the development of national systems of education set in an international framework. Only as education for international understanding and co-operation is woven into the fabric of national education will there be any hope of giving a new direction to the concept of nationalism.

I. L. Kandel.

CHAPTER THREE

EDUCATION AND ECONOMIC LIFE

Interdependence of Education and Economic Life

THERE are three ways of conceiving the relation between education and economic life. According to the first, propagated by some orthodox Marxists, education belongs to the "ideological superstructure" reflecting in the minds of men the more fundamental and "hard" reality of social life. Marx used to call this true actual basis of every social order "relationships of production" or "economic relationships." He called this economic stratum of social life the "power relationships" between men, which arise on the background of a definite "mode of production," i.e. relation between men and nature. From this point of view, differences in the technique of production may condition those of economic life, but the decisive influence on the development of the economy comes from the property relationships. Those who own and control the means of production possess economic power, and this leads to political and spiritual authority. This class domination is the very essence of the economic order as distinct from technical methods, and the class struggle (i.e. the struggle for economic power) is the chief agent of historical development. It is also the true foundation of political and spiritual life, which are but "ideological superstructure" entirely determined by changes in the economic basis. The function of education is to mould the young generation according to the pattern reflecting the needs and interests of the ruling classes. So far, education is an instrument for maintaining and extending the domination of classes possessing economic, and with it both political and spiritual power. Its changes reflect more fundamental changes in the economy so conceived.

There is, undoubtedly, some truth in this Marxist thesis. Education is, indeed, influenced by the interests, needs, and ways of thinking of the class or classes controlling the production and distribution of wealth. Yet it would be difficult to prove in detail that the education, say, of English public schools at the end of the eighteenth century reflected the class interests of the English gentry and at the end of the nineteenth century those of the bourgeoisie, or, taking another modern example, to show that education in U.S.A. or in U.S.S.R. is nothing else but the reflection of bourgeois and proletarian class interests respectively.

The influence of economic life, conceived as class-struggle and class-domination, on education can hardly be denied. Yet, firstly, it is too general to be able to explain in detail actual changes in

educational theory and practice. Both American and Soviet education have gone through many important changes during the last thirty years, although from the Marxist point of view there were no essential changes in the social structure of either country. Secondly, the class-struggle in the field of education is, first and foremost, a struggle for education, and only in the second place does it lead to changes in the content of education as a consequence of its expansion. Thus we observe such changes both in U.S.S.R. and U.S.A. as a consequence of the tremendous expansion of secondary and higher education which has taken place in these countries during the last thirty years, though in either country the class-rule in the orthodox Marxist view remained the same during this period.

A substantial expansion of educational opportunities, especially in the field of higher education, would be impossible through mere redistribution of the national income. It presupposes an increase of the latter, and this is the reason why a steady actual expansion of education in Russia could occur only after the success of Stalin's *piatiletkas*.[1] The influence of an increase in the national income on the expansion of education is obvious. One need only compare the educational budgets of most modern states, including Russia, during the last half-century to become aware that their absolute growth is much greater than the increase of their relative percentage of the national income as a whole. Thus, one may be induced to understand the development of the economy in a purely quantitative way, and in the same way also to measure the progress of education. From this somewhat capitalist point of view, an analysis of the mutual relations of education and economic life would mean an inquiry into the way in which a growth in national income conditions the progress of education and vice versa—how the progress of education reflects itself in an increase in national income. Nobody would deny that the increase of educational finance, if duly distributed, is a worthwhile investment, and it would be of great importance if the educational statistics of all countries included such items as, e.g., absolute and relative figures of national income as a whole, of its chief components (agriculture, industry, transport, etc.), of educational budgets and of the part they play in central and local public budgets, as well as of expenditure on education by private institutions and endowments, trade unions, co-operatives, etc. Lacking such figures, it is hardly possible to do more than express mere generalities, stating the mutual dependence between the progress of education and the growth of the national income.

Yet there is a third way of conceiving both economic life and education. Economic life can be understood as a concrete whole

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[1] Five-years plans.—Ed.

of manifold relationships in industry and agriculture, as well as in transport, commerce, and finance. These relationships include those between workers, managers, and property-owners, but besides such social relationships and besides those concerning the circulation of commodities and values (notwithstanding Marx's criticism of economic fetishism), they include also psychological and socio-psychological relations as well, such as the attitude of different economic agents—workers, employees, managers and entrepreneurs, farmers, etc.—to their work, the motives and incentives of their economic activity, the influence of the so-called " industrial or human relations," and of the inner structure of enterprises on workers' productivity, etc. Taken in this way as an intricate concrete whole, economic life includes education as one of its components. It could not last in time without tradition, and tradition, be it that of methods and attitudes in the organisation of production and distribution, or that of ways of consumption, involves education. Education is the only means of handing down to the new generation what has been acquired and created by the old. On the plane of social and cultural activities, education plays a rôle analogous to that of procreation and heredity in biology.

" Economic education " as thus defined may do without schools —through the mere participation of the young in the economic activities of the older generation, in the way that millions of farmers or housewives have been, until, now, educated economically, or it may have an institutional character, as, e.g., mediaeval apprenticeship, or be a mere practice without legal forms, as short-term training of workers in Ford's works, or habitual " pick-up " method of learning a job. It may, on the other hand, be equipped with special schools with or without their own workshops; examination boards and other institutions either closely connected with single enterprises or with economic organisations, such as guilds, trade unions, co-operatives, chambers of commerce or industry, co-operative unions, etc., or else provided by public authority, but serving the same purpose of maintaining and enriching the economic tradition. There is a steady interaction between economic life and economic education, so that every essential change in the one causes changes in the other.

Yet economic life, understood in this broader sense, exerts an influence upon the whole of education as well—that is, upon both family and general school education, and not only upon economic education *sensu stricto*. K. Marx in the first volume of *Capital* and Fr. Engels in his pamphlet on the situation of labour in England have given classical analyses of the effects of the industrial revolution in the first quarter of the nineteenth century on family life and on elementary school education. John Dewey has shown in an admirable way how economic development at the end of the same century in U.S.A. required from the school the fulfilment of

educational functions hitherto carried out in the family and in the artisan's workshop. American schools have, indeed, since developed in the direction foreshadowed by the great American educationist. It would not be difficult to give instances of the opposite influence of general education upon economic life. A classical example is that of the folk high schools in Denmark with their eminently liberal education rooted in a national rebirth movement of an outspokenly religious character. The spreading of this education in the second half of the nineteenth century had a decisive influence on the mentality and the character of the Danish farmer, and thus on the development of the farmers' co-operative movement and on the reshaping of Danish agriculture.

The Second Industrial Revolution and its Influence on the Human Factor in Production

In this paper I shall limit myself to the effects of recent changes in European and American economy on education both vocational (" economic " in the sense of that term already defined) and general. These changes are of such great moment that they are often spoken of as the Second Industrial Revolution. It is worth noticing that many effects of this revolution are quite similar in countries of such different social structure as U.S.A., England, France, and even U.S.S.R. We shall see that there are similar tasks which the educational systems of these countries are expected to solve.

Let us recall the main characteristics of this Second Industrial Revolution. Technically, it was conditioned by the substitution of electric power for steam combined with the general use of the internal-combustion engine and various kinds of turbines. These discoveries and many others, as, e.g., new lathes, new spinning machines, the rotary press in printing, and, in general, light portable motors, made possible a growing consolidation of factories, the concentration of processes of production in huge enterprises, numbering many thousands of workers and using miles of new automatic plant. These industrial giants could easily afford research work on a scale hitherto unknown, making technical improvements and discoveries a daily routine work and thus giving to the whole process of production a new character of continuous change and fluidity. The growing application of science, especially in chemical industry, is one of the outstanding features of this, Second Industrial Revolution. The discovery and growing use of new synthetic materials has strengthened again the dynamic character of modern industry. The formidable growth of this machine technique was accompanied by the development of a new technique of the working process, reorganising it on the basis of the principle of internal planning. This rationalisation of industry aimed at the greatest possible elimination of waste of labour, time, and materials

through the analysis of the working process into simple operations and setting them to a single worker as rigid standards on the basis of physiological and psychological research, on the one hand, and through their integration into a rational comprehensive whole, on the other. All this resulted in a growing mechanisation of production, eliminating on a vast scale the workers' hand through automatic-machine operations and in a rapid expansion of the conveyor system which transferred heavy muscular effort to automatic machines and imposed upon the worker an inflexible pace of monotonous partial operation. Analogous changes, aiming at mechanisation and rationalisation of the working processes, have been going on in the communication and distributive trades, as well as in agriculture. All these are undergoing to an ever-increasing degree the process of industrialisation.

The influence of such changes on the human factor in industry was manifold. We may summarise here four points which are of immediate importance to education:

(1) In the first place, we witness a deep transformation of the inner structure of labour whose productivity has been raised to a quite unprecedented degree. Muscular effort being more and more taken up by automatic plant, labour is becoming a strain on the nervous system, a tension of attention, and thus involving mental rather than physical effort. It requires more subtle means for its regeneration: more sleep and better food alone are no longer sufficient. A higher standard of housing is required, more comfort in home-life, a reasonable use of leisure, which again tends to lengthen owing to the continuous shortening of the working hours as a result both of the increased productivity of labour and of the progress of organised labour. What fifty years ago, in respect of housing conditions and leisure opportunities, was the admirable work of a few socially minded factory-owners has now become the normal practice of most large enterprises whose enlightened management is guided by the motive of maximum profit-making.

(2) The other side of the same process may be called " the decay of traditional trades or vocations." I do not mean here the decay of artisanship as an economic form, but the decay of " trade " as a form of life-long occupation possessing its own traditional routine of a rather narrow and rigid character. " Vocation " in this traditional sense is more and more superseded by " jobs " of a changing character whose fluidity is conditioned both by the continuous flux of technical change and by increased fluctuations of the market. A worker in U.S.A. changes his job on the average every four or five years, even if he remains working in the same firm. While a skilled worker of the old generation used rather to change his employer or even the branch of industry in which he was working, and not the routine work to which he was accustomed by long training, the opposite practice seems to be more and more usual with the modern

worker. His very advance as a worker in the same enterprise is now mostly connected with change of job. It is not necessary to point out here how this transformation of rigid trades into changing jobs influences the very structure of the workers' organisations, the old " horizontal " trade unions being more and more superseded by new " vertical " industry unions.

(3) This decay of traditional trades is closely connected with the other aspect of the same process of mechanisation and rationalisation which is often defined as " dequalification of labour " (e.g. H. de Man), and which I should prefer to call its " depersonalisation." Modern psychology has shown that every man has his own individual pace of working activity. Automatic plants ignore these individual differences and impose on all workers in the same shop or even in different shops of the same factory an average speed of working operation fixed by the planning office of the factory as guaranteeing the highest efficiency. Hand in hand with this goes on a growing atomisation of the working process, often reducing the task of a single worker to a simple monotonous movement. Such a worker is a " *bouche-trou vivant de l'automatisme* " [1] fulfilling a task which the research office has not yet succeeded in transferring to a machine. He becomes a mere detail of the working plant, as unaware of the meaning of his work as the photo-electric or other automatic device which to-morrow may make his job superfluous. Indeed, the principle of Taylorism in its early stages was to divorce as completely as possible all manual operations from even the slightest intellectual strain, concentrating the intelligence needed exclusively in the planning office, as the only brains of the whole factory. It is well known that the managements of many large firms saw in this extreme " stupidisation " of labour a guarantee of keeping safe the technical secrets of the firm, and Ford has even proclaimed it as a virtue because it gave jobs to, and thus restored the self-respect of, so many disabled persons otherwise condemned to idleness and public charity.

(4) One might argue that the atomisation of the working process and the depersonalisation of labour were well known long before the Second Industrial Revolution. Adam Smith's famous pin manufacture could be cited, not only as an example of the benefits of the division of labour, but also as an instance of the evils of a far-going atomisation. Yet a worker in Smith's time, though the degree of his exploitation could not be compared with that of a worker in a modern rationalised factory, did not feel himself thrown into and threshed by a soulless mechanism. Besides, he was neither a member of a trade union nor a voter in national or local elections, and he hardly had any schooling at all. He might have rebelled

[1] To use the words of G. Friedmann in his admirable book, *Problèmes humains du Machinisme industriel* (1946).

against the inhuman conditions of his work and life, but he was hardly aware of his depersonalisation, while a modern worker is.

It could be also argued that the changes described affect but a part of the workers—hardly even a majority—and that a substantial part of labour, on the contrary, is now employed in more qualified and responsible jobs than before. Indeed, new automatic machines, surpassing in their subtlety all that was known before, require new kinds of technical personnel: technicians who are able not only to supervise them, but to control and repair them in case of emergency. They feel themselves the masters, and not details of the machines they control. This "new artisanship," as it has been called, plays a growing rôle in modern industry. Competence and responsibility are much more widespread than among skilled workers of old. Of course, when compared to the rank and file of labour, which succumbs to the process of degradation and depersonalisation, workers who rise to the higher ranks of those "sub-professional occupations" are but a minority. But it is a growing minority, while the number of manual workers continually shrinks.

The mechanisation of industry results not only in eliminating a growing number of workers but in shifting labour in new directions. The more the demand for manual workers diminishes, the more does the demand increase for " semi- " or " sub-professionals," to use the new terms. Apart from the above-mentioned industrial "new artisanship," these sub-professions include the growing staff of the planning offices, the research departments and the laboratories of large factories—draughtsmen, designers, operators in laboratories, etc.—as well as the new artisanship occupied in distribution and services—electrical and radio technicians, photographers, graphic artists, etc. The growth of social services of various kinds is another source of increased demand for teachers, nurses, dietitians, social workers, etc. Many such services are directly attached to the larger industrial enterprises, agricultural stations, workers' or co-operative organisations. The steady growth of such services provided or supported from public funds is an indirect, but essential, outcome of the Second Industrial Revolution.

This shifting of labour is but another aspect of that fluidity of labour which, reflecting the definitely dynamic character of modern industry, has been characterised at the beginning of this paper as the decay of the traditional trades. These are superseded in growing degree either by mechanised and depersonalised labour or, on a higher plane, by the "sub-professions," both in industry and in public or social services of various kinds. This continuous displacement of labour is by no means a harmonious process. It generates as its most striking effect steady unemployment, which increases in times of economic depression to a social calamity of an unprecedented scale. The pressure of a steady " army of unemployed " on the labour market has been, it is true, considered by

some economists as a normal phenomena making the capitalist system workable. But, firstly, a formidable increase in numbers leads to a difference in quality, and then again—the new, more subtle structure of labour and the increased social and political strength of the labour movement make the problem of unemployment more and more acute and the realisation of labour's postulate of full-employment and of the general demand for security more and more inevitable. Thence, the generally accepted insurance schemes against unemployment and contradictory—imperialistic or socialist—attempts at fighting its causes. A planned economy, whatever may be its dangers, has, undoubtedly, shown itself as a most efficient means of securing full employment. One cannot discuss here this difficult and politically biased question. Only the changes enforced in the field of education by the necessity for fighting unemployment can be considered. We shall see that in a planned economy these changes belong to the " plan " and are more systematic, while in other countries similar changes are more elemental, but often no less manifest.

Trends in Conditions of Labour, counterbalancing the Effects of the New Industrial Revolution

However, to understand the full meaning of these and other changes in education we have to consider a wider set of trends in labour conditions which counterbalance the effects of the shifting of labour and of its depersonalisation. We shall see that educational changes are but an aspect of these wider tendencies to compensate the evils of the new industrial revolution. Backed, as they are, by labour organisations and by the inner logic of the development of democratic states, these trends are also an economic necessity and become more and more recognised as such by the managers of industry themselves, especially by those who are not blinded by doctrinaire theories. These tendencies may be grouped under three chief headings concerning the technical, social, and human conditions of labour:

(1) We have already mentioned these when characterising the more subtle and fragile structure of modern labour which throws even greater strain on the central nervous system. Its very efficiency, even in the case of extreme atomisation and depersonalisation, not to mention jobs of sub-professional rank, requires both higher standards of home life and shortening of the working hours accompanied by a reasonable use of leisure. It requires also a new environment during work hours: airy and sunny workshops, healthily ventilated and heated, with pleasantly coloured walls. In order to counteract the boredom and mental exhaustion caused by the drudgery of monotonous work, many factories install radio sets or gramophones functioning during working hours. Hygienically and tastefully arranged cafeterias supersede the hawkers at the fac-

tory gates typical of the nineteenth century. Modern workers, even doing a highly specialised and mechanised work, can hardly be compared to the unskilled labour of fifty years ago. The education they have had, even if they have attended only the elementary school, highly surpasses that of their fathers and grandfathers. Somehow they partake in the transformation from heaviness and coarseness to subtleness and delicacy which has been undergone by the machinery they serve. One might be inclined to call this process of humanising the conditions of life of the modern workers a personalisation of labour, if it were not for the growing resentment provoked by the depersonalisation of the job itself.

(2) It is worth noting that this continuous raising of standards of life, though it would be impossible without the steady pressure of labour unions and without political changes which increase the influence of labour in central and local elections, did not meet any reckless opposition on the side of employees. The unprecedented rise in the productivity of labour compensated the increased costs of production. Clearing away old habits together with obsolete plants and machinery, it did not endanger the structure of capitalist enterprise, but rather promised in the long run to increase the profit of stockholders and the share obtained by the managers.

A much greater reluctance on the side of managers has been shown with regard to technical trends tending to counterbalance the effects of the depersonalisation of labour. Under such technical trends, I understand attempts at the organisation of work which tends to reserve the mechanised work for apprentices and beginners, giving them the opportunity of periodical changes in the operations they perform and even of the workshops in which they work, to allow them to get insight into the whole process of production in which they are engaged. Workers may be encouraged to make little discoveries and to design improvements in the working of machinery, thus allowing them to participate in the creative work of management. Such methods compensate soulless drudgery by bringing in more variety and intelligence. Yet they obviously repudiate both the early principles of Taylorism, which wished to make intelligence the exclusive privilege of technical management, and the practice of employers keeping the secrets of the firm concealed from the rank and file. However, recommended by the new generation of psychological experts, by labour organisations, the International Labour Office, etc., it has been tried with success in a growing number of large enterprises, both private and public. It has been adopted on a large scale in Soviet Russia and is spreading in countries of the so-called " people's democracy " as well as in most industrial countries.

(3) We come now to the third, the social group of the trends discussed. The admission of the average worker to share with the management in the creative intelligence of the enterprise already has an obvious social meaning. Closely connected with all these

devices is the securing to every worker of wide opportunities of advance. We shall see later which educational postulates and actual changes in education follow from this principle of opening opportunities of advancement. Such trends tend to the rehabilitation of the worker's personality damaged or endangered by the Second Industrial Revolution. As we have seen, they are far more than mere issues of the "class struggle," of the self-defence of labour against the technocratic aggression. They are conditioned by the necessities of industry itself, by the "logic of efficiency" inherent in a modern industrial enterprise.

As it is impossible to think of an individual without the social group to which he belongs, the process of personalisation of an individual worker must have its correlate in the parallel process of the spiritualisation of the inner structure of industrial enterprise. Considered in its very essence, this process is nothing else but the transformation of a loose "society" of men connected together by the outward pressure of various and even antagonistic, though in some sense convergent, motives and interests (such as stockholders' desire of greater dividends, the managers' drive for higher salaries, combined with aspirations for creative work, the workers' need to take the first job available, etc.) into an actual "community" of fellow-workers united by the creative effort which aims at the realisation of superindividual objective values.

This process manifests itself in the growing differentiation of the bulk of workers. Aside from the division imposed by the employer there is gradually emerging another differentiation of a democratic kind closely connected with the labour organisations, the structure of which, even if it does not coincide with that of the enterprise, has its elected committees, delegates, trustees, and officers. Thus, wide opportunities of social activity are opening up to the workers, especially to those who have an inclination towards social work. This "second field of work"[1] becomes for many a worker of greater importance than his job. The satisfaction it gives him may often wholly compensate the resentment caused by the monotony and drudgery of his job. Even an average worker who does not perform any functions in labour organisations feels more satisfaction in his work if he knows himself backed by his union. To neutralise, even in slight degree, the effects of depersonalisation of labour, the union must be an "independent" one, not created and imposed by the employer, as American "corporation unions," or by the state authorities, as in totalitarian countries. The already-mentioned transformation of horizontal craft unions into vertical industrial unions makes a large modern enterprise a local unit of the national labour organisation and thus a natural field for various local activities.

A further opportunity for social activity is given by the growing

[1] Cf. W. Flitner, *Die Abendhochschule* (1924).

tendency of creating around a modern enterprise various social centres (health centres and hospitals, nurseries and schools, physical culture, holiday and week-end houses, insurance and credit societies, etc.). We find this tendency in U.S.A. as well as in U.S.S.R., where nearly every large industrial enterprise and *kolchoz* maintains or " patronises " various educational institutions. Social activities, together with a share in the profits of the enterprise, thus become, actually and perhaps even legally, a kind of " property rights " of the workers of the enterprise.[1]

Although this development would be impossible without the pressure of organised labour (its " class-struggle "), it coincides with the endeavours of the employers, especially the managers of big corporations, to bind the working personnel more closely to the firm. Such " integration of workers into the enterprise " has become a popular slogan among managers and directors, as experience showed that, after the tremendous rise in the productivity of labour during the first period of rationalisation, a further increase of labour's efficiency began to slacken or even to slow down. The famous investigations into the conditions of labour's efficiency carried out by American psychologists and sociologists in the mammoth works of the Western Electric Company in Chicago initiated the movement of so-called " industrial relations." They showed that the efficiency of labour depends in high degree upon the personal relations between management and workers, as well as upon conditions of family life of the individual worker. The traditional attitude of a remote and exacting authority ought to be replaced by an attitude of fellowship and true leadership. In single workshops and in the factory as a whole an atmosphere of democratic equality, equity, and goodwill must prevail: no differences of rank, only of functions. Managers, foremen, and rank-and-file workers meet at the same lunch-tables and in their leisure time take part in common sports. Special officers provide for the psychological and social care of all employees. According to psychologists and sociologists who have made inquiries on this subject, even minute details in the treatment of employees in a factory can be of the greatest importance for raising the efficiency of labour.[2] Thus the " logic of efficiency " which completed in the period of rationalisation the traditional employer's " logic of costs " has been shown as itself requiring a growing consideration of the " logic of sentiment."

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[1] Cf. Wilbert E. Moore, "The Emergence of New Property Conceptions in America," in *Journal of Legal and Political Sociology*, I, pp. 3–4 (1943).

[2] There already exists a huge literature on this subject. Cf. Georges Friedmann, *Problèmes humains du Machinisme industriel* (1946), and Franziska Baumgarten, *Die Psychologie der Menschenbehandlung in Betriebe* (2nd ed., Zürich, 1946). Both books include a rich bibliography. See also T. N. Whitehead, *Leadership in a Free Society* (Oxford University Press, 1937).

Mr. G. Friedmann, to whom we owe a lucid up-to-date account of the movement of industrial relations, fully recognising its achievements, expresses as follows what he calls its "practical limits." "One can recognise that it succeeded in the most fortunate cases in integrating the worker into the enterprise considered as a collective whole of organisation, technics, social works, but it was unable to transform it into a (true) association of men linked together by common aims and sentiments, of men equal in dignity and rights." [1] Such transformation is, according to Mr. Friedmann, necessary in order to achieve a full "adherence" (adhesion) of workers to their enterprise without which a further substantial increase in labour's efficiency seems to be less and less possible. Such full adherence presupposes two fundamental changes in the attitude of working personnel which "industrial relations" alone are unable to achieve: firstly, the awareness of working not for the profit of private and mostly unknown persons, but for needs and aims having a higher social value, and secondly, participation in the responsibilities of management.

But even without going so far as to hope for a full adherence of the average worker to his enterprise, the necessity to seek for new incentives becomes more and more urgent. The incentives to work traditional in capitalism were fear of unemployment, meaning starvation, and the desire of getting higher wages in order to raise a wretched standard of life. The more labour movements and political radicalism succeed in implementing social security, comprehensive social services and fair wages guaranteeing a higher standard of life, the more those old incentives to work are fading. We observe this not only in England, but even in U.S.A., where the growing discipline of the workers' unions often makes all proposals of extra pay for increased productivity or longer hours futile. The average worker begins more and more to prefer longer leisure to increased pay. There is but one incentive to be substituted for the obsolete ones, and that is social service, a highly spiritualised motive compared with the traditional whips of starvation and poverty. It may be strengthened by public rewards and honours for outstanding achievements, as it is successfully practised on a large scale in U.S.S.R., but, nevertheless, it is essentially a moral motive of a rather autonomous nature, and not having the character of an outward pressure. This impending, and in many countries quite imminent, spiritualisation of the incentive to efficient work fits completely into the general process of personalisation and re-spiritualisation of industry which I have tried to describe. We shall presently see what educational postulates it implies.

The change in the motive to efficient work seems to strengthen the position of those who, like Mr. Friedmann, think of substituting

[1] Op. cit., p. 343.

social aims for private profit and the responsible co-operation of workers for their reckless subordination as the conditions of a full adherence of labour to the enterprise. A socialist would surely agree with Mr. Friedmann, though " industrial democracy " is for him, first and foremost, a postulate of social justice and not of efficiency. A capitalist adept of " industrial relations " would satisfy himself with educating both workers and managers in the spirit of co-operation and team-work as well as in the arts of management and industrial leadership.[1] But a socialist would be right in arguing that industrial relations, dependent as they may be upon the education of single persons, cannot be left in the long run to the chance of an enlightened management being willing to practise them, and that the very practice of successful industrial relations will necessarily result in their institutionalisation. Industrial democracy is nothing else but an institutionalisation of the new "industrial relations." It is the permeation of the inner structure of industrial enterprise with the elements of law which give to all co-partners in the industrial process definite rights and duties and, thus, definite " property rights " in the enterprise.

This highly controversial question cannot be properly discussed here. I have tried elsewhere to show that socialism is, first and foremost, a transformation of the inner structure of productive property, and not the mere substitution of a " collective " owner for a " private " one. It means the superseding of the power relationships which determine in capitalism the structure of an industrial enterprise by relationships based on law. According to a well-known definition of Marx, capitalism is the economic order in which labour is treated as a commodity. If this definition be true, as I think it is, the actual and not a sham overcoming of capitalism must include as its very essence the personalisation of labour and thus the spiritualisation of the structure of the enterprise, this latter process being, as has just been shown, closely related to the other. On the other hand, if it be true that this process largely consists in substituting a regime of law for a regime of power in the structure of a modern industrial enterprise, its very success depends in a growing degree upon the corresponding changes in education. We shall see that these changes tend both to personalise and spiritualise the education of large masses of people, so that education reveals itself as deeply involved in the process of transformation of the modern economic system.

Educational Tasks issuing from the Second Industrial Revolution

The educational postulates issuing from the trends in labour's conditions already described are manifold. They could be treated

[1] A rich bibliography (in English, French, and German) on the subject of education for " industrial leadership " can be found in the already cited book by F. Baumgarten.

conveniently under the same headings as the changes they " reflect " or in which they are involved.

(1) To begin with, demands directly involved in what I have called the technical aspects of the changes (decay of old trades, fluidity of new jobs, desirability of periodical changes in the kind of operations and of getting insight into the whole process of production) result in the postulate of a " polyvalent" or " polytechnic " education based broadly on a scientific outlook.

Modern technical education, says M. H. Luc, inspector of technical education in France, "gives up the idea of a narrow specialisation of a providential, I almost said absurd, marriage of human nature and a craft (*métier*) that will possibly no longer exist to-morrow." [1]

Quoting him, Mr. G. Friedmann summarises the requirements of modern technical education in the following words: " All the most reliable economic and statistical inquiries have shown the necessity for a new, methodical, and complete apprenticeship to the large mass of youth. This would be, at the same time, the most efficient instrument to counterbalance steady technological changes, to make the young worker adapted to them beforehand and to allow him to overcome the stupidity of highly partialised operations in order that he may find behind and through them a deeper sense, an intellectual value, a unity." For " nearly all problems posed by practical work in a modern workshop are problems of intelligence. To be able to solve them, the development of a definite manual skill does not suffice. It must be accompanied by an enlargement and deepening of the intelligence of the worker " (H. Luc). This is the reason why " new forms of vocational education must emerge, combining in a careful manner theoretical notions, a broad view of technology, on the one hand, and a practical training, especially the training of attention, on the other." [2]

Such a conception is strongly opposed both to the traditional apprenticeship of artisans with its waste of time and to the forms of training in rationalised factories tending to adjust labour to new mechanised plants in the shortest time and at the smallest costs. Both of these have met with growing opposition on the part of labour organisations, even so different in their political approach as, e.g., American Federation of Labour or French Confederation Générale du Travail, pointing out that the *dressage* to which they reduce industrial education entirely ignores not only the human interests of the young worker, but also, in the long run, the interests of the industry itself. Many compulsory " continuation schools " in Central Europe or *cours professionnels in France* have not yet overcome the narrowness of this kind of vocational instruction. On the other hand, in countries with a rapid and yet far from com-

[1] H. Luc, *Les Problèmes actuels de L'Enseignment Technique* (Presses de l'Ecole Estienne, 1939, p. 26).

[2] Friedmann, op. cit., pp. 220, 234, 360.

plete industrialisation, a short-term technical conditioning (*dressage*) of a large number of backward peasant youth, drained from the country into industry, is an historical necessity. We shall see how Soviet Russia, and more recently Poland, are trying to counteract the negative side of such training. There is nothing here of the ambitious pseudo-scientific belief, current at the beginning of industrial psychotechnics, which pretends to be able to make definite and infallible diagnoses of the individual abilities which predestine a man to a lifelong occupation of a narrow, highly monotonous kind.

Only a polyvalent or polytechnic education, based on a broader scientific outlook, can guarantee every worker the opportunity of advancement as well as of participation in discoveries and improvements, both of which are, as we have shown, essential means for the "re-spiritualisation" of labour. It makes also re-education in case of a change of job much easier and less worrying. "A vocational plasticity of labour must correspond to the technical plasticity of modern industry—says G. Friedmann—a polyvalent apprenticeship must correspond to the polytechnism of a modern mechanised workshop which, owing to the steady technical progress, is in a state of continuous transformation."[1]

(2) Changes in the social aspect of labour conditions concern in the first place what is usually known as education for co-operation. Already new techniques often require work in groups, and the efficiency of such work presupposes a highly developed team-spirit. The necessity of education in "co-operative activities" has been rightly emphasised by the leading organisation of British Industrialists in their report published in 1933. In this document, which *The Times* described as remarkable, British industrialists lay stress on the fact that new methods of work in rationalised factories require a new discipline implying a high degree of conscious co-operation.[2] The best way of developing such team-spirit is the fostering in schools of various "corporate activities," as was already demanded for the senior stage of compulsory education by the Hadow Report (1926). Corporate activities were at first cultivated in public schools as belonging to a complete education; they have spread recently to secondary day schools and are generally recognised as a necessary element of a liberal education. They must cease to be a requisite of education destined only for the privileged few and ought to become a basic element of education for all. We see this point of view winning general recognition everywhere in Europe and America, and in U.S.S.R. as well. It becomes more and more evident that a modern school implies two lines of pupils' activities—the line of the "task work" (the "lessons" both collective in the class and individual in the library, or laboratories, or workshops) and that of the "play" or "leisure," i.e. of voluntary

[1] Op. cit., p. 233.
[2] Cf. Educational Supplement to *The Times*, 1933, No. 4.

activities of pupils in their self-governed free organisations.[1] If such a structure is peculiar to secondary schools only, then secondary education ought to become accessible to all. We have seen that the fostering of the motive of service instead of the motive of personal gain and profit begins to be an economic and not only a social necessity. To achieve this, it would be necessary to fill the traditional form of corporate activities with new content. Important as they are, sports and athletic games cannot be the main area for these corporate activities at school. Amateur work in science and technology, literature, and art must be given a more important place, as well as social work, including mutual help of pupils both in studying and supplying one another with the commodities needed for work and play.

Apart from this practical training in corporate activities there is another aspect of education for social life that is of special importance in the period of apprenticeship and in adult education as well. Already " polyvalent " technical education implies giving insight into the whole process of production in a given branch of industry (" from raw material to the finished product "), and thus requires the knowledge of what may be called the social background of the working process. This would include knowledge of all the items of workers' contracts, of the economic structure of the enterprise, of the functioning of labour organisations, their rights and duties, of various committees including workers as members, of various methods of paying and calculating wages, etc. And at least an elementary knowledge of the social background of his job is indispensable for every modern worker, and that all the more as his " adherence " to the enterprise becomes the condition of increased efficiency. Those who feel vocation for social work as their " second field of activity," and especially adult employees functioning as shop-stewards and members of various committees or councils inside or outside the enterprise, ought to be provided with opportunities of more detailed instruction in the special field of their social activity. In the majority of cases this task until now has been accomplished by labour organisations, and in many countries there is a tendency to co-ordinate their efforts with the curricula of continuation schools, vocational courses, and technical colleges maintained by educational authorities. The linking of education for social work with that in polyvalent techniques can be of great merit, especially if both the technique of production and the social background of the job are treated with a broader scientific and sociological outlook respectively. Besides strengthening the motive of social service in a young worker, it may also become an efficient agent of personal culture.

(3) Training in corporate activities is also of great importance in

[1] Cf. writer's article in the *Year Book of Education*, 1948, pp. 384 ff.

education for leisure. We thus come to the third, the human, aspect of changes in labour's conditions. Interests and habits acquired in corporate games and amateur work in pupils' clubs will, given favourable conditions, endure in adult age and will have undoubtedly the most positive effect upon the way an average worker may use his leisure. The task of adult education will be to make certain that the acquired cultural interests and hobbies do not wither away, and thus to secure facilities for what may be called the "self-realisation of personality."

The growth of leisure-time is closely connected with the growth of wants as well as by the general rise of the standard of life. Together with the steadily changing supply of new commodities, services, and household machinery, it makes necessary a new education in home economics. As a matter of fact, keeping pace with the tremendous dynamism of modern production entirely justifies the demand of an "education of the consumer." The old "pick-up" method of consumer's education rather perpetuates traditional prejudices and noxious habits and is no longer sufficient. As the organisation of consumption will also in the future remain mostly in the charge of women, the education of girls in rational consumption becomes a growing necessity in proportion to the growing demand for relieving women from the drudgery of traditional housework. Consumption will have to be based on a broad scientific outlook, just as its counterpart—modern production—uses new rationalised methods.

The spreading of new ways of consumption, together with education for leisure, will have a salutary effect both upon the health of the masses of working people and upon the development of industry itself. New wants, increasing the demand for commodities and services, will steadily enlarge the inner market for a long time ahead, and thus will counterbalance the danger of unemployment issuing from the growing rationalisation and mechanisation of industry. Education for consumption, resulting as well in its rationalisation and mechanisation, will also have, as mentioned, a most salutary effect upon the situation of women. It will enlarge for them opportunities for independent work and spiritualised leisure, and will thus help to transform the housewife's work into what has been called above a "second field of activity," or even making of it a hobby.

One's daily work or job, one's social activity or "second field of work," one's leisure activity, i.e. "avocation work" or amateur and hobby activities—these three possible kinds of man's activity can and ought to become both starting-points and fulcra of a true personal culture.

New Trends in Industrial and General Education

The ways in which the educational tasks already described are being realised in modern school-systems are manifold. I must here

limit myself, first, to common trends in the changes going on in educational systems of the industrially most advanced countries, and, secondly, to the more detailed account of the most characteristic ways in which those tasks are being dealt with.

To begin with, the most striking fact in advanced industrial countries is a tremendous expansion of technical school education in the broadest meaning of this term, including trade and technical, commercial and agricultural classes, and classes in home economics and housewifery. While, at the end of the last century, the attendance in all industrial schools and classes, including part-time classes (but excluding schools of college and university grade), was—in Germany, Switzerland, and Scotland, then the leading countries in this respect—about 150 per 10,000 inhabitants, the respective numbers in 1914 were 300 and in 1930 already 400, in Switzerland even 450 per 10,000. The following numbers indicate the same progress in some other countries: England and Wales, 50–200–246; Sweden, 40–61–304; Belgium and Holland, 40–91–198 and 30–72–184 respectively; U.S.A., 5–20–105; Russia, 5–16–95; France and Poland, 4–5–57 and 5–20–68 respectively. This means that during the first three decades of our century attendance in technical classes of all kinds (including part-time schools and evening classes) has trebled in Germany and Switzerland, increased by five in England, by eight in Holland, by fifteen in France, and by twenty in U.S.A. and U.S.S.R. In the decade after 1930 attendance in all technical classes in the U.S.A. again nearly doubled itself (reaching 200 per 10,000) and in England attained 370 per 10,000. It would hardly be an exaggeration to say that in countries with an attendance of more than 400 per 10,000, technical education has become practically universal. In Switzerland after 1930 it was even made compulsory for rural youth as well. In the decades between the two World Wars industrial part-time education has been made compulsory for the urban youth occupied in industrial and distributive trades, as well as in factories and communication, in most European countries, and in many of them (e.g. in Austria, Czechoslovakia, Holland, Sweden) it has become universal.

With this tremendous increase in numbers there is a strongly marked tendency to raise qualitative standards. While the average trade and craft school of the nineteenth century was based on a poor elementary school with a curriculum hardly going beyond the three R's, the modern trade and industrial school presupposes a higher elementary or " intermediate " education. The old method was to teach an aggregate of fixed, routine precepts, considering only the demands of future consumers of the trade being taught, without any broader scientific or social outlook. The pupil had only to reproduce faithfully what he was shown by his teacher who, in turn, reproduced the traditional patterns without being able to explain the scientific foundations of his precepts. The routine

work inculcated in such a mechanical way could hardly contribute to the inward development of the pupil's personality, which indeed was often expressly forbidden in order that the education given in trade and craft schools " might not raise the children of the people above their stations and business in life." It has been to the great merit of G. Kerschesteiner in Germany and of John Dewey in America to show that even quite a common trade can be taught as if it were a microcosm reflecting and disclosing in its structure a broader whole of natural and social relationships, and that such teaching might contribute both to the enlargement of the pupil's personality and to the spiritualisation of the trade itself, raising it up to a vocation.

However, to realise this aim was a task much more difficult than to formulate it. Besides financial difficulties (a modern technical school, even with part-time attendance, requires its own expensive premises, plants, machines) there were social handicaps—the great majority of employers opposed every increase in hours to be spent by their apprentices in school, and this view was backed by majorities in parliaments and town councils. It was often necessary to overcome the reluctance of parents and even of the young themselves to have compulsory schooling prolonged. And, last but not least, the experiments in realising new technical schools of a new kind, which would be able to give to the bulk of working youth not the traditional routine training, but a modern technical education, need teachers of a new kind with a modern preparation, especially in technical subjects. To be successful the new technical education must be of tertiary grade, its curriculum presupposing an intermediate school at the secondary level.

Although only England and Scotland have legally introduced (1944) secondary education for all children in the age range 11–15 as a basis for a compulsory tertiary education of a vocational character, the expansion of secondary education can be observed in many other countries. In U.S.A. the movement for the " 6 + 3 + 3 plan " initiated during the First World War resulted in an enormous increase of the high school (especially junior high school) enrolment. In 1940–1 it surpassed 7 millions, so that, roughly speaking, at present about two-thirds of the children of high-school age receive education at secondary level. An analogous increase is shown in the educational statistics in U.S.S.R.[1]

Such instances, which could be easily multiplied, show that the expansion of secondary education necessarily results in the change of traditional curriculum and of the whole structure of the secondary school. The new " modern " school, compulsory for all children of the 11–15 age-group, cannot remain the same as the " grammar "

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[1] Cf. the article by E. N. Medynsky in *The Year Book of Education, 1948*, pp. 408–10.

school of the beginning of this century, serving only 5 per cent. or 10 per cent. of children. Obviously, it must lose its bookish character and become more closely connected with concrete life, yet without losing " culture " as its proper aim. Indeed, the enlarging of the notion of culture from what has been something almost exclusively intellectual or even literary, to something artistic and social culture is the most characteristic feature of this process of change.

Although the overwhelming majority of children in most countries leave the secondary school at 15, the numbers of youth finishing the whole course of secondary school and going on to some form of higher industrial education (technical, economic and commercial, agricultural) have increased enormously in the decades between the wars. In U.S.A. it has trebled, surpassing in 1939 210,000 students (in industrial schools of college rank only), so in U.S.S.R. it has increased four times, attaining in 1939 200,000 students in establishments of the same kind. But also in other countries with advanced industrialisation it displays an unprecedented increase.

This expansion of technical education of college rank has influenced its inner structure. The most characteristic change is perhaps a co-operation, closer than ever, between technical high schools and colleges with industrial enterprises. Study is less bookish, students do practical work not only in the laboratories and workshops of the college, but in factories, agricultural stations, and farms as well. They begin their practical work in order to experience the details of the process of production, to get a deeper and more comprehensive insight into the whole of the processes, and to understand better the human factor in industry, its rôle, attitude, and wants. The human factor, and on the whole the social background of the process of production, is taking a larger place in the curricula of industrial colleges, which at the beginning of the century used to limit their teaching to pure technical problems.

Finally, as a third substantial change connected with the expansion of higher industrial education, one might mention its democratisation. It loses the former rigidity of the matriculation requirements and enlarges the traditional base of recruitment. Graduates of technical secondary schools have at present, in most cases, open access to technical colleges which, as late as in the first decade of this century, and in many countries even after the First World War, used to require the traditional matriculation (" maturity ") examination in exclusively " liberal " subjects.

More and more students are coming " from the workshop," being allowed to enter the college at an older age, after years of factory work, on the ground of qualifications obtained in evening part-time classes and in their practical experience. The U.S.S.R. leads in this respect. Apart from the normal secondary school system there is at work a parallel evening school system for adults, picking out the most gifted among the young workers and thus opening to them

pportunities for higher, and in most cases technical, education. In 946–7 these " young workers' schools " numbered 370,000 pupils, f whom 24,000 were preparing for their matriculation examination. Similar experiments are being tried in Poland and in the other people's democracies " anxious to get for their nationalised indusries new leaders not only of working-class extraction, but possessng workers' experience. Yet it would be unfair to ignore the nalogous development in Western liberal democracies, where more nd more hundreds and even thousands of young workers are geting into technical colleges through the side-channels of evening lasses, workers' residential colleges, correspondence courses, and ther facilities of so called " further education." Not only in ngland, with her Socialist Government and democratically minded ocal authorities, but also in the U.S.A., central and local educational uthorities are taking over in a growing degree the tasks which until ecently were performed almost exclusively by trade unions and oluntary educational bodies (maintaining of part-time classes and ourses, of workers' colleges, provision of scholarships, etc.). The further education " becomes more and more a side-road for the ducation of leaders and managers of industry, in the wider sense f the term, including also distributive trades, communication, and griculture.

Main Types of Industrial Mass Education

Yet the chief task of " further education " remains the education f the bulk of the young workers. Without entering into details I hall try to characterise some types of its organisation.

Though the English type of industrial mass education is the ldest, the Middle European type of " vocational continuation chool " was the first to be introduced as compulsory. There were, ven at the end of the last century, some attempts at organising vening classes for young artisan apprentices (e.g. such a continuaion school was founded in Prague in the 'seventies), but it would be ardly an exaggeration to say that the first clear and consistent coneption of vocational continuation school was formulated by G. Kerschensteiner at the beginning of the present century. He was hen supervisor of the municipal schools in Munich, and had the dea of transforming existing continuation schools—the task of which was to make good the shortcomings of compulsory elementary ducation—into vocational part-time schools. The purpose of hese *berufliche Fortbildungsschulen* was to give to apprentices and oung workers a further education which would be more concrete nd thus more attractive while, on the other hand, it would enlarge nd spiritualise their job. This type of part-time education exanded very rapidly during the first quarter of the century everywhere in Middle Europe, especially in Germany, Austria (and later Czechoslovakia), Switzerland, overlapping also into Sweden,

Holland, and, though much more slowly, in Poland and Hungary. Before the First World War the attendance at such schools was made compulsory in many urban areas in Germany, Austria, and Switzerland.

The quality of this part-time education did not always correspond to its quantitative success. An average continuation school usually attached to an elementary school and using in the evening its premises could not be very attractive to youth. The short time available (mostly eight hours a week), together with the lack of proper accommodation for work and play, excluded the application of creative methods and corporate activities. Teaching remained mostly " chalky," and a true synthesis of vocational and general subjects could not be achieved because of the lack of suitable teachers. Part-time pupils were taught in part-time premises by part-time teachers, either elementary teachers having no touch with vocations, or practical technicians having no understanding of the problems of education and culture.

The unrest following the First World War gave a powerful impulse to the development of industrial mass education, especially in Germany and Austria. The Weimar Constitution (1918) called the *Fortbildungsschule Berufsschule* and made them compulsory for all working youth, at least in urban areas. To vocational subjects were added social subjects (citizenship, elements of economy), to be taught on a larger scientific and sociological basis. Yet the highest point of this development was the industrial continuation schools founded in the early 'twenties in Vienna by Otto Glöckel, then director of the education department of the Socialist local Government. Without increasing the hours of compulsory attendance, limited by the all-Austrian legislation to eight hours weekly, he went on to remove all shortcomings of pre-war continuation schools. The success of this large-scale experiment was due in a great degree to the high standard of the Viennese intermediate schools and, not least, also to the adequate training and zeal of the teaching staff. Yet the Viennese experience has shown that a part-time education can, under favourable conditions, ensure for the young a genuine culture of mind and body, opening to them the path to self-realisation of personality. To achieve this it must combine work, the social background of work, and leisure, as three basic elements of a comprehensive education.

While vocational education in Central Europe was patronised and regulated by the State from the very beginning, in England, which may be called a pioneer in this field, it was the result of an elemental movement of the working masses themselves.

The British tradition of technical instruction, issuing from the mechanics' institutes, has been growing as an organic part both of English industry and of the English labour movement. It was shaped by both, and in turn it greatly influenced both, supplying

lustry with growing numbers of highly skilled workers and ing to the labour movement—at least until the beginning of the v century—its character of trade and craft unions. From the y beginning until now, the principal features of this long tradi- n remained the same. One of the most striking of these has n the great variety and plasticity of technical courses shaped by ual demand and thus closely adapted to the concrete needs of ustry, especially of the major trades. Closely connected with s feature was the outstanding utilitarian approach of both pupils l teachers to the subject taught. Tired as he was after a full 's work, the student naturally wished to get the knowledge or ll desired in the shortest possible time and at the least cost. He s ready to pay fees and to undertake the necessary effort in the e of acquiring the qualification demanded for promotion in his . He regarded this effort as training in the job or as a means of ting a better job, but not as education. His whole attitude was t of self-help in life, or struggle for better conditions of work, l not of enlargement or of self-realisation of personality.

No wonder that the Workers' Educational Association, aiming at king together various efforts to promote education among the rking class, defined its objective in strong opposition to the racterised tradition of workers' technical instruction, refusing n to name the latter " an education," and reserving this term lusively for " adventures of mind " which " enlarge and develop n's personality " quite independently of, and often in opposition his job.

This conception harmonised much too well with the traditional nception of liberal education dominant in public schools and picious of every practical or interested learning. It seems to be of the causes of failure of H. A. L. Fisher's attempt of a trans- ntation to England of the " German conception of continuation iool " desiring to unite in the same process of education the essities of job and man's longing for inner freedom. And it ears rather paradoxical that G. Kerschensteiner himself used to phasise that his conception of continuation school had two irces: the mediaeval craft tradition and the postulate of the unity brains and hand, which he had found in the writings of such a uine English thinker as Ruskin.

However, the most recent development seems to bring both tradi- ns of technical education, the " English " and the " German," rer together. From the late twenties onwards there is found in gland a growing tendency to concentrate a great variety of lt educational opportunities under one roof. More and more hnical colleges and institutes, which formerly had narrow tech- al curricula, now include liberal studies and recreative activities order to make attendance more attractive and the teaching better ted to the character of their young students. On the other hand,

educational settlements and centres for adult education, in order to make their liberal studies more concrete and vivid, begin to change their traditional academic approach. Instead of abstract courses in sociology or economics they try, with tutorial classes and courses, a limited topic of a practical character (e.g. "The causes of unemployment"), ascending from these concrete problems to more general facts and views. Following the successful example of the Y.M.C.A. they include in their work practical courses such as typewriting, commercial correspondence, foreign languages with practical bias, etc., and quite often they allow their premises to be used for technical courses organised by various local committees. Considering this development, Lord Eustace Percy forecast already in 1932 the "local college" as a comprehensive centre of post-school education combining under one roof various opportunities of liberal, social, and technical education as well as recreative activities.

"County" or "young people's colleges," mentioned in the Education Act, 1944, wish to realise this same idea on the basis of a part-time attendance during working hours, compulsory for all young persons until the age of 18. Their work has to include physical, practical, and vocational training of a kind that "will enable them to develop their various aptitudes and capacities and will prepare them for the responsibilities of citizenship."

But they do not need to limit the educational opportunities they give to the few hours of compulsory attendance. Rather should they follow the pattern of Viennese continuation schools, laying their main stress on voluntary activities beyond the hours of compulsory attendance, and being much more youth settlements for the culture of the mind than schools with a rigid curriculum. Fortunately, such seems to be the opinion of the English Ministry of Education.

"A synthesis between the utilitarian and the cultural" and more stress to be laid on "informal leisure-time opportunities"—these are the main objectives of the planned county colleges. Voluntary adult education is meant as a direct prolongation of the work of county colleges, having the same threefold structure, i.e. combining culture of the mind (science, sociology, philosophy, art) with utilitarian objectives (refresher, re-education, management courses in technical and social topics) and recreative activities (sport, art, theatre) overlapping and interlacing each other. According to a Ministry of Education pamphlet, in the smaller towns county colleges ought to have premises able to accommodate educational activities for both young people and adults.[1]

Technical education in Soviet Russia appears at first sight to be very different from that of U.S.A. While in America it is given, for the greater part, in ordinary secondary schools, in U.S.S.R. secondary schools exclude from their curricula all kinds of voca-

[1] Cf. Ministry of Education pamphlet No. 8, "Further Education," His Majesty's Stationery Office (1947), pp. 196, 199, 204.

tional training. The characteristic principle of Soviet education is that technical training must have a broad and solid basis of general culture. A premature blending of general and of vocational education is considered as detrimental to both.

This principle is by no means only a theoretical assertion, but is based on many years of experience. In the first, experimental period of Soviet educational policy many Russian and Ukrainian educationists attempted to realise Marx's idea of a "polytechnic" education, combining theoretical studies and practical work in factories, in a much too literal and one-sided way. Some of them, especially in the Ukraine, even tried to transform all schools above the common seven-years basis into vocational schools, transferring them from the control of educational authorities to that of the different industrial State trusts. The most radical form of this "polytechnism," represented in Moscow by W. Shulghin, went so far as to predict a "withering away" of the school as a separate institution and its complete merging into the industrial system, each school becoming a department of a factory or of some industrial unit.

All these experiments, a sort of revolt against traditional education, were highly destructive and could not be fitted into a work of reconstruction. With the beginning of the constructive period of industrialisation under the leadership of Stalin, they were obliged to give way to old-fashioned, but also more reliable, methods of training the specialists and qualified workers so badly needed in all fields of Soviet industrial and cultural life. The urgent task was to stop constant change, to introduce order into school life, and to set minimal standards of work, gradually raising the required standards. Uniform standards, indeed, seemed to be the only means of raising the quality of school work.

Being first and foremost an economic necessity, the principle of a uniform curriculum in secondary education found further justification in the idea of a "common school," securing for everybody equal educational opportunities. In particular, the children of rural areas might by such means be less handicapped than would be the case with an early vocational differentiation. Accordingly the curriculum of the seven-years school, which is thought of as the compulsory minimum, is supposed to include fundamentals of general culture.[1]

Secondary vocational schools, following the seven-years school,

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[1] See for more details the writer's article in the 1948 volume of the *Year Book of Education* (pp. 382 ff.), where the reader will find also the articles by Prof. E. N. Medynsky giving first-hand information about the education in U.S.S.R. The strict separation of vocational from secondary schools was a characteristic feature of Russian education before 1917, the great majority of vocational schools having been even under the control of other ministries than the Ministry of Education (Ministry of Trade, Ministry of Agriculture, Ministry of Transport, etc.). Cf. N. Hans, *History of Russian Educational Policy, 1700–1917* (London, 1937).

have a four- (or in some cases three-) years curriculum in which, besides vocational subjects and practical work, one finds "general" subjects, such as literature, mathematics, physics, chemistry, science. As these subjects are taught mostly in the same "academic" way as in the senior stage of non-vocational secondary schools (classes 8–10/11), the curricula of secondary vocational schools resemble in many respects the vocationally biased curricula of American high schools.[1]

In the same way as the latter, they train technicians, draughtsmen, agricultural instructors, etc., and prepare for sub-professional occupations (e.g. teachers of primary schools, qualified nurses, etc.), thus doing the work which in the U.S.A. is being done also by junior colleges. Owing to the growing demand for technical personnel of this middle rank, the number of secondary vocational schools is rapidly increasing. In 1946–7 the attendance surpassed one million students, of which nearly 40 per cent. were trained for industrial occupations (technical and agricultural).[2]

Study of the secondary schools in U.S.S.R. discloses another important trend which, in spite of the apparent difference "in principle," makes it fulfil the function of the "pre-vocational" training given in American junior high schools. The pre-vocational training in the latter belongs, as we have just seen, to the "elective" part of the curriculum. In Soviet intermediate (classes 5–7) and senior secondary schools (classes 8–10 or 11) a similar task is being fulfilled through extra-curricular activities in various voluntary circles, committees, and clubs working with the help of the school management and under the discreet control of the teaching staff. Such amateur circles as "Young Naturalist," "Young Agriculturists," "Young Gardeners," "Young Electrotechnicians," etc., did an admirable work during the war and are now, in growing degree, recognised as an integral part of secondary education. In the majority of rural and in many urban schools "Young Naturalists" or "Young Gardeners" have at their disposal a garden or even an experimental field. And in some of the larger towns there are central children's libraries and reading-rooms, palaces and houses of "Young Pioneers," where members of voluntary circles and clubs may get information and instruction in their voluntary "pre-vocational" activities. In spite of the alleged uniformity of the formal curriculum, the actual practice is developing in the direction of

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[1] The "full secondary school" is at present passing through a period of transition from ten- to eleven-years curriculum, and in some Soviet Republics secondary schools already number eleven grades.

[2] To this group also belong about seventy-five schools maintained by Republican and district co-operative unions ("co-operative technicums," with a three-years course). They train qualified personnel for distributive occupations and food industry (accountants, planners, managers of co-operative stores, restaurants, hostels, bakeries, etc.).

differentiation, allowing what H. Wallon calls " vocational orientation," and what I have called elsewhere " dynamic selection."

This tendency seems to grow stronger and even to extend over the formal secondary curriculum, breaching thus its rigidity. It is backed in the first place by the interests of Soviet agriculture, itself undergoing rapid industrialisation. The application of new scientific methods of plant cultivation and cattle breeding requires not only a large army of agricultural technicians working as instructors in rural areas, but also a growing number of educated and vocationally trained farmers to exercise competent and efficient leadership in the kolkhozs, sovkhozs, machine stations, and rural co-operatives. To give such elementary or rather fundamental training in agricultural activities ought to be the task of the rural seven-years schools. According to most projects discussed during the last two years in leading educational and agricultural papers the implementation of this task requires:

(1) Extension of the network of rural intermediate (" seven-years ") schools, with sufficient accommodation for agricultural theoretical and practical teaching.

(2) Introduction of a supplementary year of vocational training with a regionally differentiated curriculum, or at least of one or two agricultural subjects in the seventh grade, which could be selected by pupils not going on to senior school.

(3) Closer linking of the material taught in the scientific subjects with agricultural problems, yet " without prejudicing the general educational character of the subjects."

(4) Fostering of voluntary pre-vocational activities of pupils in scientific and agricultural circles.[1]

It is more likely that some of these postulates will soon be implemented, since the Central Committees of the Communist Party and of the Union Government have issued, in 1947 and 1948, decrees concerning improvements in the organisation of the kolkhozs and aiming at a substantial increase in their agricultural productivity. The last of these decrees lays special stress on the agricultural training of rural youth.

Even some years earlier, on the eve of the war, similar measures were taken to train skilled labour needed in industry. The decree on " Labour Reserves of the U.S.S.R." issued in 1940, settled two principal ways of industrial mass-education: (1) vocational schools with a two- (rarely a three-) years course to train qualified workers for different branches of industry and transport (especially railways), and (2) factory schools with a six- to twelve-months course to train workers for mass trades. Though these schools (especially those with two-years course) include in their curriculum a few hours for general subjects (Russian and arithmetic), they are

[1] Cf. *Year Book of Education, 1948*, pp. 388 ff.

considered rather as vocational and not educational centres, and as such are controlled not by education authorities but by the management of the larger enterprises, higher industrial authorities, and trade unions under the general administration of a special "All-Union Office of Labour Reserves" created in 1940 and reorganised in 1946 into a Ministry. They get their pupils (of either sex) mostly from rural youth between 14 and 17 years, who have had no opportunity of attending more than four primary school grades.[1]

The pupils of all these schools are considered as belonging to the workers' staff of the industrial units and are paid chiefly in kind, receiving full maintenance, including clothing, footwear, textbooks, and other means of instruction. In the recruitment for these schools, trade unions and youth organisations, both workers' and rural, take part. In 1946 more than half a million young workers were trained. According to the post-war five-year plan this enrolment must be nearly trebled by 1950.

Not included in these figures are many thousands of young persons attending lower co-operative schools, with a one-year curriculum. These schools train for distributive occupations (bookkeepers, shop and store managers, etc.). The curriculum, based on six grades of the common school, consists of strictly vocational subjects, plus lessons in Russian and history. All pupils of these schools receive scholarships from which they pay their maintenance costs in school hostels.

All co-operative schools (of both lower and secondary ranks) organise numerous short-term courses with a flexible curriculum adapted to the concrete needs of the local co-operative units. Of special interest are courses for newly promoted employees or for the elected members of the different boards and committees in local co-operative organisations, which provide information needed for the efficient performing of their functions. In industry there is some lack of such flexible opportunities. Normal promotion to higher posts in industry is secured through secondary evening schools to which reference has previously been made. They open to every gifted and industrious worker, whatever his formal education may be, a way either into secondary vocational schools or (after the matriculation examination) into colleges and schools of university rank.[2]

[1] Compulsory education embraces seven years (7–14 age-group) in urban and industrial areas, and for the time being four years in rural areas. The enormous losses in buildings and teaching staff caused by the war have again delayed the extension of compulsory education in the countryside. Yet, in spite of all difficulties, the enrolment in rural seven-years schools is rapidly increasing. On the other hand, the number of children over 14 who have finished only six, five, or even four grades of the seven-years schools, though continually diminishing, is still considerable. They also supply recruits for vocational schools of the lower grade.

[2] The Editors regret that parts of the article describing American and French technical education had to be omitted owing to lack of space.

General Education or Industrial Culture?

If we compare the actual achievements of industrial education as here described with the educational tasks raised by the Second Industrial Revolution, we can only conclude that much remains to be done. Just as production and consumption are far behind the possibilities which modern technics open before mankind, so also the standard of education attained does not correspond to the tremendous increase in the productivity of labour either already achieved, or to be achieved owing to the raising of educational standards. In all countries investments needed in education in order to solve the questions raised by changes in industry are far behind what they ought to be and could be, if the ideal of a peaceful organisation of nations once became a reality.

Yet, besides difficulties of a political and social order which I cannot discuss here, there are inner, purely educational, difficulties impairing the development of education for industry. Some of them have been referred to in foregoing chapters. In these final comments I shall limit myself to one *aporia* of modern educational development which seems most essential and the discussion of which may help to summarise the results of previous observations: I mean the antinomy of liberal or general and of vocational, and especially industrial, education.

We have seen that even where, as in England and Russia, the contrast between liberal and vocational education was marked in a particularly strong way, recent developments move in the direction of overcoming the traditional antinomy. English educationists, just as their American colleagues, recognise now that general and vocational education can and ought to be " blended." They even seek for an organic " synthesis " of both.

Yet in practice such blending usually looks like a mechanical juxtaposition of general and vocational " subjects " " under the same roof," thus implying the danger of disintegrating the curriculum into "a heap of sand," to use the expression of one of the most perspicacious investigators of the American education.[1]

In addition, it implicates the conception that the difference between " general " and " vocational " lies in the material of teaching, that some subjects are in themselves (as it were *an sich*) either general or vocational.

Though implicated in the practice of education, as it is actually exercised in the majority of schools, this mechanical conception of blending general and vocational education is now entirely abandoned in educational theory. I have already mentioned that G. Kerschensteiner in Germany and J. Dewey in America were pioneers

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[1] Cf. William S. Learned, *The Quality of the Educational Process in the United States and in Europe* (Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, Bull. No. 20, 1927).

in defining the difference between general and vocational as lying in an attitude and quality of teaching, and not of material or subject. If a subject (whether as theoretical as Greek grammar or as eminently practical as cooking) is taught with regard to the inner development of the pupil's personality, the teaching belongs to general or liberal education. If, on the contrary, the same material is taught first and foremost for the sake of an outward aim as a mere utility, considering only the demands of the future consumers of the craft taught (in the case of Greek grammar as a mere instrument to pass the examination, satisfying thus the demands of the examining body), the teaching is not liberal, but vocational. The majority of modern educationists in England, as in other countries, agree that the antinomy between liberal and vocational is dependent on the quality or the attitude of teaching. Sir Richard Livingstone has recently reminded us that this was almost literally the definition of liberal (*ἐλεύθερον*) education by Aristotle, and I should add the definition of true culture (*παιδεία*), as contrasted with vocational and illiberal training (*τροφὴ βάναυσος καὶ ἀνελεύθερος*), by Plato.

All this is closely connected with another definition of liberal education, emphasising its spiritual value. To be able to develop the personality of the pupil, the subject must be taught for its own sake, as possessing in itself a value of objective validity, and not being a mere instrument for an outward aim. Such approach makes it a member of a larger whole and thus widens it to a microcosm reflecting the multiplicity of the world of nature and culture. This, precisely, is what is meant by those who demand that vocational subjects ought to be taught " on the basis of a broader scientific and social outlook," i.e. not as a limited set of ready-made precepts, but as parts of knowledge capable of unlimited growth. I have already pointed out that this second definition of general education is implied in the first one, as was argued by J. Dewey and G. Kerschensteiner. Both have rightly seen in such approach the *spiritualisation* of the subject taught, the spiritualisation of a vocation into a calling being, according to G. Kerschensteiner, the other side of its *personalisation.*

The deeper meaning of this new approach and its connection with recent economic developments will reveal itself clearly if we distinguish in the general phenomenon called education three planes, or rather strata, lying one on the other and shaping it in a way similar to the relation of " form " and " matter " in Aristotle's metaphysics. Indeed, as man is a threefold being, living simultaneously as a biological organism, as a member of society, and as a personality participating in the works and values of humanity, education is a complex process developing simultaneously on the planes of biological, social, and spiritual life.

As a biological process, education is something that man has in common with animals. Its aim being the adjustment of a growing-

psycho-physical organism to the environment (or, more precisely, to what some biologists call " biosphere "), it includes training of the young in the activities necessary for self-preservation. This training comes very nearly, even if it could not be reduced to such, to a chain of conditoned reflexes, and that is the reason why I should like to propose the term *conditioning* to designate it. By this I mean the creation of a set of habits of behaviour having the character of almost automatic reactions to various stimuli, what the French call *dressage* and the Germans *Dressur.* The importance of this conditioning in the life of an animal is the greater, the fewer the instincts possessed by the animal, using in this connection the term " instinct " in its biological sense as an innate tendency to act in a definite way, characteristic of the whole species and closely connected with its peculiar biosphere and disclosing itself in definite stages during the development of the individuals, as abilities ready to act without previous learning or exercise. Where the instinct dominates absolutely as, according to H. Bergson it does with insects, the whole process of education reduces itself to the care of offspring. There is no need of conditioning. On the contrary, with vertebrates, and especially with mammals, conditioning is the main component of education.

Man, being an animal possessing few residues of instinctive activities, is especially dependent on this conditioning. During the first three years of a child's life the whole process of education is almost reduced to it. In later years conditioning becomes an element of a broader process (e.g. military or athletic drill, or practising on the piano), but it remains indispensable. It is to be found everywhere where education creates chains of automatic reactions, active without the intervention of consciousness though consciousness may be necessary to put them in motion and to control them. Conditioning works by repetition and exercise, and by association with feelings of pleasure or pain, satisfaction or dissatisfaction. Industrial training as practised by orthodox Taylorism or Fordism is nothing else but conditioning—all consciousness and thinking being, according to Taylor, concentrated exclusively in the planning office of the factory.

Scientists accustomed to move exclusively on the plane of nature are inclined to interpret the whole process of education as conditioning of this kind. The laws of learning formulated by Thorndike provide an example. The most consistent attempt to reduce education to conditioning has been tried by behaviourists, especially by Watson. By shaping the conditions of life of a new-born child, by strengthening desirable associations and loosening the undesirable ones, the scientifically minded educator would be able to make a grown-up man in accordance with the pattern demanded—an engineer or a teacher, a pastor or a gangster. But precisely this claim of behaviourism discloses the fundamental difference between

the education of man and that of animals, and thus demonstrates the impossibility of reducing the whole process of man's education to mere conditioning. There is only one pattern in animal education, the pattern given by the biological environment (the " biosphere " of the respective species), and the function of the natural conditioning is nothing else but the adjustment of the growing animal to those natural conditions of life. The patterns of man's conditioning are, on the contrary, manifold, and they are given first and foremost by society, and not by natural environment. With man, conditioning becomes an instrument and a component of a broader education, and even the adjustment to the natural environment changes its purely biological character. It takes the form of economy which, being a social activity, is rather the overcoming of natural environment than adjustment to it.

Man is a social being, not only a biological organism. Scientists, inclined to reduce more complex phenomena to simple ones and to see in the latter the causes generating the former, will try to explain social life as a mere prolongation of biological life and subject to the same natural laws. There is no need to enter into this rather metaphysical question. As a matter of fact, social life has its own principles which, even if they were, in the last essence, of biological origin, are phenomenologically different. While, on the biological plane, it is heredity which unites individuals into larger units, as family, race, species, the analogous principle in social life uniting individuals into real social groups is power. This power may be organised, as in the State, or in an industrial enterprise, or in the Church and denominational congregations; it may be unorganised as in such groups as London " society " or the Welsh miners of a hundred years ago; it may have a political, an economical, or a spiritual character, it may be harsh and absolute, as in an army during the war, or mild and temperate, as the power of fashion—in all cases it means an outward pressure demanding obedience on the side of the individual. So far E. Durkheim was right in defining the fundamental *fait social* as *contrainte.*

He was also right in his definition of education as a social process. On the plane of social life education really is an adjustment of the individual to life in a definite social group, or as Durkheim says, moulding the young generation in conformance with the pattern current in a social group and defined by the wants and interests of this group. Its function is the regeneration of the social group in the young generation and thus its perpetuation in time. It works by tradition, and not by heredity (instinct) or by conditioning, as does the regeneration of a race or species on the biological plane. Heredity and conditioning become instruments or rather components of a broader process aiming at the moulding of individuals as " well-bred " members of a social group. The term " breeding " (German *Zucht*) seems to be the proper term to designate this

second, social, layer of the whole multistratual phenomenon of education.

Means used by breeding go far beyond the creation of conditioned reflexes. Competition and emulation, punishments and rewards, inculcation of fixed thoughts and manners are examples of ways used in breeding, all these being various examples of the use of power by a social group. This " *contrainte* " may be harshened into plain physical coercion, or softened, without losing its efficiency. In the process of breeding there are at work two apparently contradictory but in reality interlaced motives of conduct, in which some authors have tried to disclose the very essence of the social bondage: the motive of imitation (tendency to similarity) and the motive of making oneself important (what A. Adler calls *Geltungstrieb*), tendency to distinction. The first motive could also be called an impulse to obedience and the second that to leadership, both being complementary motives inherent in the phenomenon of power.

It seems that primitive education did not go beyond breeding, conformity with ancient, unchangeable custom being the very principle of life in primitive societies. In these societies the individual is almost entirely merged in a social whole to which he belongs, and the tradition in which he is bred is a stable tradition reproducing itself in new generations almost in unchanged forms and thus lacking the creative strain of history. Yet we find examples of breeding also among nations which we do not shrink from calling historic. Such was the mediaeval tradition of artisan apprenticeship which lasted almost unchanged till the First Industrial Revolution; such, in many respects even now, is the education in English public schools, though breeding is here but a layer of a broader whole with a superstructure transcending the mere moulding of well-born youth into conformance with social standards.

Sociologists who are inclined to study the laws of social life on instances taken from primitive societies tend to reduce the whole process of education to its social layer only, to breeding, just as biologists tend to see in education nothing but care and conditioning. Such was the standpoint of E. Krieck, the leading educationist of the Third Reich. According to him there was no essential difference at all between primitive education and education among cultural nations. Education always has been and will be *Zucht,* i.e. moulding of men (*Menschenformung*), conforming to a pattern reflecting the vital interests of a social whole. In our times this whole is the nation, deeply rooted in the race as community of blood. The proper aim of education is to attain complete conformity of each individual to the national whole, in order to strengthen this whole in its historic struggle for existence and dominance. Personality, culture (*Bildung*), spiritual values—all those terms are idealistic fictions, remnants of liberalism which, whatever might have been its pretensions, was actually nothing else

but ideology of the British capitalism struggling for world dominance.

Not all authors representing the exclusively sociological point of view on education are as consistent as E. Krieck. D. Durkheim had a political attitude just the opposite to that of Krieck. As a convinced adept of liberal democracy, free thought, and social solidarism, he intended to give to this attitude a scientific foundation by substituting sociology for religion and metaphysics. Not God, but Society as a real collective entity having even its own " conscience," settles the pattern to which education is liable to conform. In this respect the education of a modern nation does not differ from that of a primitive man. However, there are some important though secondary points of difference between both, having their foundation in the different structure of modern and primitive society. Owing to a growing social interdependence, as the result of a progressing division of labour, modern society is based on an organic solidarity, i.e. solidarity through differentiation, and not through similarity. Every man is now a member of many social groups, of which the nation as the state-community and a vocational group are the most important. Hence the twofold character of modern education: while general education aims at breeding a citizen, i.e. a member of a nation, the aim of vocational education is to incorporate him into a vocational group. Though the nation is at present the largest social group actually existing, it implies an ideal transcending it. " The ideal society," says D. Durkheim, " does not exist outside the real society, but forms a part of it." The ideal of a modern nation is humanity, and it participates in determining the pattern of the " general " education which is both national and human. The third characteristic feature of modern education is, still according to Durkheim, the stress it lays on the independent judgement of pupils, on co-operation between them, and on persuasion instead of the use of mere force. All these milder ways of education remain, however, in their last essence " *contrainte*," and their efficiency in breeding a type of man comforming to the social pattern is not less than that of the old methods, since the modern pattern itself allows a greater variety and thus a greater feeling of liberty than social patterns based on mechanic solidarity.

It would not be difficult to show, as many critics of Durkheim's theory have done, that his sociology claiming to supersede all metaphysics is rather a kind of spiritual philosophy than a science based on experience. It deals much more with spiritual, as religion, science, morality, than with social phenomena *sensu stricto* as competition, struggle for power, class-domination, exploitation, which Durkheim seems entirely to ignore. He succeeds in explaining spiritual life as a mere product of society because he has invested society with a consciousness whose first and almost unique function

is precisely to create objective (superindividual) rules of language, logic, morality, and other spheres of spiritual activity. And he can speak of substituting conscious adherence to these rules for slavish obedience to more arbitrary social laws (of which the precepts of religion are a striking example) only because he does not discriminate between the appeal of spiritual values and the coercion of social power, both the attraction of values and the pressure of social milieu being for him various forms of the same fundamental social fact, of "*contrainte*." Just as humanity "transcends," according to Durkheim, the real society from which it "comes," so the social process of breeding for conformity is, in a comprehensive education, transcended by the culture of mind which is a spiritual process. Durkheim's conception of modern moral education actually recognises this higher layer of education and maintains only that its *origin* is social, and that similarly the validity of cultural values and the ideal of humanity "come" from the real society. This question of origin being rather of a metaphysical nature, we need not discuss it here, just as we could pass over the problem of biological origin of social life.

The proper term to denote education as a spiritual process would be *culture* (the corresponding German term being *Bildung*).[1] The aim of the culture is usually defined as the development or self-realisation of personality. Indeed, a cultured man means much more than a man called well-bred (*bien élevé*). While this latter reproduces a social pattern, the former, realising himself as a personality, is transcending every ready-made pattern. Yet it would be false to think that personality is an entity closed in itself ("without windows") and self-sufficient, as the traditional individualistic conception was inclined to maintain. On the contrary, personality is rather a process of opening one's mind to values of superindividual validity transcending also the always limited interests of an actually existing social group. An individual becomes a personality owing to his participation in these values, and the degree of personality he attains is the higher the more creative is his effort in actualising those objective spiritual values in life.

Whether in his own life only? By no means. For to participate in, and especially to actualise, values of superindividual and supersocial validity means to belong to a larger community, to the community of all those who are pursuing the same spiritual values. On the plane of spiritual life, personality is in no greater degree alone and self-sufficient than the individual at the layer of social life. Both cannot be thought of without the wholes with which they are correlated. Personality lives in the community of persons pursuing common values. It belongs to the essence of values that

[1] Respective Greek and Latin terms for all three distinguished strata of education, παιδαγωγία, *educatio*, would be: (1) Conditioning, τροφή. *cultus et cura*; (2) Breeding, διδαχή, *disciplina*; (3) Culture, παιδεία, *humanitas*.

they unite around themselves persons following in their appeal and tending to realise them in life. On the spiritual plane, values fulfil a function similar to that of power on the social plane. But while power unites by pressure, values unite by attraction. They act by appeal and not by command. Despising every kind of coercion, they appeal to the reason of men and act through the medium of their freedom, which, both self-consciousness and freedom, are essential attributes of personality as a spiritual being.

Accordingly free co-operation based upon a communion of values is an essential characteristic of spiritual community. While the basis of a social group lies in common interests and in power, both being objectives of a struggle for possession, a spiritual community, whether of mathematicians, or physicists, or painters, or musicians, etc., is based upon a creative effort tending to realise common values. In this creative effort—and this is a further characteristic of a spiritual community—the personality is not merged into the whole but rather displays itself as a true individuality irreplaceable in its unique worth. Instead of the conformism and subordination enforced by power in a social group, the appeal, which values address to every member of a spiritual community, is to be himself and to try to co-ordinate his own creative effort with those of other fellow-members. This is the reason why education as culture is, as was pointed out by Socrates, essentially self-education.

Closely connected with this is a third fundamental difference between a spiritual community and a social group. While the latter is enclosed in its rigidity, and the tradition securing its duration in time is static, a spiritual community is open to all who are able and ready to participate in its creative effort. The tradition regenerating it is flexible and dynamic. It is creative tradition in which past achievements survive in new ones, their truth being freed from limitations, and are not simply overthrown as the power of a defeated class.

The aim of culture cannot therefore be defined merely subjectively as the self-realisation, or as the all-round development of personality can be attained, only if it has made its own the specific attitude of the scientist towards the world, the peculiar way of seeing things of artists, the attitude characteristic of human morality, etc. A man attains a higher degree of personality the more he participates in the creative movement of the spirit and thus contributes to the regeneration of cultural tradition. As a spirit has two modes of existence, one subjective as personality and the other objective as spiritual community, the aim of culture can also be defined in a twofold manner.

One could say with Nikolai Haytmann [1] that there was yet a third mode of existence of spirit as *objektivierter Geist* (the λόγος

[1] *Das Problem des geistigen Seins* (1933).

ἐνδιάθετος of the Stoics), i.e. embodied in works of culture, such as books, scientific instruments, machines, pictures, etc. Wilhelm Humboldt probably thought of this aspect of spiritual life when he defined a cultured man as a person able to " read," and thus to appreciate and to enjoy, " beautiful works of the human spirit " without the need of a mediator who usually distorts them through popularisation. A man of culture gets his knowledge if needed from the very source, and not at secondhand, because he is able to discriminate between the genuine and the spurious.

To achieve such criticism there are needed quite different, much subtler, means of education than those used in breeding. The means of culture cannot be forms of external pressure. Education as culture being self-education, the means of culture can but incite, inspire, attract, suggest, rather than command or inculcate. Everything that is able to awaken the love of values, and to release creative impulses dormant in a young mind, may become the means of culture. Plato called this longing for spiritual values " Eros," and saw in the " word which has a living soul " and " can defend and protect itself " (*Phaedrus*, 276) the proper means of culture. Indeed, immediate intercourse with a bearer of cultural tradition, whether scientific or artistic, is the best means of initiation into the creative movement of spirit. Spiritual tradition is transmitted first and foremost by " contagion." A true teacher educates by radiation of his love of truth, of his zest and creativeness.

Yet a similar radiation is displayed also by the " embodied spirit," i.e. by beautiful works of culture, of which " the written word " (though depreciated by Plato in *Phaedrus*) is one of the most important means. W. Humboldt and T. Arnold were right in their belief that true education could be given only by a continuous intercourse with genuine " sources " of culture, i.e. with the best and most original that has been achieved by human genius, and that syllabuses and textbooks might be used merely as aids to that intercourse and not as the only fountain of all knowledge and wisdom. They were wrong only in maintaining that such sources, genuine and yet accessible to a young mind, were to be found exclusively in Greek and Roman antiquity. To-day educationists agree almost unanimously that in modern national literature, in modern humanities and science, and not least in modern technology, there can be found many beautiful works of the human genius which, being genuine sources of modern culture, can be appreciated easily by a young mind.

A further important means of education as culture is the specific structure of class-work. In a school where education is reduced to mere breeding the structure of the class is rather mechanical. Each pupil reproduces the pattern shown by the teacher who, in turn, reproduces what has been commended to him by his authority and by the textbook. All pupils are doing identical work, competing

with each other in obedient and faithful reproduction of the pattern. Quite different is the structure of class-work where education tends to become cultural. It is the structure of the spiritual community based on participation in a common task, on co-operation and co-ordination of individual efforts, and not on subordination and competition. The relationship between teacher and pupils in such teamwork is no longer that of a distant authority giving *ex cathedra* words of command and patterns to be reproduced by obedient subjects, but of a leader organising the common work of his fellow-pupils, inspiring them by his own "Eros," letting them partake of his experience, and displaying the Socratic art of midwifery.

One could argue that culture so described was an admirable but rather remote ideal of education, and not a phenomenon of actual life, be it even the life of the spirit. The argument would be right, if it did not misrepresent the relations between the various strata of education. As social life obviously cannot exist without a biological basis, shaping it accordingly to social needs or wants but at the same time being limited and influenced by it, so also spiritual life can exist only as a superstructure upon the social life which is its necessary foundation. Marx was right in stating this, but unduly exaggerated this statement, maintaining that the spiritual superstructure was nothing else but a mere reflection of social relationships. The actual relation is similar to that between the social and biological strata of life. Spiritual, as well as social, life has its own inner structure and its own laws of development, and there is mutual interaction between them.

The farther we look into the past the stronger is the influence of social structure and the more the specific structure of spiritual life is limited, veiled, and even distorted by that of its social basis. Such almost complete suppression of spiritual activity owing to an overgrowth of social structure characterises the magic civilisation of primitive societies, magic being nothing more than a display of spiritual functions as mere instruments for getting and maintaining power, whether over men or over nature. A tremendous overgrowth of the social structure necessitated by the struggle for power could be observed in totalitarian states where, as in Nazi Germany, it resulted in a growing suffocation of spiritual life. This state of things has been admirably pointed out in an Indian parable quoted by Krishnamurti in his last public address. A devil watching men once saw a Man who, after a long and tiresome pilgrimage, had found the Truth and, happy, was hurrying to his fellow-men in order to announce it to them. Full of fear and despair the devil communicated it to his superior, the Great Satan. Heavy is thy guilt, said Satan, that thou didst not prevent the Man from finding the Truth. But do not despair so much. We shall suggest to the Man that he builds an organisation around the Truth, and then he will lose it again.

Yet with the progress of civilisation, as both F. Znaniecki and C. H. Waddington rightly point out, the spiritual culture acquires "a momentum and strength of its own." It begins to influence, in turn, the social basis. The effects of this influence are threefold. Power, economic, social, political, being more and more limited by Law recognises in a growing degree the superiority of spiritual values and seeks to justify its authority by their successful implementation into the life of society. The ideal of Power develops into that of Service. An individual protected by the Law and invested with rights giving him a dignity transcending his character as a mere member of a social group assumes more and more the features of personality as a spiritual being. And similarly the inner structure of a group, owing to its growing permeation by the Law, becomes more and more akin to that of a spiritual community, as an association of co-operation and creative work, whose common values transcend the interests of its members or even the interest of the whole group as opposed to others. Both the personalisation of the individual and the spiritualisation of the group are aspects of the same process of the permeation of the social life by the factor of Law, by which the layer of spiritual life tends to influence its own social basis. Far from being a mere ordinance or an instrument of those in power, the Law is rather a factor limiting the arbitrariness of Power and raising it to moral authority.

The relation between culture and breeding is identical with that between the spiritual and social planes in general. Culture does not exist without the social basis of breeding, just as breeding implies conditioning. There can be an overgrowth of breeding up to the almost total suppression of culture. On the other hand, culture is not a finished structure laid upon breeding as a distinct stratum. Rather does it permeate the process of breeding, transforming it in the sense of personalisation and spiritualisation. There are degrees of culture just as there are degrees of personality and degrees of spiritual community achieved in the process of education. The more education becomes self-realisation of personality, with all that this process implies with regard to school society and the authority of teachers, the more does education cease to be mere breeding and does it become culture.

We can now understand the deeper meaning of the statement that what makes education " liberal " or " general " is not the " subject " but the quality of the teaching. Quality has degrees of realisation. What this quality, susceptible both of growth or of depreciation, actually means has been explained by our analysis of culture as being the higher, spiritual layer in the process of education. We have seen that there can be no objections to the possibility of treating industrial life as an appropriate objective of culture. Modern technology and economy possess many " beautiful works " embodying the boldest and noblest aspirations of the human mind,

which *could* claim to be efficient "sources" of true culture. Industrial work *can* assume such a degree of creativeness as to become a factor developing the personality of the worker. A group of pupils performing industrial work *may* become a community of co-operation, being in the service of spiritual values, but not of the economic or political power. An *industrial culture* becomes at present more and more possible, though the way from the possibility to complete actuality is still a long one and full of difficulties.

However, the actual tendency of modern economic change goes in the same direction. It tends to personalise labour, treated not so long ago as a mere commodity, to spiritualise "industrial relations," and to subordinate economic power to the higher cultural values. These tendencies, as we have seen, are deeply rooted in the logic of modern industrial development. Industrial education, being an organic component of industry, shares these tendencies. All trends in industrial education and all changes in general education move in the same direction. To secure, at present, a general or rather a true education for all, means to develop an industrial culture that would be able to spiritualise industrial activity. And this is now not only an abstract postulate of social justice but the necessary, though as yet remote result, of the changes yielded by the Second Industrial Revolution.

S. HESSEN.

CHAPTER FOUR

PSYCHOLOGICAL TESTS AND THEIR APPLICATION TO NON-EUROPEAN PEOPLES

Introduction

ALTHOUGH the Second World War ranged over wide tracts of the African continent and drew the peoples of most of its territories into the armies of the victorious Powers, its aftermath brought fewer political changes than occurred in the Far East. No new sovereignties were created, and the tide of nationalism which swept the colonial powers out of Asia left Africa virtually untouched. Its many peoples were educationally too backward, and too oblivious in their primitive tribalism of the concepts of nationhood, to be affected by the currents which for many years had stirred the politically and culturally more advanced communities of the East. In the colonies and protectorates, in the former Italian possessions, and in the self-governing Dominions of the British Commonwealth, the *status quo* was everywhere maintained, with here and there some minor changes in political representation.

Yet in a less spectacular way the war has brought changes in the lives and circumstances of the inhabitants of African territories which in the long run may prove far more significant than political upheavals which to the common man as often as not merely signify a change in masters and a deterioration in the circumstances of his everyday life. Thousands of Africans from all parts of the continent, and more particularly from the equatorial areas, saw service in military forces which clad and trained them, familiarised them with the handling of modern mechanical devices, and transported them to more advanced communities where they became acquainted with new ways of life. The stimulating value of these experiences, which on demobilisation were diffused far and wide through primitive communities, bringing new habits, new wants, and new perspectives, should not be underestimated. Of more immediate importance, however, is the economic expansion which has taken place throughout African territories. World demand for raw materials and food has directed attention to the vast undeveloped regions of Central and Southern Africa. The Central African ground-nut scheme is the most important of a number of enterprises which are converting bushveld and jungle into arable land, to be cultivated by modern mechanised methods. Rhodesia is planning hydro-electric development and the establishment of a steel industry. To carry

out these schemes, the transportation system has everywhere to be expanded and plans have been drawn up to build new trunk roads, railways, and harbours. Kenya is likely to become the training centre and depôt for Imperial Defence, since Middle Eastern and Indian bases are no longer available. Considerable sums have been voted for the extension of educational facilities, more particularly vocational training, in all British African colonial territories. In the Union of South Africa the war gave a great impetus to the development of secondary industries. New steelworks are being built, cotton-textile plants are being established, production-engineering works of every type have sprung up which supply not only the local markets but the hinterland to the north.

Hitherto, but more particularly in the Union of South Africa, the African played little part in the industrial life of the country. He was chiefly engaged in tilling the land on his own account on a subsistence level, or employed as a farm labourer, pick-and-shovel worker, unskilled labourer on the mines, low-grade operative in industry. Though still debarred from participation in the skilled trades, the need for semi-skilled and skilled labour caused by industrial expansion is everywhere so great that he is gradually permitted to play a more important part in industrial activities. Whereas, before, the demand was chiefly for migrant labourers, pairs of hands and feet which were given little training and which were used wastefully because they were cheap and plentiful, now the need is for workers who can tend machines, drive tractors and bulldozers, carry out mechanical repairs, handle tools, and supervise the activities of others. Efficiency in these tasks can be achieved only by means of training and the steady accumulation of experience and "know-how," neither of which is favoured by the migratory system where short sojourns in the mines and factories are punctuated by lengthy periods of return to the tribal lands.

The need for a stable and more skilled labour force has brought a significant change in attitude. Attempts are being made to provide for the housing, on a family basis, of the labour required for specific projects.

Some of the new gold mines in the Orange Free State are trying out, as an experiment, the replacement of migrant labour by a more permanent labour force, for which married quarters instead of the usual compounds will be provided.

A new native town is being built near Kingwilliamstown in the Ciskei, a predominantly tribal area, to house workers for a newly established cotton-textile industry. Many of these workers, particularly the women, will exchange the hoe with which they tilled the land for the looms of a modern factory, and the tribal hut built by themselves for the well-planned houses of a modern native township.

As a result of these developments, employers are beginning to

think of the selection of individuals capable of being trained for certain tasks, instead of merely recruiting a batch of labour.

In the Union of South Africa, the National Institute for Personnel Research is already engaged on the construction of selection and classification tests for the gold-mining and clothing industries. Projects are also under consideration for the textile and engineering industries. Inquiries for information on test techniques have been received, both from individual employers and from official sources in Central and East Africa. The signs all point to considerable changes in the utilisation of the human resources of the African continent, from which in turn a change for the better in the socio-economic status of the native peoples should result. The extent of this change will depend both on political circumstances, and on the aptitude which Africans will be found to possess for the employment opportunities which are gradually coming their way. Resistance to admitting Africans to the skilled trades will no doubt debar them for many years to come; but even here change is discernible as a result of the inexorable pressure of events. The housing shortage, particularly among Africans, is so great that the Union Government has sanctioned the training of natives as building artisans, provided they will be used only in native areas or to build houses for their own people.

Psychological tests can play an important role, both in shaping the immediate future of the African peoples, and in facilitating their transition to an industrial, or at least a more diversified occupational, life.

Tests are being used, though as yet on a very small scale, for two major purposes:

(*a*) to determine the educational potentialities, in terms of European culture, of non-European peoples;

(*b*) to determine their occupational fitness.

These two problems are obviously connected, as education, to be of maximum value, should be directed towards the rôle which the individual is to fulfil in the community. This simple truth has generally been overlooked in the planning of African education, which in the Union of South Africa at least has but rarely a vocational basis and which often has the kind of academic orientation which does not fit into the pattern of African life. As considerable expansion in educational services is being contemplated throughout the colonial Empire and, one hopes, also in the Dominions, it is desirable that these services should be designed to develop all potentialities which the African possesses, and more particularly those which will prove vocationally most useful in the new employment situation. There is a danger that a direction may be chosen and a ceiling may be fixed for this education on the basis of erroneous conclusions about African ability, either derived from everyday experience or from poorly controlled psychological work. A pro-

gramme of psychological testing which will provide facts about basic intellectual potentialities, as well as about occupational aptitudes, is an essential precondition for the planning of a rational educational system.

Both from a practical and from a research point of view it is, however, desirable to treat educational potentiality and occupational fitness as two separate issues.

Educability can be handled only generally, in terms of the structure of the mind as a whole; occupational fitness can be treated specifically, in terms of the requirements of a given occupation.

Educability can be usefully determined only for a whole group, more particularly if the knowledge is to be used for the long-term planning of an educational system; occupational fitness can be determined for individuals, in relation to existing occupational opportunities.

Educational potentiality cannot be measured directly, as its development is affected to an unknown extent by a number of environmental factors which cannot be adequately controlled. Though estimates of potentiality can be made from the effective ability as measured by tests under conditions of limited control, they may be seriously in error and are therefore not recommended.

Occupational fitness, on the other hand, relates to the individual as he is, to the kind of job he can do now. Provided, therefore, that adequate tests of effective ability can be designed, there is no objection against the direct measurement of occupational fitness.

For the long-term planning of industrial and social development in a territory, this would, of course, not be enough. One would want to know to what extent effective ability could be developed, given a different kind of social conditioning and an adequate system of vocational training. The proportion of the people capable of reaching certain occupational standards under favourable environmental conditions would also have to be determined.

In the absence of such information a territory may plan and embark upon a programme of industrial development, which is out of keeping with its human resources and may therefore involve it in social dislocation, capital losses, and a waste of effort which might have been more profitably directed elsewhere.

As knowledge about basic aptitudes and their distribution can be obtained from the inquiry into educational potentiality, the latter therefore becomes the main strategic research target.

The Study of the Educational Potentialities of non-European Peoples by Means of Psychological Tests

The study of the educational potentialities of non-Europeans has been virtually confined to comparisons of European and non-European intelligence quotients as measured by a variety of pencil-and-paper and performance tests. These studies uniformly reveal

an inferiority on the part of non-Europeans, which grows less the more closely the group approximates in its way of life to European culture, but which never vanishes altogether. Claims that inferiority also diminishes according to the degree of admixture with white blood (1) have been disproved by the work of Herskovits (2), Petersen and Lanier (3), Klineberg (4), Witty and Jenkins (5).

A survey of a large number of investigations carried out on American Negroes reveals that on the average 83 per cent. of the whites exceed the Negro mean and only 15 per cent. to 18 per cent. Negroes reach the white mean (6). In South Africa, Fick found school-going African children to be inferior to a European control group by 4 to 5 years of mental age (7). Needless to say, these findings were challenged in scores of investigations, which attempted to prove that environmental, rather than genetic, factors were responsible for the apparent intellectual inferiority of the non-European racial groups. The discussions became closely linked with the dispute about the relative importance of heredity and environment in determining individual differences in intelligence among Europeans, a psychological battle-ground which is more noteworthy for the vehemence with which the issues are contended than for the finality of the results produced (8, 9). A critical summary of the most significant results in this field is given by Woodworth (10), who also restates the essentials of the problem and indicates the lines along which conclusive research might be conducted.

As the study of inter-racial differences in intelligence is a complex variant of the more general nature-nurture problem, we are not likely to obtain conclusive facts about the intellectual potentialities of non-European races from it at this stage.

There is no doubt that the measurement of inter-racial differences has side-tracked the study of the intellectual potentialities of races from its primary purpose, which should have been to survey the manifestations of non-European abilities in a general way; to follow up this exploration with both qualitative and quantitative studies of individual differences *within* racial and cultural groups; and to study the nature of their determinants. Comparisons with European groups should in the first instance have been qualitative only, in order to reveal significant features in the ability patterns obtained from inter-racial studies, and to throw further light on the influence of certain cultural factors. Only then will we know subject to what controls and in what areas we can legitimately make quantitative comparisons. In the last resort, some quantitative evaluation of racial differences is inevitable, and it is equally inevitable that Western culture should provide the yard-stick. Western culture is still dominant, and its most typical achievement, technology, is likely to remain a feature of whatever civilisation may take its place. Consequently the ultimate capacity, given

time and opportunity, to adapt to the Western way of life, to meet the many requirements which a technological society imposes on the individual, to contribute to its technical advancement, and most important of all, to maintain and further its democratic creed, will be the criterion whereby the educability and equivalence of other races will be judged. That this is a relative judgement cannot be denied; but the fixation of an absolute criterion would involve us in a discussion about values which is outside the scope of science and which in any case could not yield an answer to the question which prompted the inquiry into inter-racial differences.

Comparative studies are therefore legitimate, provided that no comparisons are made until a scientifically valid basis for making them has been established, and provided also that value judgements are made relative only to our Western criteria of success and ability.

In order to demonstrate that the type of inter-racial control-group investigation, by means of which the genetic intellectual capacities of races have generally been studied, does not provide such a basis, and to indicate which determinants of test performance need special investigation, the factors known to contribute to inter-racial differences in test performance will be briefly discussed.

(1) *What Kind of Ability should be Tested?*

Educability has been almost universally assessed in terms of *g*, a general factor of mental ability which was believed to determine the level of intellectual capacity regardless of minor individual differences in the ability to handle such symbols as words, numbers, or forms.

This factor *g* was measurable by means of a wide variety of tests, individual and group, verbal or perceptual, concrete or conceptual. A number of quite differently constituted batteries could therefore give equally good estimates of *g*.

This hypothesis lent itself remarkably well to the study of inter-racial differences in educability. No scientifically valid objection could be raised against expressing these differences in terms of *g*, defined as a universal factor in terms of Spearman's three noegenetic laws (11, 12). As the measurement of *g* was not limited to a specific battery, tests could be chosen of which the contents were equally familiar to the two cultures being compared.

Throughout the period during which the concept of a general factor dominated the theory of intelligence, dissenting voices were heard which have now gained a definite hearing on the strength both of accumulated experimental evidence and of the mathematical theory developed in support of their views.

The most thorough-going restatement of the Spearman hypothesis has come from Thurstone, who holds that intellectual capa-

city can be adequately stated only in terms of a number of primary mental abilities, represented by factors whose combination ratio varies from individual to individual (13, 14). In his later work (15) Thurstone recognises that these factors are correlated, and that Spearman's *g* may exist as a secondary factor, though it is by no means clear which primary mental abilities should be combined, and in what ratio, to give the best estimate of *g*.

The difference of opinion between the general- and multiple-factor schools of thought is not purely theoretical, but materially affects the practice of intelligence testing and the validity of the I.Q. as a single index of educability. The implication of the Thurstone theory is that until such time as *g* can be restated in terms of a particular combination of primary mental abilities, the concept of general educability must give way to specific educability for particular trades or professions in terms of the patterns of abilities known to be relevant in each particular case.

For inter-racial intelligence testing this means that instead of comparing two groups in respect of one index, as many comparisons will have to be made as there are factors. It will also be necessary to determine differences between the correlations of the factors, and between their ratios.

A serious difficulty at once presents itself. Whereas a reasonably good estimate of *g* could be obtained from batteries which differed greatly in their test composition, the primary mental abilities discovered so far require tests of a far more specific type for their definition. It will therefore not be easy to find batteries which, whilst differing in content to suit the cultural requirements of particular racial groups, yet remain equally diagnostic of a given primary mental ability. Nor will it be easy, as we shall see, to construct tests for each primary mental ability which are culturally neutral. Acceptance of the Thurstone theory therefore virtually rules out the possibility of valid inter-racial comparisons of a quantitative kind, at least in the present stage of our knowledge.

The trend in the evolution of the concept of intelligence therefore favours a qualitative rather than a quantitative approach to the study of the intellectual capacities of different racial and cultural groups. The patterns of primary mental abilities and their determinants, rather than differences in hypothetical levels, emerge as the proper objectives of investigation. Quantitative *techniques,* such as multiple-factor analysis, are of course appropriate to this study. By means of this powerful weapon it should be possible to discover not only the basic constituents of intelligence in any given case, but also its cultural and genetic determinants. It should reveal where the current racial strengths and weaknesses lie, and in what direction control-group investigations might ultimately be undertaken.

The research worker need not be deterred by the fact that the

Thurstone theory is not yet generally accepted, and may have to be modified in the light of further research data. Quite apart from its theoretical merits or demerits, it favours the formulation of a research programme which commends itself to common sense, in that it proposes the intensive study of the thing to be compared, before comparisons are undertaken.

(2) *What Kind of Tests should be Used?*

Even if we assume that educability is best assessed in terms of *g*, it does not follow that tests which are valid measures of this factor in a European group are equally valid in groups with a different cultural background.

As each test performance is, in Spearman's view, the product of both *g* and of one or more special factors, a poor score might be due either to a low level of *g*, or to weakness in respect of the special factors, or to both these causes.

As cultural conditioning was held to occur in relation to the *s* factors and not to *g*, tests were therefore chosen in such a way as to eliminate specific cultural associations. The following were considered to be the most important of these associations:

(*a*) complete familiarity with a given language;

(*b*) knowledge and habits acquired by a specific type of scholastic education;

(*c*) knowledge and habits acquired by living within a given socio-economic context.

Of these three, the language factor proved the easiest to control, by the elimination of all verbal material from the tests. The full implications of educational and socio-economic conditioning were not as readily appreciated. Testers were usually satisfied when they had excluded scholastic skills (such as writing, calculating, reading) which the two groups had not had an equal opportunity to acquire, and when representations of objects in common use in one culture (such as dimes, apartment houses, cabs) had been replaced by their appropriate equivalents in another. Consequently, tests involving the use of blocks or formboards, perceptual tests using diagrammatic material, tests which set problems through the medium of pictorial representations of objects familiar to a particular culture, were considered to be valid for inter-racial comparisons. Cultural associations go far deeper than content, however, and far deeper than the mental habits established by school education. They affect manipulative habits, symbolic reactions, possibly the entire approach to and interpretation of the perceptual world. Current research work on the aptitude testing of African mineworkers and non-European operatives in the clothing industry presents ample evidence in support of this contention.

(*a*) *Use of Pencil and Paper.* Tests which exclude written responses or verbal material nevertheless frequently make use of

paper for the presentation of problems (pictorial, diagrammatic, mazes). They may require candidates to answer by underlining, placing a cross between brackets, tracing a path, or dividing an area. The use of pencil and paper for any purpose whatever is not permissible unless the groups to be compared have had an equal amount of schooling. Unfamiliarity with pencil and paper as a medium of expression is very obvious in most non-European groups in South Africa, even those who have had a little school education in the Grades or Standards 1 and 2. African schooling in these standards is at a low level, and the necessary basic materials are often lacking. Children often use slates, and where pencil and paper are available, the opportunities of becoming fully conversant with their use are still limited. Some evidence will be presented in Section III to show that pencil-and-paper test performance tends to be inferior in non-European groups, even when intelligence is not greatly involved in the test performance.

(*b*) *Use of Pictorial Material.* Many testers have resorted to pictorial material, not only because it could set a problem without the use of language, but also because the appropriate cultural note could be introduced. Thus the Directorate for the Selection of Personnel of the War Office made a " cultural translation " of the Bennet Mechanical Comprehension Test, in which men operating pulleys are replaced by women drawing water from a deep well, and loads suspended from a beam resting on the shoulders of two men are replaced by pots, or sheafs of grass or bundles of faggots, carried on the heads of native women. Classification tests are also frequently used in which native dwellings, utensils, or musical instruments, domestic animals, plants, etc., are the items between which meaningful relations are to be established. An Absurdities test can be given by making a foal follow a cow, or by making water in an irrigation furrow flow uphill. All these tests overlook the fact that the picture, particularly one printed on paper, is a highly conventional symbol, which the child reared in Western culture has learned to interpret because he is confronted with pictures from his earliest days, gets much of his pre-school education from picture-books and toys with pictures on them, and is encouraged to draw pictures for himself. To make the object pictured culturally meaningful is of little avail, if pictorial representation itself is unfamiliar, and if it does not evoke the attitude of interpretation which a European group automatically assumes. In our battery of tests for African mineworkers, we used the Koh's Blocks test technique to make the candidates reproduce some typical native cultural patterns and familiar objects, such as a native hut and an earthenware pot with conventional pattern. Before a candidate attempted to reproduce a pattern, he was asked to say what the pictures represented. Very few could identify the hut, and a large number also failed to recognise the pot. Had these two objects

been presented pictorially in a complete setting (say a kraal scene) recognition might have been easier. But as pictures by themselves, cut out of cardboard, they were apprehended as pieces of coloured cardboard, and no more. In the same battery, a mechanical-aptitude test was included which required the candidates to assemble a model of a cocopan with which they were familiar, as it is in common use in the mines, though there are a number of different types. To guide them in this task they were provided with a photograph of the model, in which the relationship of the various parts was distinctly shown. Virtually none of the candidates was able to guide his assembly by means of the photographic details. Attempts were made which to the onlooker bore little or no resemblance to the model in the photograph. In many instances it was clear that the photograph was not being used at all, and that construction was guided by images of the particular type with which the candidate was familiar on the job. Those who did attempt to use the photograph as a guide were apparently unable to break it down imaginatively into its constituent elements or to note the rather obvious relatedness of the parts.

(*c*) *Use of Non-representational Drawings.* Non-representational drawings are used in the form of line drawings, geometric figures, coloured patterns, in such tests as Progressive Matrices, Koh's Block Designs, Gottschaldt Figures, Porteus Maze Test, paper formboards, form relations tests, etc. The non-European with a limited scholastic background has some difficulty in appreciating the purport of the figures and designs presented in these tests, despite the fact that he uses abstract design in decorating the walls of dwellings or objects in daily use, and in making beadwork or other ornaments. Part of this difficulty may be due to mode of presentation on paper; but one suspects that more fundamental factors are involved. In daily use such designs are part of the objects decorated, and are never seen as entities by themselves. Though obviously they are constructed piece by piece and step by step, the pattern as a whole and in relation to the object decorated is no doubt present in the mind of the decorator all the time; it is unlikely ever to be studied analytically, or to be built up into an aggregate or mosaic of separate units. That, however, is the task which is set in virtually all the tests using diagrammatic or pattern material. Meaningful wholes, in terms of background-foreground articulation, "good continuation," "good shape," etc. (16), are ignored, and the closure principle may have only limited application. Most of the patterns in the Matrix test, for instance, have a logical, rather than an organismic, unity. The use of patterns and colours drawn from native culture had no noticeable effect on test performance, presumably because the test situation demanded an attitude, or perceptual habits, not naturally associated with these patterns in their proper context.

(*d*) *Appreciation of Spatial Relations.* The appreciation of spatial relations, divorced from culturally meaningful wholes, is closely related to the use of abstract designs or diagrammatic material in tests. In reproducing a given pattern by arranging blocks on the card presenting the pattern, African mineworkers frequently inverted or arranged the blocks at a different angle. In an adaptation of the Matrix Test in which we used patterns on the wall of a model hut, the correct piece to complete a pattern was sometimes chosen but placed upside down or on its side in the appropriate space on the wall. An extraordinary feature of these solutions was that the candidates, on being asked whether they were sure that they had correctly completed their assignment, appeared to be quite satisfied with their effort. It is likely, therefore, that the task which they set themselves was different from that which they were set by the tester; that they dealt with certain features of the situation and ignored others; that spatial position in a test which was abstract anyway did not appear to matter. In our European culture, orientation with reference to the four main points of the compass, or to the vertical-horizontal axes of the body, is an accepted feature of daily life. We take rectangularity in our buildings, in the positioning of windows, in our books and writing-paper, very much for granted. The African domestic servant, however, after dusting the pictures on the walls, tends to leave them at any odd angle without noting anything wrong. Position within space as a separate entity is not, as a rule, abstracted from his holistic perception of reality. Hence tests which assume this habit of mind, or which require facility in this mode of thinking, place the non-European, who through lack of early contact with European culture has not acquired this analytic approach, at a distinct disadvantage. Even if he does not completely misapprehend what is required of him in the test, he is slow in the mental manipulation of the unfamiliar material. It is instructive to watch the adult tribal African's approach to a formboard test. Shapes are tried out in holes where they could not possibly fit. He appears to be unable to visualise the possible spatial positions of the blocks and proceeds by a process of trial and error. If he has a triangular block in his hands, with apex pointing away from him, and the appropriate space in the board has the apex towards him, he may not appreciate at once that the difference is only one of spatial orientation and not one of shape. In fact the correct triangle, held with the apex pointing away from the body, may appear as inappropriate to him for that particular hole as, say, a diamond-shaped piece. Hence his performance in formboards, more particularly in the paper variety, in form-relations tests, or even in the Koh's Block Design Test, tends to be low.

(*e*) *Manipulation.* Many of the performance tests used for intelligence testing involve some degree of manipulative skill which,

though not of a high order, may nevertheless account for some of the test variance. An element of clumsiness is often apparent in African children who have not had much opportunity to play with blocks or jig-saw puzzles. In adults used to heavy manual labour, this is even more apparent. A good deal of fumbling may occur when picking up pieces or placing them in their appropriate spaces. When two or more pieces go into one space, African candidates are sometimes inclined to force a piece home when any "feel" for what constitutes a good fit would have told them that they were trying the wrong piece.

It might be argued that the handicaps experienced by non-Europeans in attempting to cope with non-verbal and performance tests of intelligence derive less from culturally determined associations and habits, than from a basic inability to manipulate symbols, to think conceptually, and to handle abstract relations. This is unlikely, as there is ample evidence that within their own cultural context they are able to do all these things.

Spoken and written language involves symbolic activity of a much higher order than pictorial representation, and Africans are great linguists, even though their languages had, until recently, no written form. Since orthographies have been developed, they have had no difficulty in assimilating them, nor have they been backward in acquiring knowledge of European languages. Many an African school child will know English and Afrikaans in addition to two Bantu languages, and will master some Latin on top of that as well.

There are African tribal games which resemble "noughts and crosses," draughts, and chess, and one game, involving the movement of stones along rows of holes, which is quite incomprehensible to the European.

It is possible, however, that their thought is holistic, rather than analytic; that their mental processes tend towards the "minimum simplicity of complete uniformity" rather than the "maximum simplicity of perfect articulation," two concepts discussed by Koffka (17) in his analysis of perceptual organisation; or that their mental function is integrated rather than unintegrated, a distinction defined by Jaensch (18) and applied by him to individual, cultural, and racial differences. Only impressionistic evidence is available on this non-analytic element in the thought processes of Africans, and no evidence at all to indicate whether its origins are genetic or cultural.

It is obvious that research work into the perceptual, manipulative, and problem-solving habits of various racial groups, with special emphasis on cultural determination, is badly needed.

Until more facts are available from studies of this kind, it will not be possible adequately to control the cultural factor in tests to be used for inter-racial comparisons of educability.

) *Test Administration*

Though verbal material can be excluded from test performance, is difficult to dispense with the use of language in test adminisıation. The use of English or other European language is justi:d only if both groups are equally familiar with it. The exclusion verbal material from the test itself suggests that this is generally ›t the case. If the test instructions are translated into the verıcular, it may be difficult to equate the amount and equivalence the information which the two groups are given, more particularly circumlocutions are required for the one to express concepts hich are more appropriate to the other. The use of interpreters give the vernacular instructions is inadvisable. Experience has own that they do not stick to their brief. The European tester ould himself be perfectly fluent in the native tongue, or else a operly trained non-European tester should be used. There reains mime as a medium for test administration. That it can be ccessfully used for inter-racial testing will be shown in Section I. Difficulties arise only when the tests are of a more advanced nd, involving higher mental processes. Thus it was found extradinarily difficult in an associative learning test to indicate to :rican mineworkers by means of gestures that they had to memor: the connection between certain shapes and symbols or to make em switch from repetitive to progressive series on a counting ame. When mime is used, it is as well to explain briefly to the ndidates the reason for this unusual mode of communication. ithout such explanation they tend to adopt an unfavourable titude, believing the testers to be unfriendly, or wondering why ey are not being treated as ordinary people. Such an explanation n be given by any means which are practicable. If group comrisons are to be made, it is of course essential that test instrucıns should be given through the medium of mime to *both* groups. ime is not easily standardised. Variations are likely to occur, ›t only from tester to tester but also in the same tester from y to day. The mimed instructions must therefore be very carelly worked out, and in the case of control-group studies should given by the same person. An attempt at more perfect standardıtion of mime by means of cine films and lantern slides will be :erred to in Section III.

ı *Attitude towards the Test Situation*

Attitudinal factors are serious disturbers of test performance and ry difficult to control. First and foremost we should be sure ıt motivation is constant. For a number of reasons it is virılly impossible to equate motivation in different cultural groups. ıe competitive spirit is not as strong in non-European as in Euroan groups, where it is one of the chief cultural manifestations.

The non-European will therefore not be greatly concerned about doing well in order to beat his fellows, unless of course he has acquired the European outlook. Doing well in the test for its own sake is likely to occur only when the purpose of testing and its full implications are appreciated. The uneducated non-European has very little notion of what it is all about, and those who are educated know only too well from past experience that conclusions unfavourable to their racial or cultural group are likely to be drawn from the findings. This produces attitudes varying from outright hostility and refusal to do the tests, to going through the motions without making much effort, or to an uneasiness which by its inhibiting effect impairs the efficiency of thought. The use of a tester belonging to their own race does not materially alter the attitude of this test-conscious group. As part of the test situation he is equally suspect. In groups where hostility is absent, an inhibitory effect on performance may nevertheless be operative as a result of the awe which the novel test situation or the strange tester inspires in the minds of people who have never gone through anything of the kind before, not even a school examination, to which everyone in a European group tends to get inured. An important aspect of the mental set required for examination writing is the need to maintain attention at a high pitch of concentration, whilst working at high speed. This does not come easily to the African, in whose culture speed plays no part, who likes to take his time over things, who is seldom called upon to concentrate his thoughts on one problem to the exclusion of everything else and never required to combine speed with concentration for a prolonged period without some relaxation of effort. That the non-European does not respond well to tests in which the speed factor plays a part is demonstrated by research data quoted in Section III. Whether this is due to cultural conditioning, to a temperamental difference, or to a genetic limitation in intellectual efficiency cannot be stated with certainty; but it is a reasonable assumption that cultural factors play some part. Until research data are available on this point, the control of this mental-set factor compels the use of tests in which the score can be stated in terms of quality of performance rather than of speed. As this is often not practicable, tests in which the score is based on performance put up within given time-limits may be used as a compromise.

(5) *Temperamental Factors*

It is possible that the inability of many non-European groups to work continuously at high speed may be derived from temperamental differences which have a constitutional basis. Such a constitutional factor may also play a part (19) in determining capacity for sustained effort, although physical condition, incentives, and motivation generally account for the major differences in drive. Vir-

:ually nothing is known of inter-racial differences in temperament, ɔartly because the concepts of temperament and personality have ıot yet been properly defined by general psychology; but chiefly ɔecause of the extreme difficulty of unravelling the genetic components from a form of human behaviour which more than any ɔther is socially conditioned. Here, then, is another psychological ield which eagerly awaits development. Research could usefully be ındertaken *pari-passu* with the study of genetic intellectual poten- ialities.

6) *School Education*

Allowance is generally made for the effects of schooling on test ɔerformance by eliminating tests for which such scholastic skills ıs reading, writing, and arithmetic are required. As schooling also mproves familiarity with pictorial representation, the use of pencil ınd paper, the perception of abstract spatial relations, manipulative kills and habits of work and attention, the control of the educa- ional factor cannot be achieved merely by choosing tests without ın obvious scholastic content. Regardless of test medium, the roups to be compared should have had an equivalent amount of chooling from equally well-trained teachers. The need for com- ɔrehensive control is well demonstrated by Dent's (20) study of he test performance of three groups of 12–14-year-old Zulu chool children. These groups, equated for age and tested through he medium of the Zulu language, differed chiefly in the amount f schooling which they had received, though also in the amount f contact with urban European culture. Group I was a rural roup which had received no school education at all and was tested n the kraals. Group II had attended only rural African schools here the opportunities for contact with European culture are imited. The children in Group III were all in town schools and ved in town locations. The Test results are given in Table I.

The superiority of the school-going groups over the non-school- oing groups is marked and consistent, and cannot be due to general nvironmental factors only, as these would not be greatly different ɔr the school-going and non-school-going country children. Nor is : likely that only parents with superior native endowment are ıfficiently progressive to send their children to school. Only 38 per ent. of African children of school-going age in the Union go to chool, and of this group only 16 per cent. proceed beyond Standard [, limitation of opportunity, the persistence of tribal customs, and conomic considerations being the determining factors.

The extensive control of the educational factor which appears to e desirable cannot, however, be achieved, unless the two races to e compared share a common culture or one has thoroughly assimi- ıted the culture of the other and enjoys equality of opportunity 'ithin it. As these conditions cannot be satisfied in the majority

of inter-racial intelligence studies, the use of the control-group technique is once again found to be impracticable.

TABLE I

COMPARISON OF THE PERFORMANCE OF ZULU CHILDREN: (*a*) WITHOUT SCHOOL EDUCATION; (*b*) WITH COUNTRY-SCHOOL EDUCATION; (*c*) WITH TOWN-SCHOOL EDUCATION, IN A NUMBER OF PERFORMANCE TESTS OF INTELLIGENCE

(A high score indicates a superior performance, except in the case of the Goddard Formboard.)

Test	*Group I* (N=40)		*Group II* (N=40)		*Group III* (N=40)	
	Mean	*S.D.*	*Mean*	*S.D.*	*Mean*	*S.D.*
Mare and Foal Test	35·4	10·6	46	7·2	45·3	7·9
Healy Picture Completion, I	58·5	51·3	145·3	92·3	161·5	91·2
Mannikin Test	2·5	1·3	2·7	1·1	3·4	2·4
Profile Test	3·1	1·4	3·1	1·1	3·7	·9
Goddard Formboard	29	6·7	16·2	10·5	14·5	7·6
Five Figure Formboard	18·4	12·9	28·6	14·8	33·1	12·9
Dearborn Formboard	6·1	3·6	11·3	3·1	11·4	3·8
Cube Construction Test	5·2	2·5	8·6	3·4	9·9	4·3
Koh's Blocks Test	9	6·5	12·1	6·2	20·6	11·1

(7) *Factors which Influence the Development of Genetic Capacity*

Intelligence-test performances can be affected both extrinsically and intrinsically by environmental influences. Extrinsic factors are those which affect performance only, leaving intelligence itself unaltered. Intrinsic factors are those which influence the development of intelligence itself, either qualitatively or quantitatively. Qualitative modifications to be taken care of in the measurement of inter-racial differences have already been discussed in relation to the cultural conditioning of modes of perception, thought, and action. Factors exercising intrinsic quantitative effects remain to be dealt with. Their discussion is hampered by the fact that no finality has been reached in the nature-nurture controversy. Though we can state with certainty that genetic capacity can be completely realised only under optimum environmental conditions, we do not know which aspects of the environment have the most potent effect, at which point in the life-cycle these effects are most crucial, and to what extent effective intelligence can be reduced by successive degrees of shortfall from the environmental optimum. The following factors are, however, known to have some significance:

(*a*) *Nutrition.* Little is known about the effects of malnutrition on the growth of intelligence; but certain physiological and clinical facts suggest that it is a factor which cannot be ignored. In a general way there is a relationship between degree of intelligence

and development of the central nervous system. Anything which impairs this development should therefore adversely affect intellectual growth. The central nervous system has been shown to be remarkably resistant to underfeeding during the development stage. It grows at the expense of other organs. For qualitative malnutrition, more particularly deficiency of the vitamin-B complex in the diet, there can be no such compensation. The body does not synthesise these substances for itself, and any lack of them will immediately affect nervous growth, which is particularly dependent on an adequate supply of nicotinic acid. Severe shortage of this substance in the diet causes pellagra, a deficiency disease which may be accompanied by marked mental disturbances. It is probable that lesser degrees of deficiency produce sub-clinical conditions in which impairment of the same type occurs. Shortage of the B complex in the diet of the mother during gestation and again during the lactation period is virtually certain to have a permanent effect on nervous growth in the fœtus and neonate. The genetic intellectual potentialities in such a case may never be fully realised, even if considerable improvement in the nutritional condition occurs at a later stage. Corroborative evidence is provided by experiments on rats, which showed that nursing rats, suckled by vitamin-B-depleted mothers, had a much lower maze-learning ability than a normal control group (21, 22).

Non-European groups who live in close association with Europeans are on the whole the poorer section of the community. Even those communities whose way of life has been little affected by Western civilisation have often a precarious existence, as is indicated by the high incidence of deficiency disease found among them. One would therefore expect to find a lower level of intelligence—irrespective of test medium and condition—in any group which has been unable to maintain normal nutritional conditions.

As the germ plasm itself is not affected by malnutrition, such inferiority is not genetic. Though irreversible in the individual, it would gradually disappear in the group with improvement in its nutritional status.

(*b*) *Parental Care.* That man does not live by bread alone applies as much to the infant as to the adult. Just as the body needs certain foods for adequate growth, so the mind needs its sustenance. It has been shown that children on whom care and affection are bestowed develop more rapidly intellectually than those to whom proper parental solicitude is denied (23). If this deprivation is prolonged beyond the second year of life, it is probable that retardation will be permanent (24.) Parental attitude towards children varies greatly from culture to culture. In non-European groups whose cultural life has been disrupted, who have not yet acquired European ways, and whose socio-economic position is too precarious to enable them to devote time to their children, impair-

ment of intellectual growth as a result of lack of parental care is inevitable.

(*c*) *Parental Intelligence and Home Environment.* Optimum intellectual growth can be ensured only if, in addition to the proper bodily and emotional care, the child receives adequate stimulation from its environment. Among the most important of these stimuli are the personalities of the parents, whose intelligence, education, interests, and attitudes have been shown to exercise an intrinsic environmental effect. The diversity of objects in the home, the variety of experiences to which the child is subjected, the frequency and quality of its contacts with other children and people, are also significant influences.

It is only rarely that the non-European child can enjoy opportunities in respect of this type of environmental stimulation which is normal for the average European child.

Conclusions on the Use of the Control-group Technique for the Study of Inter-racial Differences in Intelligence

One concludes from this brief survey of the factors which can influence intelligence-test performance that the orthodox use of the control-group technique for inter-racial comparisons is impracticable. The necessary degree of control cannot be exercised because, in respect of certain essentials, conditions of life in the groups to be compared are too divergent. Unless they have been subjected to similar cultural influences, for the same length of time, no basis for quantitative comparison exists. The very thing to be compared, intelligence, assumes different manifestations in different cultures, giving scope for qualitative comparisons only. Attempts to get round this difficulty by using culturally neutral test material and procedures fail to appreciate the extent to which cultural conditioning influences the skills, perceptual habits, and attitudes which together determine test performance.

Perfect control of these factors would probably mean the elimination of all that is significant in the abilities of a people and the measurement of functions possessing little educational or occupational value.

In view of the differences in socio-economic status, patterns of interpersonal relations, and ways of life, which generally obtain between different racial groups, it is equally difficult to control the nutritional, parental, and home-environmental factors known to have an influence on the development of genetic potentialities. Even when cultural differences have largely vanished, as in the case of the American Negro, socio-economic differences tend to remain. There is usually a sufficient overlap to enable the investigator to pick groups of equivalent socio-economic status, but this always raises the question to what extent such samples are truly representative of the populations from which they were drawn.

As an illustration of the practical differences encountered in the study of the educability of non-Europeans by means of the control-group technique, an investigation by Botha and Biesheuvel may prove instructive.

Their primary purpose was to inquire whether the same set of factors could account for the test performances of two groups of African and European school children if one equated the groups for age, narrowed the gap in socio-economic status, tried to control the attitudinal factor, and used only tests of the performance type, claimed to be equally fair to both races.[1]

As the design of the investigation makes a conventional inter-racial comparison possible, it will be of interest to see to what extent control has affected differences in test performance, what significance can be attached to any reduction which may have occurred, and whether the type of test used is likely to prove of much value as a predictor of scholastic success.

The African group consisted of pupils from a well-run mission school in a representative native township in Johannesburg, the European group of pupils from two Government primary schools in a lower-middle-class area, inhabited by Europeans only. The European group was superior to the African group in socio-economic status, though below the average of the Johannesburg European community as a whole. It would have been possible to find a group of lower status, living in one of the areas where Europeans and non-Europeans are residentially mixed, but such a sample would have been quite unrepresentative of the European population, as it would have contained a number of children "passing" as white, though of coloured parentage, and a fair sprinkling of cases of obvious genetic inferiority. The mean I.Q. of our European group of the S.A. Group Intelligence Test was found to be 97, with an S.D. of 9, which shows it to be slightly inferior, probably environmentally rather than genetically, to a representative sample of the South African European population. The two groups had identical age distributions, there being forty-four 12-year-olds, thirty-six 13-year-olds, forty 14-year-olds, and five 15-year-olds in each. Each group contained sixty-four boys and sixty-one girls, each European boy or girl being matched for age with an African member of its own sex.

In respect of maturation, considered from a purely constitutional angle, the groups were therefore identical, provided the ages of the African children were given correctly. By controlling the developmental factor within the socio-economic groups chosen as most suitable for the investigation, something else was, however,

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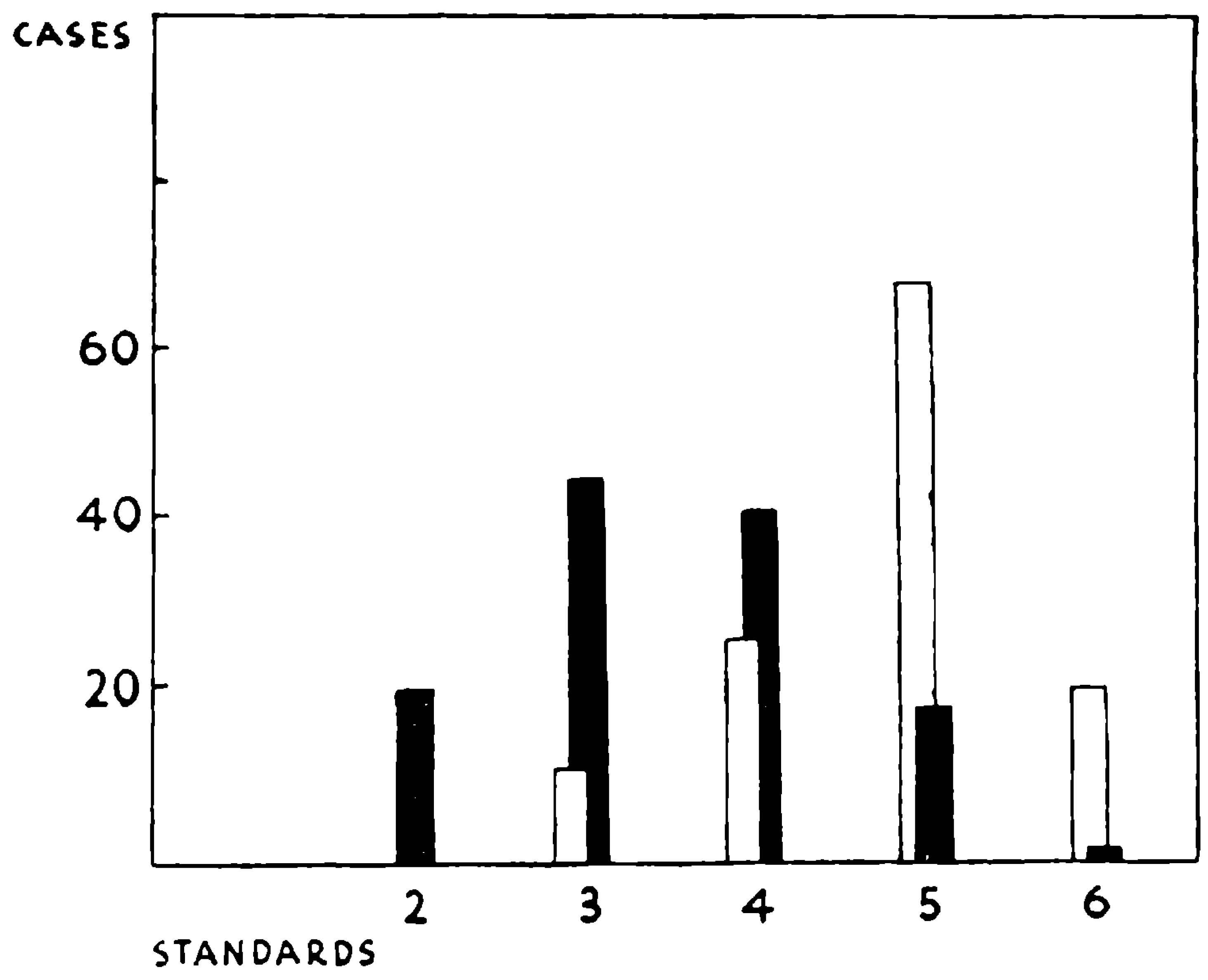
[1] The collection of material has been completed, but final results from a number of factor analyses are not yet available. A final report on this investigation is likely to be published in 1949.

EDUCATIONAL STANDARD.

DISTRIBUTION OF SCHOOL STANDARDS FOR EUROPEAN AND NON-EUROPEAN GROUP MATCHED FOR AGE.

☐ EUROPEAN ■ NON-EUROPEAN.



bound to get out of gear. Reference to the graph shows the European group to be superior in educational status. Statistically the difference amounts to between one and two standards, but this hardly reflects the true position, as educationally the African Standard VI is of little more value than the European Standard IV. By hand-picking cases, it might have been possible to collect a group in which the educational factor was properly equated; but this could have been done only by going well beyond the socio-economic context chosen for the investigation. It would have made both European and non-European groups less representative genetically, and would have disturbed the constancy of the test situation within the two groups and complicated the use of class marks and rating-scale data on certain personality qualities. The following tests were chosen: Koh's Block Designs, Cube Construction Test, Alexander's Passalong Test, Porteus Maze Test, and Malherbe's Match Test. Of these, only the last one may be unfamiliar

to the reader. It consists of a series of match patterns arranged on strips of cardboard. Each series has to be completed by the addition of one or more patterns, according to the principle governing the series. The test is a performance version of such familiar tests as "number series," "figure classification," and "progressive matrices," and involves perceptual ability and deductive reasoning.

The tests were given individually by a woman tester through either English or Afrikaans medium. All African children tested knew either of these two languages sufficiently well to understand the test instructions fully. To break down apprehension about the test and to give them some familiarity with the material to be used, a simple block-building test was given as a buffer. The subject of intelligence testing was not mentioned, but no special effort was made to control motivation. To determine whether the tests had some value as predictors of scholastic success, mid-year examination marks and monthly average class marks were used as a criterion. An intelligence assessment of each child was also obtained from the teachers. To determine the possible effects of physical fitness, interest in schoolwork, and capacity for sustained effort on test performance and scholastic success, the teachers provided four additional assessments, which will be used in factorial analysis.

Table II gives the mean scores of the two groups on the performance tests.

TABLE II

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE MEANS OF A EUROPEAN AND A NON-EUROPEAN GROUP IN A NUMBER OF PERFORMANCE TESTS

($N=125$ in both cases)

	$M._{EUR.}$	$S.E._M.$	$M._{N.-Eur.}$	$S.E._M.$	$M._E.-M._{N.E.}$	D/SE
Koh's Blocks Test .	55·3	3·07	43·14	2·71	12·16	2·97
Cube Construction Test	49·74	·89	43·66	1·33	6·08	3·80
Passalong Test . .	21·44	·49	21·12	·62	·32	·40
Maze Test . .	97·38	1·45	98·18	2·05	—·80	·32
Match Test .	25·5	·69	24·86	·75	·64	·63

The Europeans are significantly superior only in the Koh's Blocks and Cube Construction Tests.

Before drawing any conclusions from these findings, a numbei of other facts require to be considered.

Reference to Graphs 1–5 shows that in the Maze, Match, and Passalong Tests, there is a higher frequency of both below- and above-average scores in the non-European group. In the Cube Construction Test, greater scatter of non-European scores is also evident. One concludes, therefore, that the European sample was

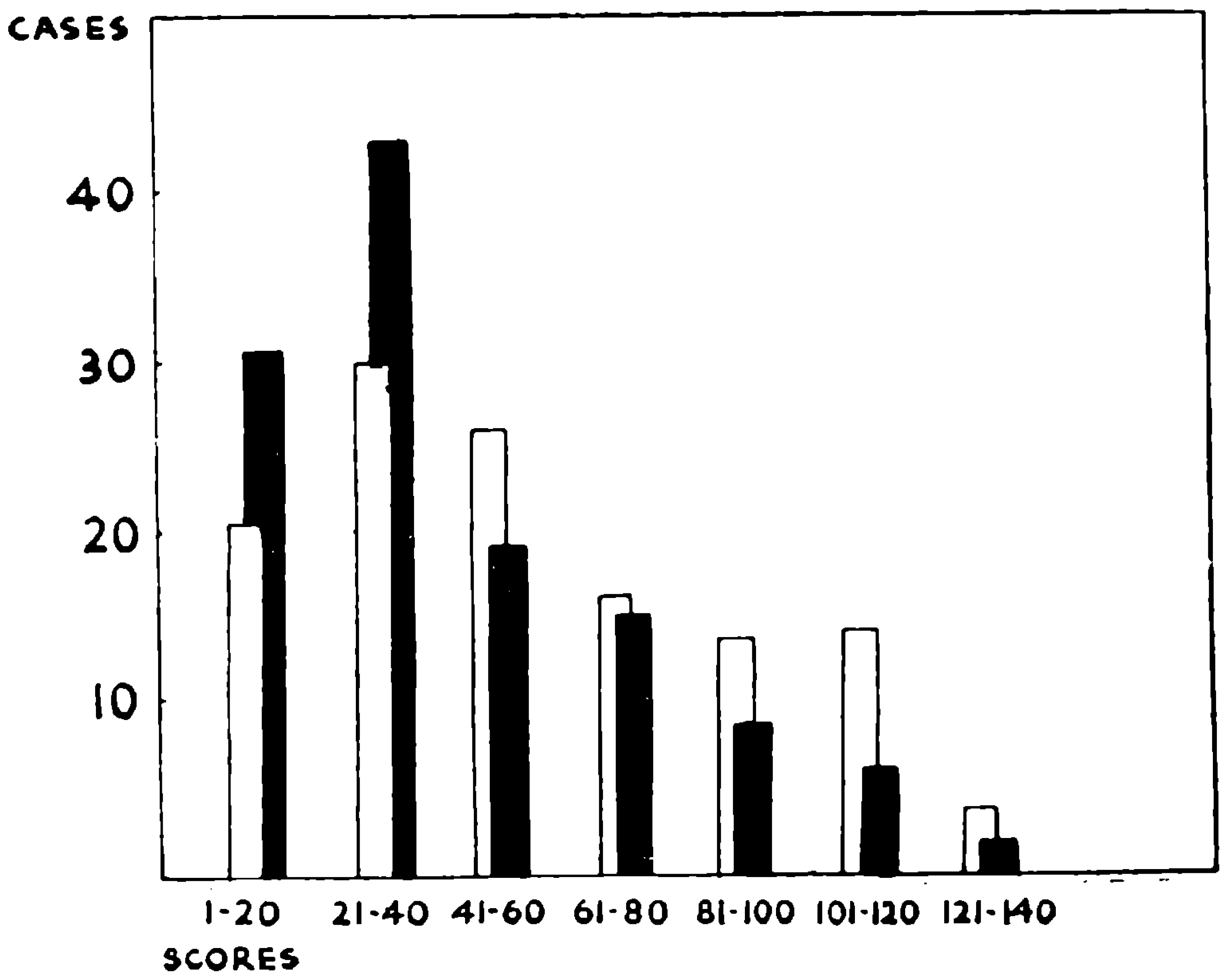
GRAPH I.

KOH'S BLOCKS TEST.

DISTRIBUTION OF SCORES OF A EUROPEAN AND A NON-EUROPEAN GROUP MATCHED FOR AGE.

N = 125 IN EACH GROUP

□ EUROPEAN. ■ NON-EUROPEAN.



more homogeneous, and probably less representative of the total European group, than the African sample. This fits in with the facts of the residential situation in Johannesburg.

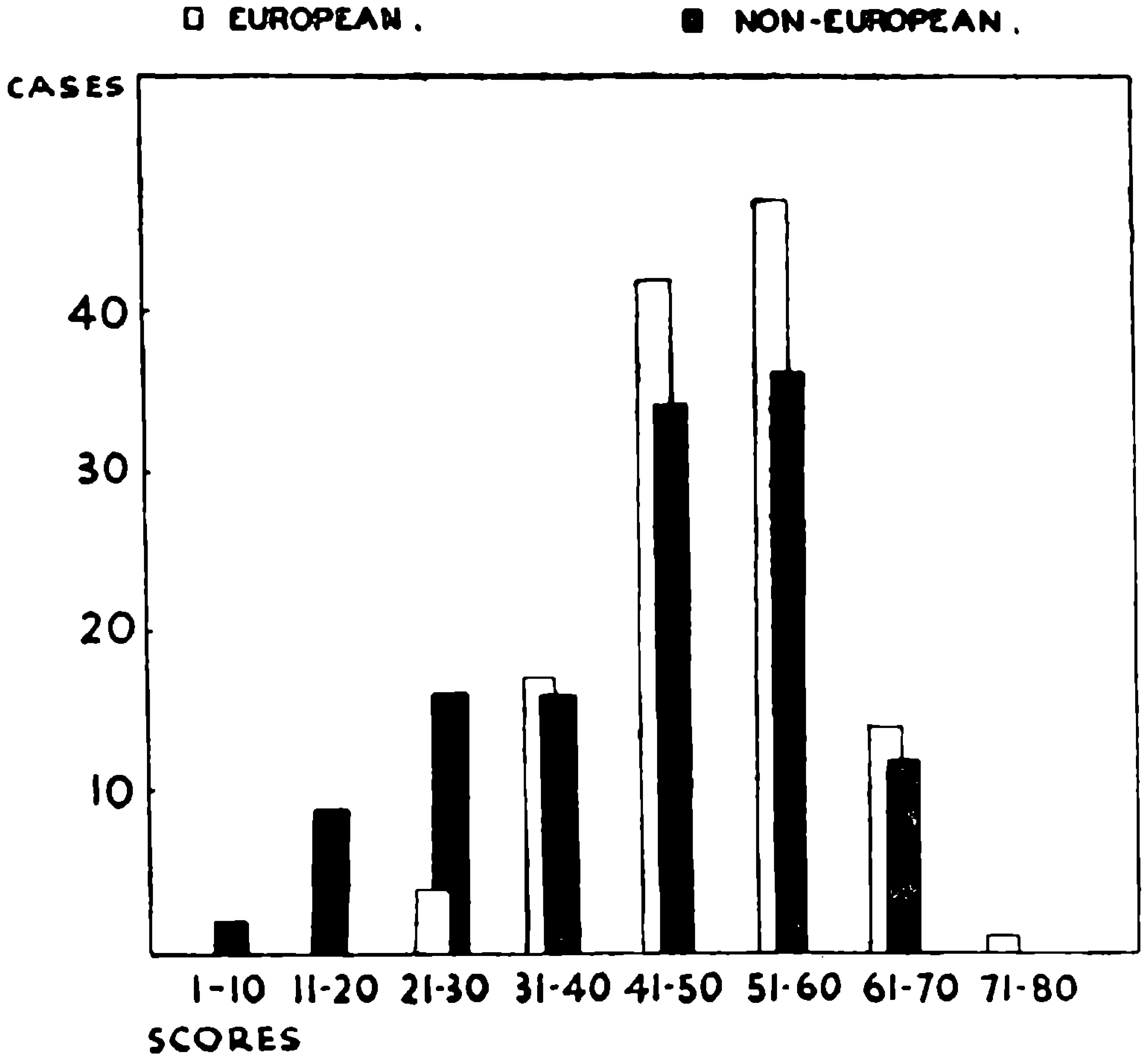
For a number of reasons there is a much closer correspondence between European income level and residential area than one would expect to find in English cities. Africans, on the other hand, live in one or other of the wards or Native locations set aside for them, regardless of their income level and of their social or occupational status. There is no differentiation according to status in these wards. The teacher lives next door to the labourer, and their houses will be identical, unless either one has a stand in one or two of the areas where Africans may own land and build their own houses. In schools in such areas one is therefore bound to find a true cross-section of the urban African population. There may possibly be a very slight curtailment at the upper end of the distribution, as a few well-to-do send their children to the large mission

GRAPH 2

CUBE CONSTRUCTION TEST

DISTRIBUTION OF SCORES OF A EUROPEAN AND NON-EUROPEAN GROUP MATCHED FOR AGE.

N = 125 IN EACH GROUP.



schools in the country, where the atmosphere is socially more congenial, and the standard of education is much better.

Our expectation that the two groups would not be strictly comparable as samples of the two racial populations is therefore borne out by this analysis of test results.

When we turn to a study of the tests as predictors of educability, we find correlations with mid-year examination results, average monthly class marks, or teachers' intelligence assessments uniformly low in both groups.[1] (See Table III.)

Only one of the European correlations exceeds ·3, namely that between Koh's and mid-year examination results. In the non-

[1] Intercorrelations in the case of the European group are based on eighty-seven cases, as the S.A. Group Intelligence Test results were not available on the whole group.

TABLE III

INTERCORRELATIONS BETWEEN TESTS AND ASSESSMENTS

European Group = 87 cases.

Standard Errors given between brackets below each coefficient.

TESTS	*Product Moment Coefficient—European Group.*								
	I	*II*	*III*	*IV*	*V*	*VI*	*VII*	*VIII*	*IX*
I. Koh's Block Designs .	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
II. Passalong Test .	·428 (·088)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
III. Cube Construction Test . .	·591 (·070)	·267 (·100)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
IV. Match Test . .	·248 (·101)	·168 (·105)	·195 (·104)	—	—	—	—	—	—
V. Porteus Maze Test .	·176 (·105)	·060 (·107)	·089 ·107)	·237 (·102)	—	—	—	—	—
VI. Mid-Year Exam. Results .	·334 (·096)	·003 (·108)	·223 (·103)	·245 (·101)	·251 (·101)	—	—	—	—
VII. Class Marks, Monthly Average.	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
VIII. Intelligence Assessment . .	·145 (·106)	—·166 (·100)	·080 (·108)	·093 (·107)	·295 (·098)	·456 (·085)	—	—	—
IX. S.A. Group Intelligence Test .	·211 (·103)	—·173 (·105)	·162 (·105)	·441 (·087)	·215 (·103)	·384 (·092)	—	·469 (·084)	—

TABLE III—(*continued*)

INTERCORRELATIONS BETWEEN TESTS AND ASSESSMENTS

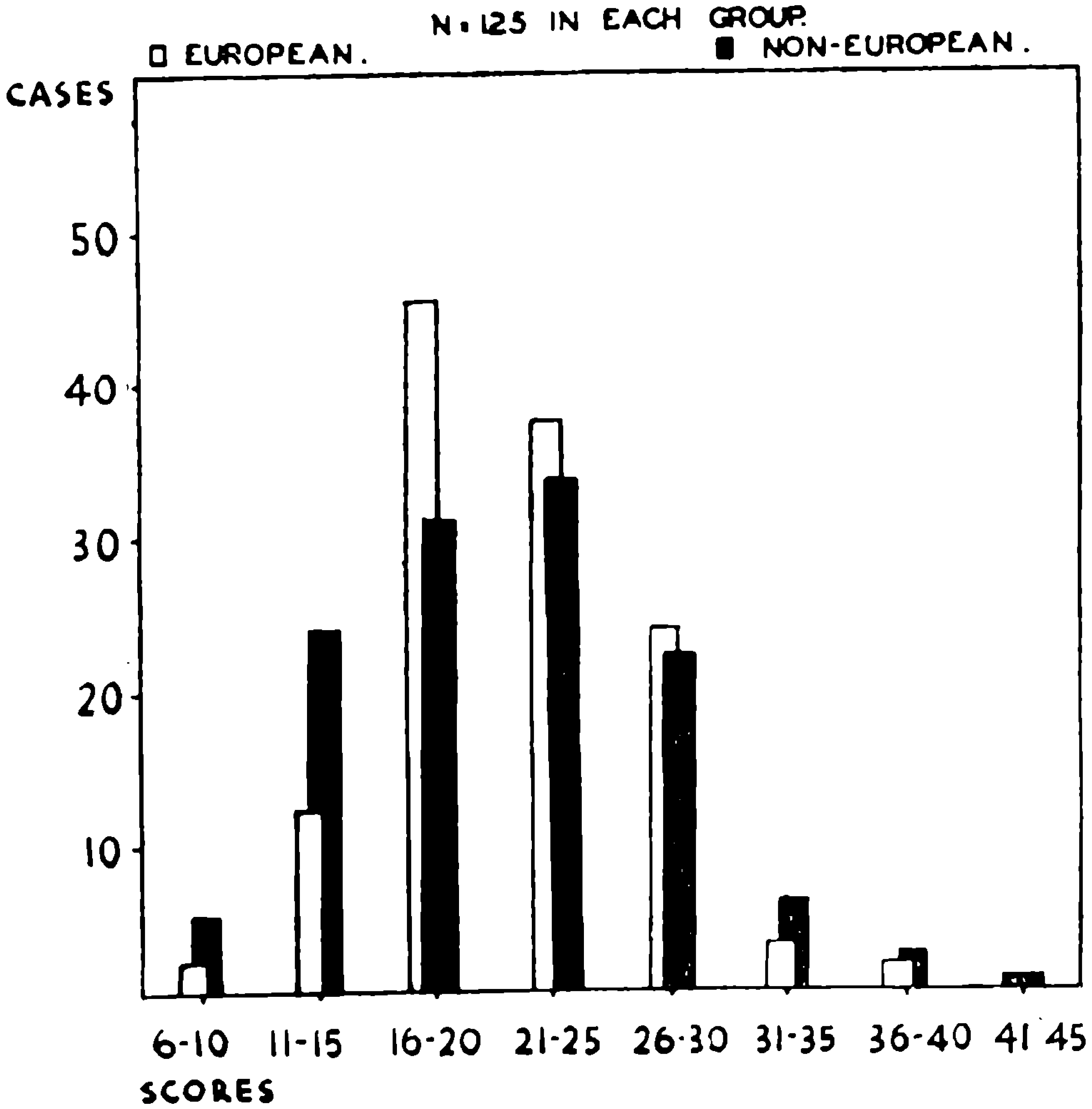
Non-European Group = 122 cases.

Standard Errors given between brackets below each coefficient.

TESTS	*Product Moment Coefficient—Non-European Group*								
	I	*II*	*III*	*IV*	*V*	*VI*	*VII*	*VIII*	*IX*
I. Koh's Block Designs .	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
II. Passalong Test .	·390 (·077)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
III. Cube Construction Test .	·551 (·063)	·493 (·069)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
IV. Match Test .	·231 (·086)	·223 (·086)	·222 (·086)	—	—	—	—	—	—
V. Porteus Maze Test .	·333 (·081)	·164 (·089)	·266 (·085)	·323 (·081)	—	—	—	—	—
VI. Mid-Year Exam. Results .	·273 (·084)	·112 (·090)	·236 (·086)	·193 (·088)	·138 (·090)	—	—	—	—
VII. Class Marks, Monthly Average .	·313 (·082)	·071 (·090)	·154 (·089)	·327 (·081)	·156 (·089)	·714 (·045)	—	—	—
VIII. Intelligence Assessment .	·308 (·082)	·094 (·090)	·208 (·087)	·234 (·086)	·185 (·088)	·615 (·057)	·726 (·043)	—	—
IX. S.A. Group Intelligence Test .	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—

GRAPH 3.
PASSALONG TEST.

DISTRIBUTION OF SCORES OF A EUROPEAN AND NON-EUROPEAN GROUP MATCHED FOR AGE.



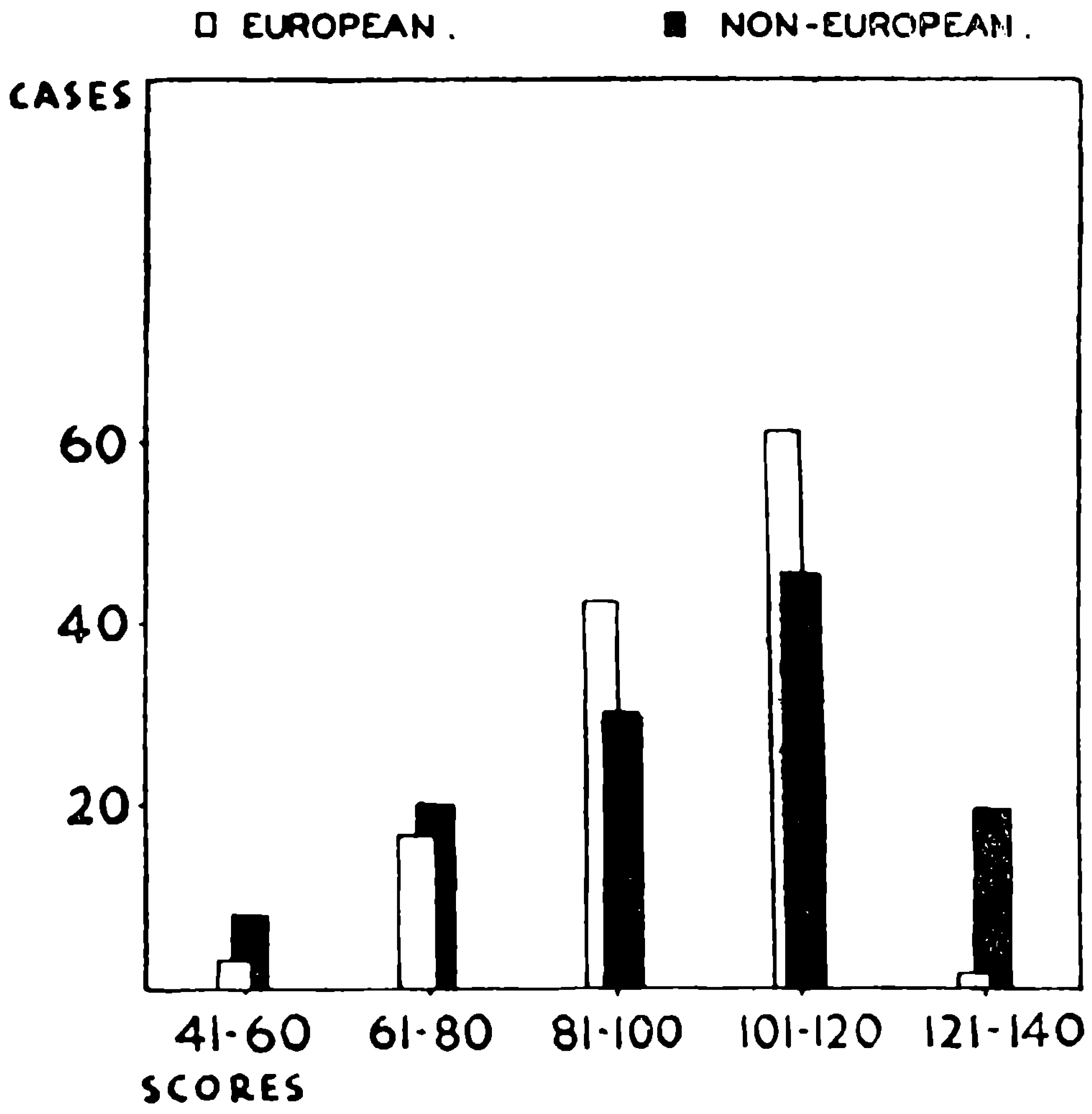
European group the relationships are slightly higher. Three coefficients are just over ·3, namely those between Koh's and monthly class average, Koh's and intelligence assessment, and Match Test and monthly class average. The lowness of the correlation between the mid-year examination and the South African Group Intelligence Test results (·384 ± ·092) is rather disturbing. As this test is well standardised and validated one must conclude that the mid-year examinations are not a reliable index of the educability of the European pupils. On the other hand, correlations between the tests and the S.A. Group Intelligence Test are equally low, the Match Test being the only one establishing a relationship of any consequence (·44 ± ·089). It would appear, therefore, that the tests measure specific abilities, rather than a general intellectual factor. Inspection of their intercorrelations shows that Koh's Block De-

GRAPH 4

PORTEUS MAZE TEST.

DISTRIBUTION OF SCORES OF A EUROPEAN AND NON-EUROPEAN GROUP MATCHED FOR AGE.

N = 125 IN EACH GROUP



signs and Cube Construction have most in common. Introspection suggests that these two tests involve analytic thinking in terms of spatial relations. The destruction of certain *Gestalten* and the re-building of larger wholes from the fragments, in a molecular rather than a molar manner, is an essential feature of the type of thinking required. We have seen that probably for cultural, possibly for genetic, reasons, Africans are inferior to Europeans in this mode of thought. This would account for the significant difference between our experimental and control group on these two tests.

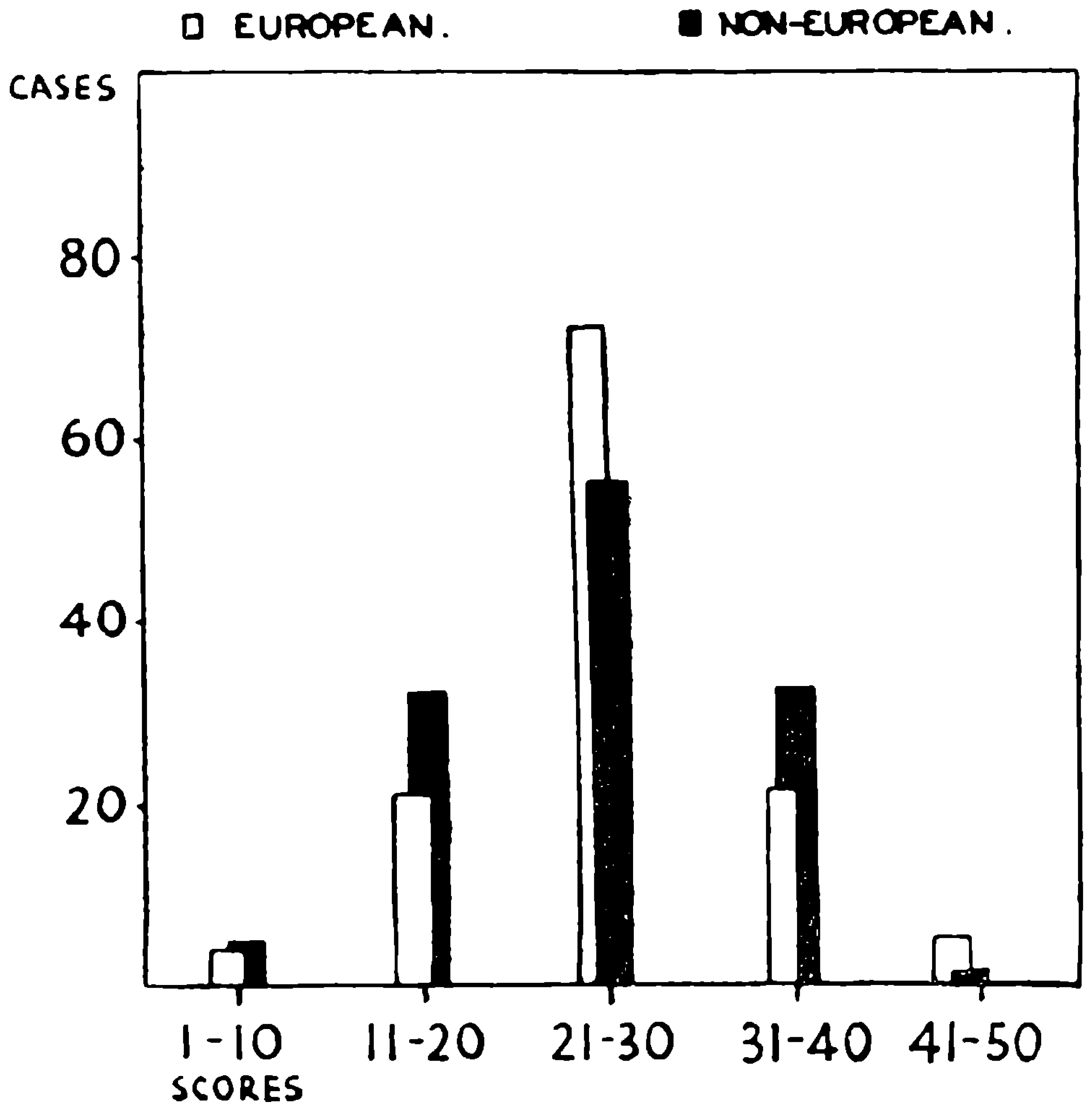
Without data from factor analysis, one cannot get much farther

GRAPH 5.

MATCH TEST.

DISTRIBUTION OF SCORES OF A EURO-PEAN AND NON-EUROPEAN GROUP MATCHED FOR AGE.

N = 125 IN EACH GROUP.



in the interpretation of the correlation table. This much is clear, however:

(1) that though it is possible to reduce the gap between European and non-European test intelligence by controlling environmental influences, some tests respond more markedly to this control than others;

(2) that it is not possible to decide whether this differential response is the result of genetic disabilities or of imperfections in environmental control;

(3) that the tests which the control-group technique compels one to use may not be satisfactory predictors of scholastic success.

It is difficult to see by what means a quantitative investigation of inter-racial differences could be made to yield more conclusive findings. By making control more effective one would merely render the groups more unrepresentative. By choosing tests which correlate more highly with scholastic educability one would either undo one's control efforts, or else make the samples tested even more unrepresentative. A search for tests equally diagnostic of educability in the widest sense, regardless of race or culture—if such exist—presumes prior intra-racial studies of a qualitative type.

The case for such qualitative studies, in which variance or factor analyses are likely to prove useful aids, is therefore clearly established.

For a further discussion of the study of inter-racial differences in intelligence, the reader is referred to the author's *African Intelligence,* where the effects of environmental influences and the difficulties encountered in controlling them, are dealt with in detail, with special reference to the South African Native.

Aptitude Testing of non-Europeans

Tests to determine the occupational fitness of non-Europeans can be designed with relative ease, depending on the extent of their familiarity with Western ways of life. As we are concerned only with the degree to which a candidate possesses the qualities required for the satisfactory performance of a given job, the distinction between genetic potentiality and effective ability does not arise. It is true that in some occupations facilities are provided to acquire the necessary skills by training or apprenticeship; but unless both initial and learning ability are adequate, progress is likely to be too slow and final achievement too low to make training worth while.

Here, too, therefore, we can confine ourselves to the measurement of effective capacity and leave those potentialities which are unable to realise themselves in the test situation out of account.

It does not follow, however, that the racial factor can be ignored and that a given battery of tests will predict occupational fitness as efficiently in one racial group as in another. Suitability for artisan training can be adequately measured by means of pencil-and-paper tests in a European group; but it is probable that performance tests would prove more efficient for non-Europeans. Whenever there is more than one way of measuring a particular function (such as form relations, mechanical comprehension, reasoning ability) that measure should be chosen which is most suited to the educational status and cultural level of the group to be tested, which will give the best distribution of scores, and which will have the highest reliability.

The construction of a battery of classification tests for operatives in the clothing industry in South Africa illustrates some of these

points.[1] The industry employs European, Coloured, Indian, and African operatives, both male and female. There is some demarcation of duties along racial lines, but this is by no means general and has no statutory basis. African males predominate among the pressers, but a few are found in the cutting department, where the most highly skilled work is done. Machinists may be either European, Indian, or Coloured according to a factory's preference, but rarely African. The more highly skilled machining work, such as whole-garment making or model making, tends to be reserved for Europeans, in accordance with policy rather than ability, except in small factories where no racial distinctions may occur.

A job analysis was conducted for each task, and tests were constructed to measure the skills involved in the major job families of cutters, machinists, table hands, and pressers, without any regard for the racial factor.

The following experimental test battery was chosen:

Pencil-and-Paper Tests

(1) *Raven's Progressive Matrices Test.* To give a measure of general intelligence.

(2) *Paper Formboard Test.* From two to four pieces have to be fitted together to form given geometric outlines. The task is performed by drawing lines in pencil across the surface of the geometric figures. As the pieces are printed and cannot be manipulated, the test measures perception of spatial relations at the imaginal, rather than the overt, trial-and-error level.

(3) *Gottschaldt Figures Test.* This test, as modified by Thurstone and used in his factorial analysis of perception, measures a "closure" factor, more particularly flexibility of closure or the ability to destroy one *Gestalt* in favour of another. In dealing with patterns where figure-ground articulation is an essential element, this factor should be important.

(4) *Judgement of Direction Test.* The candidate is required to draw straight lines at given angles, including the horizontal and vertical.

Psychomotor Tests

(1) *Hand-foot Co-ordination Test.* This test, designed by the National Institute for Personnel Research, reproduces the essentials of the machining task. It yields a number of scores, including:

(*a*) the speed at which a set task is performed;
(*b*) the accuracy of the performance;
(*c*) the ratio between speed and accuracy.

[1] This work, undertaken on behalf of the Transvaal Clothing Manufacturing Association by the National Institute for Personnel Research, is still in progress. Only preliminary results are available, and no papers have yet been published.

A learning element is involved, as a number of trials are given.

(2) *Tracing Test.* A test of smoothness of movement, designed by the National Institute for Personnel Research. With an instrument shaped like an iron, and in weight and feel not unlike an electric cutter, the candidate has to follow a number of patterns engraved in a metal-faced board. Errors are electrically recorded. Also yields speed and accuracy scores.

(3) *Two-hand Co-ordination Test.* A test of the pursuit type, in which the candidate has to co-ordinate the movements of both hands in response to a visually perceived indicator moving at varying rates along an irregular pathway. In this test the candidate cannot choose his own speed of work. The score is a measure of psychomotor efficiency which includes a learning factor. The apparatus is a modification by the School of Aviation Medicine, Randolph Field, of an original design by Karl Heinrich.

Other Tests

A few additional tests were given in which performance consisted chiefly of perceptual judgement. In one of these, candidates were required to judge whether pairs of lines were or were not parallel. In another, judgements of length of line had to be made. In a third, a line had to be halved, trisected, quartered, etc., a specially designed piece of apparatus being used for this purpose.

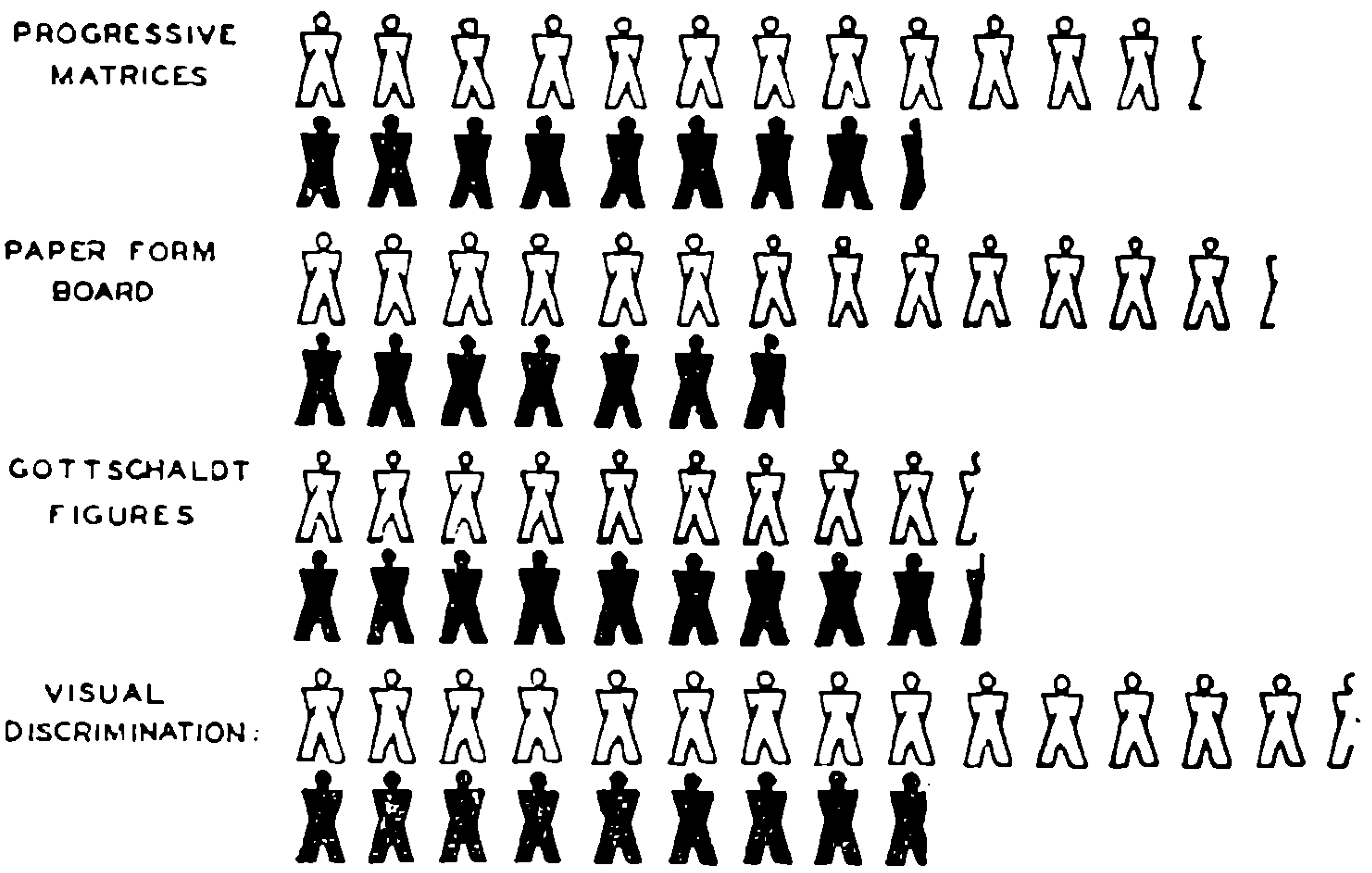
These tests, together with a biographical inventory, interview, and procedures for personality assessment, which need not concern us here, were given to a total of 792 operatives, of whom 438 were Europeans and 354 non-Europeans.

All testing was done individually, through the medium of either English or Afrikaans. Testers had great difficulty in making the non-Europeans, particularly Africans, understand what was required from them in the pencil-and-paper tests. Repeated explanations and demonstrations were necessary to get the idea of the Paper Formboard across. As this test calls not only for an appreciation of spatial relations, but also for a highly sophisticated mode of response utilising substitute trial and error and symbolic placement of the pieces, this result is not surprising.

A comparison of the performance of European and non-European groups, on the pencil-and-paper and psychomotor tests respectively, bears out the testers' impression.

Diagrams 1 and 2 show an over-all superiority of the Europeans in the pencil-and-paper tests. The discrepancy is largest in the Paper Formboard, which suggests a weakness in the ability to manipulate spatial relations. It is interesting to note that the Gottschaldt Figures Test, which measures a closure factor and therefore demands a synthetic or holistic, rather than an analytic, response,

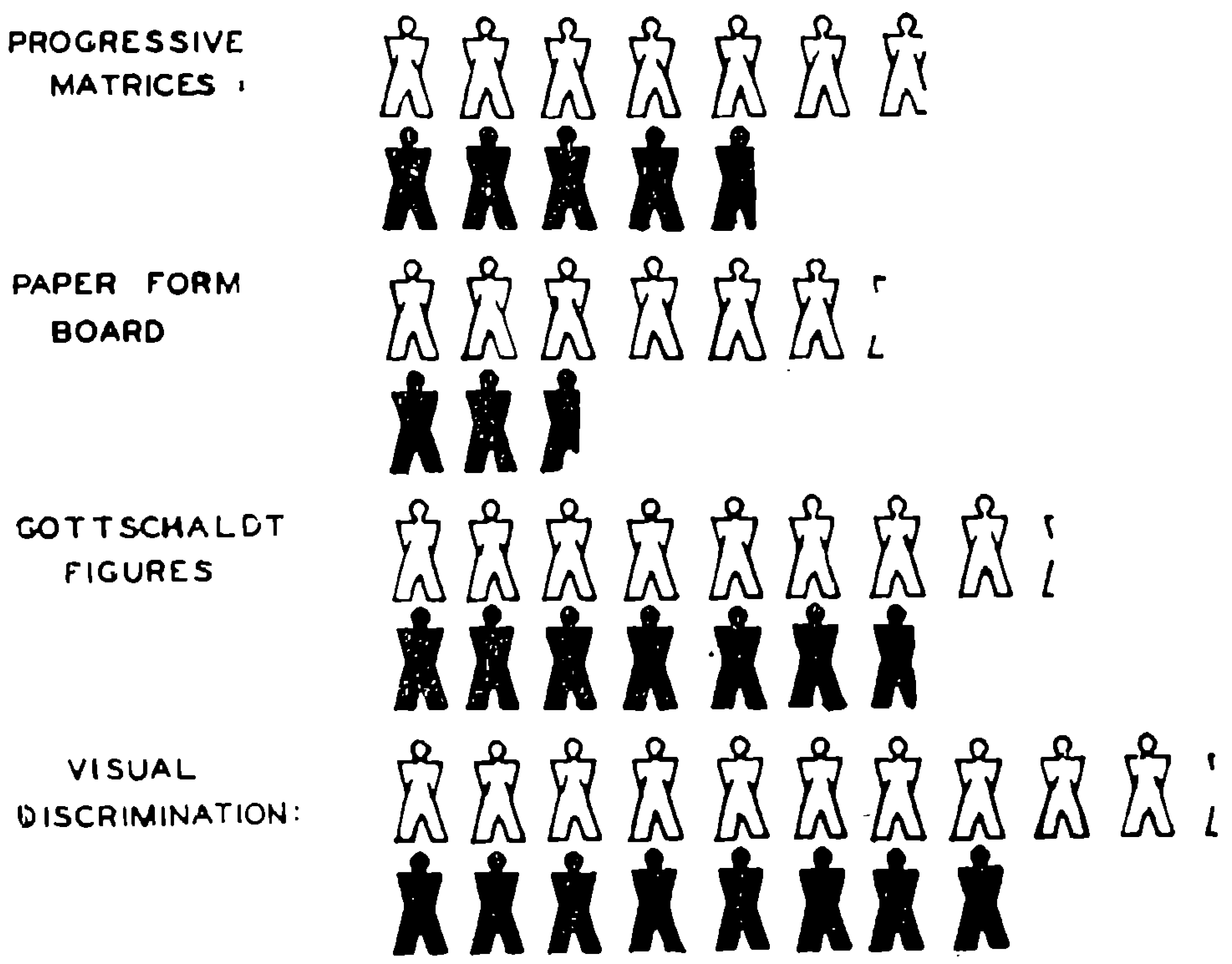
1). PERCENTAGE OF EUROPEAN AND NON-EUROPEAN MACHINISTS WHO REACH THE GROUP MEAN IN A NUMBER OF PENCIL AND PAPER TESTS = 5 PERCENT.



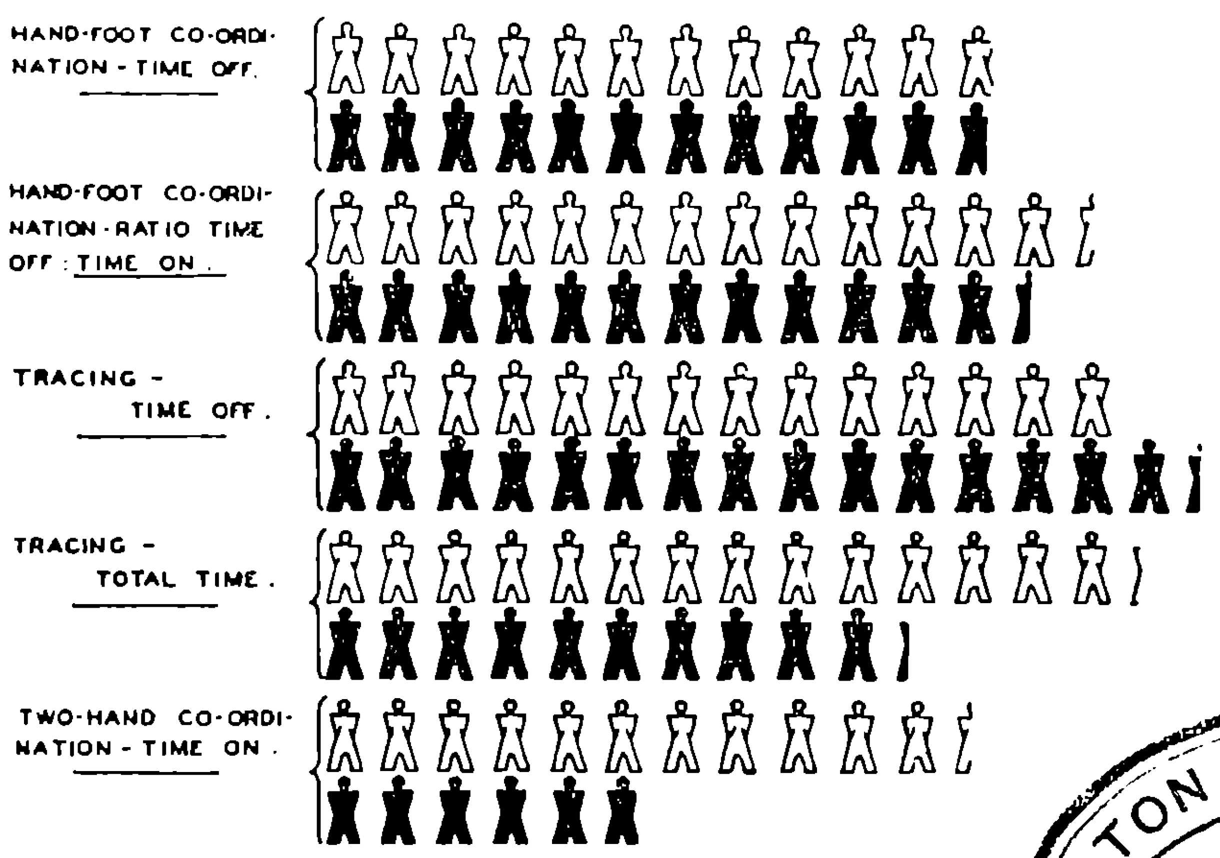
shows least difference. The inferiority of the non-Europeans in the Visual Discrimination Test is also significant. All that is required of the candidates in this test is to draw pencil lines parallel to others or at an angle indicated by an arrow. Intelligence scarcely enters into the test performance, and poor performance must therefore be largely due to unfamiliarity with a response which is a matter of everyday experience to a European school child. It is not unlikely that at least some of the group difference in the Matrix Test performance also results from unfamiliarity with the test medium.

The psychomotor test results presented in Diagrams 3 and 4 show that the non-Europeans are equal or even superior to the Europeans except in those measures which reflect speed of work. Hand-foot Co-ordination—Time Off or Time On, and Tracing—Time Off, are scores which record accuracy of performance. A perfect score in these two measures would be obtained if the candidate never deviated from the line or pattern which has to be followed. This could be done only by working very slowly, and Tracing—Total Time shows that the non-Europeans are in fact slow workers. When accuracy is expressed as a function of rate of work, as it is in Hand-foot Co-ordination Ratio, the non-Europeans are able to hold their own and actually exceed the performance of the European table hands, who are a slightly below-average sample of the European operatives, as good workers are soon moved to machining duties. When speed of work is imposed by the

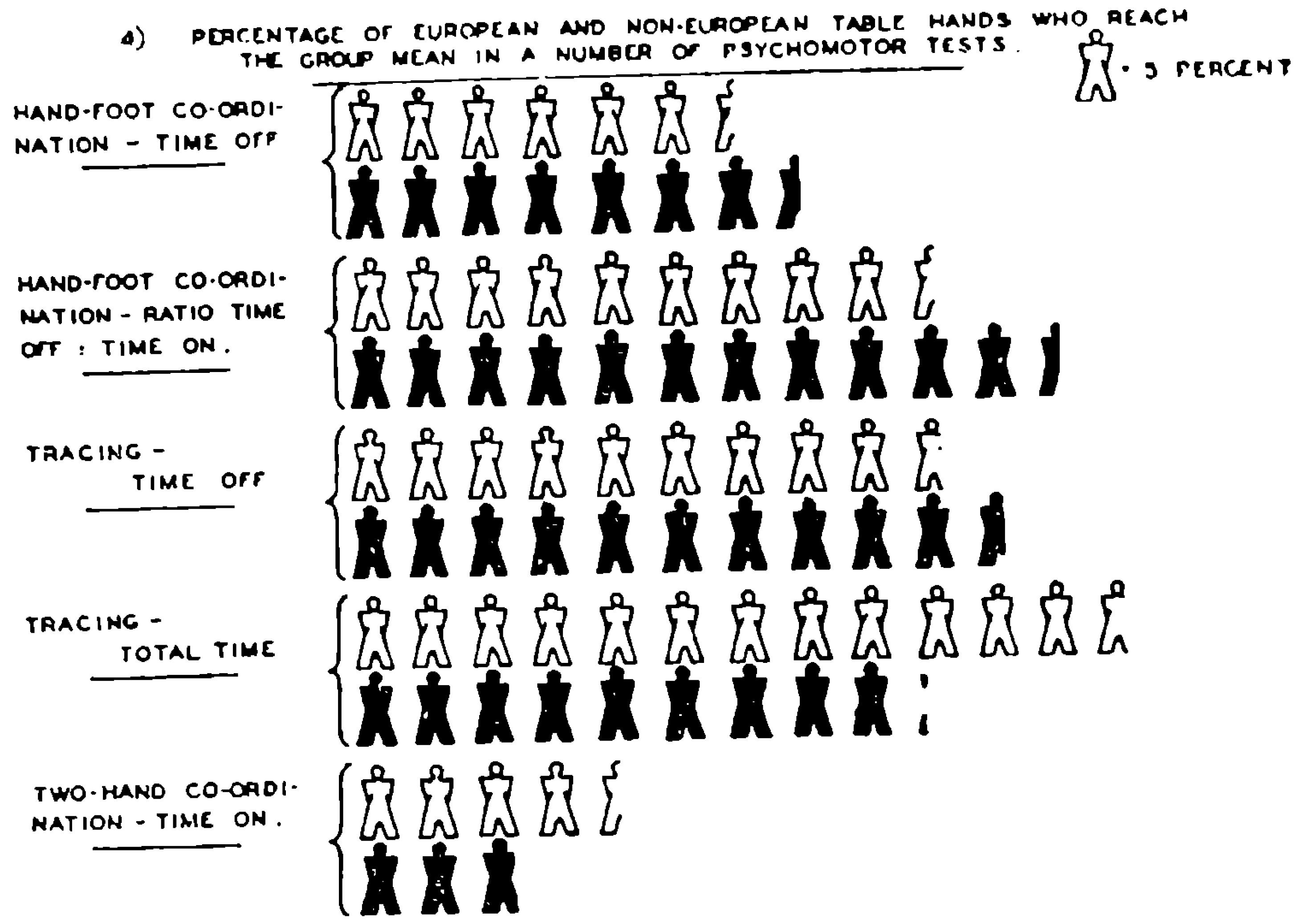
2) PERCENTAGE OF EUROPEAN AND NON-EUROPEAN TABLE HANDS WHO REACH THE GROUP MEAN IN A NUMBER OF PENCIL AND PAPER TESTS. [figure] = 5 PERCENT.



3) PERCENTAGE OF EUROPEAN AND NON-EUROPEAN MACHINISTS WHO REACH THE GROUP MEAN IN A NUMBER OF PSYCHOMOTOR TESTS [figure] = 5 PERCENT



MESTON TRAINING COLLEGE MADRAS.



nature of the task, as in the Two-hand Co-ordination Test, in which performance depends entirely on the ability to carry out fast adaptive movements, the non-Europeans as a group do not do so well, though an appreciable number exceed the European mean. It still remains to be seen whether these differences in test performance relate to similar differences in job efficiency. One would expect the non-Europeans to be as efficient as Europeans, provided no high-speed work were required from them, in which case a sharp decline in accuracy might be expected. Some difficulty is being experienced in obtaining an adequate efficiency criterion from the industry, and data are not yet available to verify this conclusion.

A preliminary validity has been established for the tests by using the industry's own placement as a criterion. Job analysis indicated that the degree of skill and intelligence required is highest for cutters, followed by machinists, table hands, and pressers in that order. The machinists, which are the largest group, can again be subdivided according to job requirements into model makers and sample machinists, whole-garment makers, set-workers, patent machinists, and relatively unskilled machinists in that order. As differences in test means corroborated these rankings, it was decided to work out biserial correlations between the tests and:

(*a*) a cutters plus machinists—table hands plus pressers dichotomy (Battery I);

(*b*) a superior—inferior machinists dichotomy (Battery II).

Significant relationships were found for most of the tests, for both the European and non-European groups which, in view of the differences in test performance, were henceforth treated as dif-

ferent populations. Table IV shows which test measures found a place in the four batteries, what regression weights were assigned to them, and what degree of prediction was achieved.

TABLE IV

Tests	*Europeans*		*Non-Europeans*	
	Battery I	*Battery II*	*Battery I*	*Battery II*
Progressive Matrices	.185	—	·407	—
Gottschaldt Figures–	—	—	·159	·439
Visual Discrimination	·169	·411	—	—
Two-hand Co-ordination	·279	—	·260	·399
Hand-Foot Co-ordination —Time Off	·361	·751	—	—
Hand-Foot Co-ordination Ratio	—	—	—	·504
Tracing—Total Time	—	—	·390	—·174
Tracing—Time Off	·501	—	·488	—
Multiple R_{bis}.	·68 ± ·06	·54 ± ·06	·52 ± ·06	·81 ± ·05

It appears that in terms of the limited validity established by this method, the tests are as predictive of success for non-Europeans as for Europeans. It will be interesting to see whether this relationship will hold with an efficiency criterion, and whether the cut-off points will be at different levels in the combined weighted score distribution for the two racial groups. On the data before us, it is difficult to account for the different diagnostic test patterns. It will be noted that the Paper Formboard Test did not prove valid for either group; that Gottschaldt Figures Test, which measures a closure factor, is significant for the non-Europeans; and that despite their relative inferiority in it, the Two-hand Co-ordination Test is valid for them. It is interesting to note that Tracing—Total Time is valid for the non-Europeans only, and that it has a negative weight. This regression coefficient is statistically significant, and corresponds to negative correlations between this measure and all other test scores. This means that the slower non-European workers become the more efficient operatives, though the positive weight in the Two-hand Co-ordination Test would have led one to believe the opposite. The explanation appears to be that a high Total Time score, corresponding to a fast performance, can be obtained in the Tracing Test by merely "zipping through" without any regard for quality, whereas the Two-hand score is always a quality performance at a controlled speed. It stands to reason that mere speed without regard for accuracy of performance is of negative value for job efficiency. As the non-European performance appears to be more prone to deteriorate

in quality when high speed is attempted, the Tracing—Total Time score has negative validity for them, whereas it is of no significance in the European group.

The references to this investigation are of necessity rather brief; but they are sufficient to show that a testing project of this kind can yield valuable information on the abilities of non-Europeans, as well as provide a useful tool for occupational classification and selection, which was its primary purpose.

Reference must also be made to the construction of batteries of selection and classification tests for African mineworkers, another project undertaken by the National Institute for Personnel Research. The South African gold mines employ migratory African labour from all parts of the Union, from Angola, Portuguese East Africa, the Protectorates, and British Central Africa. As the duration of each visit is approximately nine months, it is imperative that maximum use should be made of this limited period of service. The National Institute for Personnel Research was therefore set the problem of devising tests whereby recruits could be classified into training groups corresponding to certain main-job families, and which would also "screen-out" potential boss-boy material. Most of the work done by Africans on the gold mines is unskilled, such as lashing and tramming; some tasks involve simple skill, such as support building or stonewalling; some require mechanical aptitude of a low order, such as laying pipes and tracks or repairing cocopans; some a combination of skill and physical strength such as jackhammer drilling. A few require ability of a higher order, such as winch and loco-driving. Boss-boys must possess ability to supervise and direct others, in addition to above-average competence in the job which they are supervising. It was decided to construct three batteries of tests: (1) a screening test of physical ability and fitness; (2) a mental screening test; (3) a boss-boy selection test. One or two special tests for winch- and loco-drivers, and for those particularly suited for mechanical work, were added.

The mental screening test is intended to measure degree of adaptability to mining operations, more particularly comprehension of instructions, capacity to carry out these instructions in an intelligent manner, ability to learn by experience, and the possession of a few basic skills such as mechanical aptitude and perception of spatial relations. For a number of reasons the construction of this test proved exceedingly difficult. Most of the recruits are "raw," come from tribal areas, are illiterate, and ignorant of Western culture. Normally they arrive in large batches, which have to be dealt with at once and should be classified within two days. As pencil-and-paper tests were impracticable, performance tests had to be designed which were suitable for mass administration, which did not require expensive apparatus, which could easily be maintained in

a standard condition, and which could be scored on performance, rather than on time. Administration proved the biggest problem of all. As the recruits come from all parts of Central and Southern Africa, they speak many different languages and dialects. There is a "*lingua franca*" on the mines, known as "Fanakolo," the African equivalent of pidgin-English; but tropical newcomers do not know it when they arrive. It was therefore decided to use mime only, with a very brief introductory talk in "Fanakolo" or special interpretation for tropicals. Tests are demonstrated to groups by means of large models. Then a "stooge," an African member of the testing team, is put through a preliminary part of each test. This also serves the purpose of making the testees familiar with the gong as a sign to start or stop work. They get very rapidly conditioned to this signal and on the whole the mime method has proved satisfactory, with minor difficulties in tests involving substitute activities such as associative learning.

As mime is very difficult to standardise, a different procedure will have to be worked out when the tests are ready for routine application on mines scattered all over the country. It is intended to use a combination of cine films and slides to illustrate the general testing procedure, to demonstrate the specific tests, and to present individual problems or test stimuli. It remains to be seen whether this method will prove practicable.

After a good deal of study of the "testability" of African mineworkers, the following tests were included in the experimental battery:

(1) *Abacus Test,* in which the candidates are shown the first items of a series set up vertically in metal beads. They have to remember what they have seen, reproduce it, and continue the series. The series can be either repetitive or progressive.

(2) *Formboards.* A series of four specially constructed formboards is given, requiring at first only identification of shapes, thereafter appreciation of spatial relations of increasing difficulty.

(3) *Wiggly Block Test.* An adaptation of this well-known test is given, using four, six, and eight blocks.

(4) *Sorting Test.* Requires familiar objects, letters, numbers, shapes, to be sorted into appropriate compartments.

(5) *Classification Test.* This, too, is a sorting test, but it requires the candidate to place objects together which have one element in common, though they are otherwise different. Abstract shapes are used.

(6) *Associative Learning Test.* The connection between certain shapes and symbols is first learned and thereafter tested by a sorting process.

(7) *Screws Test.* The candidate is required to screw nuts on to bolts of various sizes. Score is output per unit of time.

(8) *Mechanical Peg Board.* Thirty pegs with different ends—

round, oval, square, tapered, sleeved, slotted, with flats, etc., are to be placed into their appropriate holes in the peg board.

(9) *Assembly Test.* The candidates are shown for some seconds a model of a tripod with a weight suspended on it. They are then required to assemble the tripod within a given period, their score being the number of pieces correctly assembled.

These tests have all been designed by the National Institute for Personnel Research. They give reasonably good distributions, but their validity is not yet known. All have been satisfactorily administered on a group basis with mimed instructions.

Candidates screened out as potential boss-boy material do the Koh's Block Designs and Cube Construction Tests, which were found too difficult for the rank and file; a maze; two practical intelligence tests (building a bridge and a stile), which also give scope for the assessment of certain personality qualities; and a "leaderless group test" analogous to those used by the British War Office for the selection of officer candidates. This test, which takes about one hour, is done by teams of six. It involves taking a cast-iron pipe or heavy barrel over a number of obstacles, calls for ingenuity and co-operative effort, and gives ample scope for the expression of interpersonal relations and attitudes from which suitability to direct the work of others and to get their co-operation can be deduced. The candidates respond excellently to this test, and differences are revealed which could not have been obtained in any other way, as interviews are out of the question, and the attitudes adopted towards the European tester or questioner are so stereotyped by the prevailing race relations that individual personality qualities are completely obscured.

The final results of this investigation are not likely to be available until later this year. If successful, the tests should prove applicable to a number of the employment problems with which Central Africa in particular is confronted.

Attitude Tests

The application of attitude tests to non-Europeans will always be complicated by prevailing race relations, which are generally adverse. It is difficult to obtain genuine co-operation, and suspicion of the motives prompting the investigation will distort the answers to a greater or lesser extent. Those with sufficient education to answer printed questionnaires or rating scales are often quite unrepresentative of the group as a whole. Testing the attitudes of illiterates is an exceedingly difficult undertaking. Interviews, group discussions, and projection techniques are the only possible methods, each attended by a host of disadvantages which may render the results of dubious value. It is probable that only a social anthropologist or sociologist with psychological training,

who is prepared to live in a community for a considerable period and to learn its language, will obtain anything of value by means of observation, discussion, and case-histories.

The writer designed a series of questionnaires for use with educated Africans, to test their attitude towards European ideas of right and wrong, legal and customary concepts, and administration of justice. One questionnaire used imaginary conversations between five Africans, the candidates being required to indicate their degree of agreement with each speaker. The speakers' views could be classified according to the type of attitude which gave rise to them, such as "conventionally tribal," "conventionally European," "ethical" (by European standards), "religious" (Christian), "fear," "aggression," "hedonistic," and "expediency." The relative strength of each of these motivations in particular groups, individuals, and with reference to specific situations could thus be studied. Over a thousand Africans have answered these questionnaires, and some of the conversations were actually conducted in discussion groups to get the reaction of illiterates to the views expressed in them.

The following item, which is one of forty used in the test, illustrates the technique:

Alfred said: "One must be courteous in manner towards all one's fellow men, because God expects a Christian to act in this manner."

Peter said: "One must be courteous because it creates a good impression and helps one keep a job."

William said: "One must be courteous because it is the custom of our people."

Tom said: "One must be courteous because only through showing goodwill to each other and being unselfish will there be peace in the world."

Jack said: "Why should the African be courteous to the white man, who is never courteous to him?"

The investigator will be well advised to proceed very cautiously in this field, to adopt a highly critical attitude towards his findings, and to combine questionnaire methods with field investigations in whch observational, group-discussion, and clinical methods should be employed to provide a context for the interpretation of the quantitative data.

S. BIESHEUVEL.

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SECTION II

THE BRITISH ISLES

Introduction

N our introductory article, we stated that, apart from giving :counts of the direct effects of war upon educational systems, our ontributors had considered chiefly four problems. These are: ıe effects of economic change and nationalism upon educational atterns and an analysis of racial and of language factors in so far s they affect education.

It may seem that, in some ways, the British Isles do not fit very ʼell into such a scheme. In those islands, national independence ʼas won and a vigorous national State established many centuries go. Moreover, Great Britain has long been secure from foreign ıvasion—threats and dangers have always evaporated rather uickly. The spirit of nationalism, though strong, is thus neither ggressive nor exclusive. On the other hand, as the articles by Sir ʼred Clarke and Professor Skinner make abundantly clear, the ʼhole future of the British nations depends upon their capacity › achieve quickly what amounts to a peaceful revolution: the :ansformation of the industrial techniques in use and the adapta- on of existing social forms to the conditions of a new age. Educa- on is closely involved in this process. Several articles in this olume discuss this point very fully and point the way to solutions.

In the sense in which one meets them elsewhere, racial and lan- uage problems do not exist in the United Kingdom and we have ot thought it necessary to discuss them, though some may think ʼe should have considered speech and accent as a mark of social ass and an attribute which is sometimes divisive. Welsh is till widely spoken and the feeling for it is often bound up with Velsh nationalism, which is strongly developed but seldom comes nto conflict with loyalty to Britain as a whole. The revival of icottish Gaelic is promoted by a patriotic antiquarianism which eems to be attached to loyalty to the kingdom of Scotland—and ıus to Britain as a whole. The revival of Irish is, of course, con- ected with the assertion of national difference and of inde- endence. But it has not proved easy to get the language widely dopted and used. The article on the Revival of Irish, although ʼritten by a patriotic Irishman, criticises official policy and main- ıins that Irish cultural independence could be achieved through ıe medium of English. The reader should compare this article ʼith that of Professor O'Corcoran published in the 1939 volume of ıe YEAR BOOK.

EDITORS.

CHAPTER ONE

ENGLAND AND WALES

EDUCATION AND ECONOMIC CHANGE

THE acute and prolonged economic crisis through which Great Britain is passing is both a portent and a challenge. It portends great permanent changes in the structure and basic conditions of the national economy. At the same time it is a challenge to a people still powerfully ruled by tradition to discover and apply in good time those modes of adaptation to changed conditions which will ensure both an acceptable standard of life and the continuance of a free society. It is the purpose of this article on the one hand to estimate the part that education is likely to play in bringing about this adaptation, and on the other to indicate what changes educational ideas, institutions, and practices are likely to undergo in the process.

The spectacle will surely be of interest to many besides the British people themselves. The land which led the world into the industrial revolution, and enjoyed a century or more of economic primacy in consequence, has now once more to undertake a far-reaching readjustment of its national economy. Whether the transition now to be effected can be carried through more easily, more swiftly, and at lower social cost than the earlier one, is a question not easily answered. True, we have not to change now from an economy predominantly agricultural to one predominantly industrial. There may well be much less of displacement of individuals and far less of actual suffering than took place in the earlier economic revolution. The State is to-day armed with extensive powers of control and regulation which were denied to it in an age dominated by the ideas of economic *laissez-faire*. But the very fact that, in the earlier transition, economic forces were allowed such free play, while it caused much suffering and left behind a legacy of bitterness and strife, did, nevertheless, serve to accelerate the process. Moreover, general economic expansion brought about a rise in standards of living in which all alike shared, though, doubtless, in unequal degree.

To-day we are faced with the prospect of a contracting economy, and instead of watching the standard of living rise, almost automatically as it were, we have to struggle to prevent it from falling still lower. Measures of control, defensible enough on social grounds, may have the effect of hampering and delaying the appropriate economic adjustment. Now, too, we have adult suffrage

instead of the limited electorate of a century ago, and among a populace much better educated than formerly and increasingly aware of its political power, doctrines of economic and social order that conflict sharply with what has been hitherto the dominant tradition are finding expression.

There are indications, however, that the tradition of civil and political freedom which took shape during the struggles of the past may prove sufficiently adaptable to serve as guide through the complexities and novelties of the present transition. At least it seems to be the earnest hope of the great majority of the people that it should do so, and leading Ministers in the present Government have repeatedly declared their resolve to remain faithful to it.

The hope that the economic transformation can be carried through without serious violence to traditional forms and attitudes in English life finds support in the intensified sense of a common *Englishness* that was produced by the circumstances of the recent war. There are those who hold that the powerful thrust towards social democracy that we are now witnessing can be explained very largely as the manifestation of a resolve on the part of those who had come to regard themselves as disinherited, to establish their claim to a share in the common inheritance. If this is so, then the movement now in process is one of restoration rather than of subversion.

Whatever the issue may be, there can be no doubt that, in the conditions as they are, education has a part of the most critical importance to play. There would seem, further, to be little likelihood that in its public aspect at least it will have any subversive tendency.

There are two outstanding ways in which we hope that educational action may prove effective. First, it should help by accelerating and facilitating the transition itself. Second, and even more important in the long run, it must be directed towards the production in the ordinary citizen of those qualities of mind and character which will not only lead him to continue to desire freedom, but also enable him to understand and accept the responsibilities which will fall to him if his desire is to be fulfilled.

This second function of education is of such supreme importance in the new conditions that we shall have to return to it later in this article.

Educational measures now being taken or planned are likely to be the more effective in proportion as the nature and extent of the change are generally understood. It cannot be said, at the time of writing, that this condition is fully realised, though encouraging signs accumulate. Even when it is realised, hesitations and inhibitions arising from old-established habits and attitudes may hinder whole-hearted educational action. For the educational tradition,

as set by the habits of secure upper- and middle-class people, is not favourable to any naked recognition of economic forces. Hence, resolute action by the State to re-focus aims and adapt methods in education is apt to be resented as arbitrary and tyrannical by those who have reason to prefer the traditional ways. This article must be read, therefore, not as a precise forecast of what will actually happen, but rather as indicating the broad features of the task, and tendencies which encourage the hope that it will be fulfilled.

We turn, then, to those changes in the national economy which, since they are likely to be permanent, will now influence educational policy. Little will be said about the economic situation at the moment. Measures being taken now are significant for our purpose only in so far as they reflect an acceptance of permanently changed conditions and are intended as steps of adjustment to them.

Discerning observers have long been warning us of the coming of change, and the signs have been plain enough to those who were willing to recognise them. But a century or more of expansion and security induces states of mind which cannot readily assimilate unpalatable truth, especially when that involves accepting evidence of decline. So between the wars there ensued a long period of makeshifts and half-measures, until now the shattering effects of the last war have compelled recognition of the grim facts.

What are they? We can record them here only in broad outline. Outstanding is the fact that this is no longer a creditor country. Provisional figures given in the Government White Paper of March, 1948, *Economic Survey for 1948*,[1] indicate that the adverse balance of payments for 1947 was round about £675 millions. (Theestimate for 1948 was £250 millions.) In addition to this we have been forcibly reminded that even when we establish a general equilibrium of payments and receipts there will still remain a seriously adverse dollar-balance, described officially as "most stubborn."[2] No one can say at the moment precisely what effect United States policy, in its many ramifications, will have upon this.

Further, there are still outstanding as a result of the war very heavy sterling balances to the credit of such countries as India, Egypt, and South Africa, the reduction of which imposes a further burden. The total worsening of our post-war financial capital position as against other countries at the end of the war, as arising from debt, reduced exports, loss of overseas investments, and other causes, is put at nearly £6,000,000,000.

[1] Cmd. 7344, His Majesty's Stationery Office, London, 1*s*.

[2] The White Paper estimates the adverse balance with the Western Hemisphere alone at £183 millions for the first *half-year* of 1948.

The question at issue is not merely whether Great Britain can ecover solvency, but more, whether that can be affected at a level vhich ensures an acceptable standard of life and leaves us capable f continuing to play a significant part as a world Power. The ravest social and political issues turn upon the answer to that, nd until it is given many of the popular hopes must remain very nuch in the air. It is in the field of *international trade* that the nswer has to be sought; dependence upon trade for our economic rosperity is the cardinal fact. We must contrive to import at east 50 per cent. of our food—some say more—and the great bulk f the raw material for manufacture, together with a great deal for apital re-equipment. There are, further, strict limits to the extent o which imports can be reduced even from the difficult dollar ountries. They must not fall below the point at which it is pos-ible to maintain the facilities and the energies that are necessary or full productive effort. Yet at the end of the war our income rom exports was enough to finance only one-quarter of the pre-var volume of imports.

The position has improved since then, though less rapidly than ould be wished. So production for export is, economically, the rst national need. As the *Economic Survey for 1947*[1] emphasises, nis is no passing phase: "There is nothing temporary about our eed for exports: concentration upon export must become a per-nanent part of our normal industrial life." So it is estimated that ve must devote at least 25 per cent. of our manufacturing capa-ity to the production of exports.

For a considerable time to come this must involve severe restric-on of supplies to the home market, just as the need to restrict nports involves the continuance of rationing and Government ontrol of food-supplies.

Since restoration of a satisfactory equilibrium must be sought by vay of overseas trade, we can begin to discern the forms that nanges in national economy must assume. Production for export vill necessarily play a much larger part in economic activity. But roduction of what? The answer would seem to depend partly n the kind of productive capacity that can be employed to great-st advantage, and partly on the nature of the demand from acces-ble markets. Great efforts are being made to increase exports of oal. Capital goods such as machinery will, no doubt, figure irgely in the list, and also those finer types of consumption goods ne production of which calls for a high measure of skill. But uality alone will not sell goods in competitive trade. Hence the eed to consider equipment and methods, particularly in the in-ustries which produce for export. The pressing need for re-quipment sets a problem to those who have to strike a balance

[1]Cmd. 7046, His Majesty's Stationery Office, London, 6*d*.

between the short-term needs of immediate exports and the longer-term prospect of cheaper production, facilitated, for instance, by increased mechanisation and use of electrical power. Hence the basic importance of the coal and steel industries becomes apparent.

It is no part of the purpose of this article to discuss the search for markets, nor to enter into the many complexities and difficulties which obstruct the course of world trade. We need take note once more only of the dependence of this country's economy upon world trade, and emphasise that in our present condition of adverse balances it is the need for cheap and efficient production for export that most concerns us here.

On the other side of the balance, restriction of imports, plans are well advanced for a great increase in home production of food. The revolution in methods of agricultural production has already gone far. To render it permanent and to meet the social changes in rural life that this must entail will involve a searching review of the educational needs of rural areas. Though much anxious thought is being given to the problem, it cannot be said that a satisfactory revision has yet been achieved.

Coming to labour, or "manpower," we touch the heart of the whole problem so far as education is concerned. It is obvious enough that there is before us a great immediate task of expanding provision for what may be called broadly technical education, and of revising quite drastically its organisations and methods. But to say only this much is to leave still untouched the deeper problem. What makes the situation so significant for Britain, and for the influence she may yet exert in the world, is that the economic crisis is accompanied by a powerful upsurge of democratic feeling. So here is a great historic country endeavouring at the same time to reconstruct and modernise its economy and to reorganise its common life on the lines of a social democracy. The magnitude of the twofold enterprise is, even yet, not generally appreciated. There can be little doubt, however, that the desire of the great majority is to carry it through without paying the price of the loss of moral, civil, and political liberties now become traditional.

The objective is sometimes described as a "middle way" between totalitarianism and *laissez-faire.* Though that may be true of the result in its external form, its appearance, it is not at all true of the driving inspiration. It is not that the British are observing "moderation" as a conscious principle. They are thinking in much more concrete terms than that, in terms of a vision of a possible Britain, re-ordered by planned, practical measures so as to be able to maintain herself in the contemporary world and to give to all her people, high and low, the status of free, responsible citizens in a free society.

The resolve to carry through economic readjustment by methods

ıat conform to democratic principle is strongly asserted. In the pening pages of the *Economic Survey for 1947* these words occur:

> The British people gave their war-time Government the power to direct labour. But in normal times the people of a democratic country will not give up their freedom of choice to their Government. A democratic Government must therefore conduct its economic planning in a manner which preserves the maximum possible freedom of choice to the individual citizen.

When the Government, hard driven by the urgent need to re-istribute labour to the advantage of basic industries like coal-ıining and the export trades, sought from Parliament limited owers to direct labour, these were granted only with the gravest ıisgiving and after much anxious debate. But strong as the re-ɔlve undoubtedly is, it cannot be said that there is any adequate rasp of its far-reaching implications for the education of the ıture citizen. To this matter, quite crucial in its importance, we hall have to return.

If, however, we take for the moment a very broad interpreta-on of the word "education" there is one particular educational ısk of immediate urgency to be faced here. The essence of it is) bring about the adjustment of the attitude of productive workers ɔwards a situation that has changed in two vital respects. In the rst place there is the economic change which, instead of wide-ɔread unemployment, brings with it a serious shortage of labour, specially in the vital industries like coal-mining, textiles, and griculture. In the second place there is the political change which as set the Labour Party firmly in the seat of power with an over-'helming Parliamentary majority. The great bulk of its support omes undoubtedly from the wage-earners.

The first change means that habits and attitudes, strongly ex-ressed in a trade-union policy which sprang from long experience f widespread unemployment and the bargaining weakness that ıat entailed, may now interpose, if they persist, a serious obstacle ı the way of the all-essential increase in production. But fears f such long-standing, and not without grounds in the past, are ot to be dissipated in a night. It is at this point that the second ıange, the political one, becomes important. If, through it, the 'orker has achieved a new status so that he is in effect governing ıe country, he has now to realise that he has also assumed a new esponsibility. The old attitude was to regard the "boss" as re-ɔonsible while driving the best possible bargain with him, and riking or protesting if he exercised the responsibility against the orkers' interest.

That situation is not likely wholly to pass away. Even in the ationalised industries superior decisions have to be made, and the reat bulk of industry will remain unnationalised. Nevertheless,

the political change does place the worker in a new and more responsible position.

He is now much more concerned with management, both at Government level and through such means as joint production committees in the factories. His own interest requires that he should be. But the primary sphere in which his responsibility is to be discharged is that of his own labour, and here he must learn to work not merely as a paid employee, but also as a responsible citizen co-operating in a national effort. Both his own welfare and the retention of his new-found status are at stake.

Trade-union leadership is coming to realise this. So it was possible early in 1947, after a full conference with trade-union representatives, for the Government to issue a White Paper setting forth the new labour doctrine. The official authority of such a document (*Statement on the Economic Considerations affecting Relations between Employers and Workers*)[1] will justify some quotation from it.

The paper shows that at the end of 1946 not only was the effective working population less by a quarter of a million than that of 1939, but also that, in the all-important export trades, there was a deficiency of half a million. Further, the raising of the school-leaving age in 1947 would involve a loss of 370,000 boys and girls in the following twelve months. A fall in the birth-rate between the two wars will still further accentuate the shortage for some time. Along with all this was the fact that existing labour-power was badly distributed, too much of it in the less essential occupations as against the more essential.

Thus an argument is built up, taking account of all the hard facts of the situation, to enforce the conclusion that every ounce of efficiency must be extracted from the use of such manpower as is available. Then comes the final passage emphasising the need for a change in the worker's attitude. Admitting that critical situations may still arise, the paper goes on to declare:

> Apart from these special dangers, the great difference between our economic conditions to-day and those between the wars is that, for as far ahead as we can see, there will be a high demand for the products of industry. It would appear that there is no danger for many years to come that industry as a whole will have to work below capacity because of a falling off in the general demand for its products. This means that provided our prices are right the old fear of prolonged bad trade and unemployment should be a thing of the past. . . . The problem to-day is to increase production to fill the gap between the quantity of goods on the market and the amount of purchasing power available to buy these goods. We must remove the idea of spinning out production in order to avoid unemployment, or restricting output in order to safeguard earnings. On the contrary, industry, employers

[1] Cmd. 7018, His Majesty's Stationery Office, London, 2*d.*

and workers alike, must be prepared to adopt every possible means of increasing production, secure in the knowledge that this does not carry with it any threat to employment.

Here, issuing officially from a Labour Government, is a challenge to habit and policy built up from the experience of over a century. What a task for education here, and how urgent it is! Only to a small extent can it be undertaken by formal methods. It can be tackled, and is now being tackled, by less formal discussion wherever employers and workers assemble whether separately or together. And we may be sure that it will be fully accepted by workers only after it has been proved by experience, and even then with some insistence upon safeguards. Most important of all is the recognition that such a revolutionary change of view must, in our British situation, carry with it some vital political and moral implications. It will be the task of organised education in the more formal sense to take serious account of these. How it might so do is discussed later.

Such, in summary, are the main features of the changed economic situation. By what means and with what resources may education assist in the process of national readjustment that must be carried through? So far as legislation is concerned there is little doubt that the great Education Act which became law in the summer of 1944 affords the necessary powers. The more closely the Act is examined the more evident becomes the remarkable prescience which went to its construction. It is not too much to say that within its ample powers anything which needs to be done and ought to be done, can be done. One may, perhaps, read the Act as the first great embodiment of the principle by which, apparently, British reconstruction is to be directed. Seldom, if ever, explicitly stated—as is the British manner—it seems, nevertheless, to inspire and regulate action in every field to which the reforming hand is applied. Put into words it would run: "*Retain tradition while subjecting it to rational criticism and reinterpretation in the light of democratic presuppositions.*"

The Act gives expression to this principle in both its aspects. It takes up and continues traditional forms as embodied in attitudes and institutions, and at the same time subjects them to a process of rationalisation in the light of criteria which, nowhere explicitly stated, are nevertheless brought to bear throughout. Thus it continues the church schools, but on the understanding that, with State assistance, the buildings are brought up to modern standards. It leaves the so-called "public" schools in their independence, but clearly contemplates a time when action in regard to them may have to be taken. It preserves the administrative partnership between central and elected local authorities, but reduces drastically the number of primary local authorities and sets over all a Minister with powers of direction and control such as

the former Board of Education never had. Reconstruction by reinterpretation rather than by wholesale displacement is quite clearly the policy.

The governing criteria are to be traced in the spirit of the practical requirements that the Act lays down; they are nowhere expressly formulated. They are, beyond doubt, the rational criteria proper to a democratic society. There are two of them. First, that of *universality*, appearing in three forms: (*a*) All-inclusiveness, in the sense that the needs of the whole population are kept in view. (*b*) All-roundness, in the sense that every aspect of personal growth is provided for. (*c*) The whole of life is regarded as, in principle, the period of education; the needs of adult education are prominent in the planning. The second principle is that of *individuality,* complementary to the first. Stress is everywhere laid on the duty of authority that the situation, the capacity, and the particular needs of the individual are to determine his educational treatment.

Following from this, enactments are laid down securing, for instance, a rational sequence in educational progression, so that secondary education now becomes a stage through which all alike are to pass; the institution of " county colleges " to provide part-time *general* education for young persons in the period between school-leaving and the attainment of the age of 18; great expansion of facilities for technical education and of easy access to universities for able boys and girls,[1] and improvement in the " auxiliary " services, such as medical care, school meals, and clubs and recreation facilities both for those attending schools and for those who have left.

In keeping with all this there is continued emphasis in the Act upon the *duties* of local authorities. What were formerly only powers, now become duties, and new duties are added. So local authorities, as required by the Minister, are now submitting plans for development in their respective areas, and a long series of *ad hoc* committees has been at work preparing specific advice to the Minister on such matters as the training of teachers, technical education, juvenile employment, and many others.

Such, in brief, is the statutory instrument under which provision is made whereby education may help us to meet the challenges by which the nation is now faced. What are these challenges as they come to bear upon education?

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[1] Scholarships provided by the State to assist students proceeding to universities have been more than doubled in number. Local authorities are increasing their grants to students proceeding to higher education, in both number and amount, and a committee appointed by the Minister is considering how the present system of scholarships and grants may be adapted so as to bring it more fully into accord with the needs as these are now understood.

The answer must cover the whole range of the national effort in education as it must now be understood. Three main purposes can be distinguished:

(1) The most economical and effective use of manpower in production.

(2) Discipline and incentives to effort, having in view the far-reaching changes in social and economic conditions now in process. For example, shortage of labour-power, the introduction of an over-all system of social security, and the new consciousness of the political power of the organised wage-earners.

(3) The maintenance, in modern conditions, of a free social democracy such as to support and guarantee the freedom of the individual citizen while ensuring will and capacity to understand and accept citizen responsibilities.

It can be said that thoughtful public opinion is coming to recognise that these are the objectives. Indeed, there are signs that at long last this country may be coming near to the achievement of what it has lacked in the past, a working philosophy of education held consciously and in common by those who think at all.

Immediately urgent as the first of these purposes is, it is not possible to set them in an order of priority. They must all three be pursued together: any one of them will fail of achievement if the effort is not supported by equal striving towards the other two. The over-all objective requires that, and the Act of 1944 makes it possible. Moreover, no one of them can be localised, as it were, and made the sole concern of one particular branch of administration. For example, the whole educational effort is involved in reaching and maintaining a high level of economic production. Conversely, technical education has its essential part to play in the making of the free responsible citizen of a social democracy.

Bearing all this in mind, and treating the above statement of purposes as an aid to discussion, we may take them in order.

Mobilising and heightening the productive capacities of the population makes three demands upon educational planning:

(*a*) A *general* education for all alike to cultivate and shape native intelligence, ensure essential knowledge and command of basic techniques, secure a high degree of adaptability, and—very important—provide preliminary data for that "sorting" of the population which helps to increase productive capacity through effective distribution of labour-power.

(*b*) Effective oversight of the transition from full-time schooling to employment. This involves not only proper organisation for advice and placing, but also provision for ensuring that both general and specific education will be continued and that the broader human needs of the young worker are not neglected.

(*c*) Technical education in the more strict sense, focusing native

and acquired powers upon the attainment of knowledge and mastery in some specific field of productive skill.

It is significant and most encouraging that representatives of large-scale industry have come to recognise increasingly the unity of this plan of action. They stress the *general* purpose of the common school, do not ask that it should give specific training for a vocation, while insisting upon its duty of discovering and providing for special aptitudes and interests, and are themselves more and more concerned with the general human education and welfare of their young employees. Many of the larger concerns maintain their own "works schools," and devote much thought to development and experiment in the task. At the same time apprenticeship in a variety of forms is reviving and extending into industries where it was either weak or non-existent. The purpose is not only to ensure that the young worker has before him an ordered course of supervised training and progression, but also that he has the guidance and care that he needs in his own human interest.

The part that can be played by general education given during the years of full-time schooling is slowly becoming defined as the provisions of the Act of 1944 are put into effect. All schooling beyond the age of about 11 is now "secondary," and treated as such.[1] The raising of the leaving-age to 15 guarantees a course of approximately four years for every child. But some formidable obstacles have still to be surmounted. Deficiency of buildings is a serious one. Many thousands of children have for the present to take this stage of their education in schools built and equipped for the purpose of elementary education under the old regime, and what is worse, a large number of these buildings were unsatisfactory even by the old "elementary" standards.

Perhaps even more serious is the controversy which has arisen concerning the form in which universal secondary education is to be organised in order to give effect to that principle of the Act which requires that every pupil should receive educational treatment suited to his "age, abilities, aptitudes, and the length of time he may be expected to remain at school." The dominant tendency is to recognise three types of secondary education:

(1) The "grammar" school, with a course continuing to the 18th birthday for the intellectually able pupils who may go on to the university or higher technical education or the professions.

(2) The "technical" school, for pupils of proved ability who will follow a course of general education with a marked technical colouring.

(3) The "modern" school, upon which will fall the main duty,

[1] An excellent and richly illustrated account of plans for giving effect to the policy of "secondary education for all" is given in Pamphlet No. 9 of the Ministry of Education: *The New Secondary Education*, His Majesty's Stationery Office, London, 1*s*. 6*d*.

in respect of numbers at least, of giving effect to the statutory requirement of secondary education for all.

There is little disagreement concerning this classification so long as it is regarded as indicating types of *education* rather than distinct and separate *schools*. Acute differences have arisen on the issue of the form in which the school provision should actually be made. Some large authorities, including London, favour the "comprehensive" or "multilateral" school (in preference to provision of the three types in separate schools). This is a school, necessarily requiring large numbers, which sets itself to provide all types of treatment in one institution. Its advocates argue that social and other prejudices will obstruct ease of transfer of pupils from the less to the more suitable school under the tripartite scheme, whereas in the one large, diversified school ease of transfer and of flexible adaptation of treatment can be guaranteed. The merits of the controversy need not be discussed here. But note must be taken of it, since the feelings it engenders might prove a hindrance to smooth progress.

But there is general agreement on at least one important feature in the new situation. This is the opportunity provided by the new "modern" school, whether standing by itself or as part of a larger unit. The aim of the modern school is stated by the Ministry's pamphlet as "to provide a good, all-round, secondary education, not focused primarily on the traditional subjects of the school curriculum, but developing out of the interests of the children." There is little doubt that schools of this type, the secondary school of the great majority, will be left free to work out for themselves their appropriate aims and methods. But for some time to come they will do so in the face of many handicaps. Some have excellent buildings, erected as "senior elementary" buildings under the pre-1944 regime, and in spite of all the shortages some new ones are now going up. But the majority have to function in old and inadequate buildings designed for purely "elementary" purposes. Moreover, there are large numbers of schools which were never reorganised into junior and senior departments under the old regime. These, known as "all age schools," present peculiar difficulties. The task of giving "secondary" education to their senior pupils is being bravely tackled, but can hardly achieve full success in the circumstances.

A particularly grave handicap is the fact that these schools have direct inheritance from the rather meagre and socially depreciated "elementary" regime of the past. This is further accentuated by the fact that, since progression from primary to secondary is by age and not by attainment, the "modern" schools will receive many pupils of poor intellectual capacity. Not all the schools resist the temptation to ape the "grammar" school in order to catch something of its acknowledged prestige.

Yet in spite of all this there is an increasing number of "modern" schools which approach their task in a spirit of high adventure and with a refreshing sense of freedom from traditional trammels. Teachers' associations organise "refresher" courses for the study of their problems, and at their headquarters weighty bodies are set up for the serious and systematic study of these problems over the whole range. One might select as characteristic notes of the questing and experimental spirit, at its best, its *realism,* expressed in a direct approach to the phenomena of experience, uncramped by the framework of traditional "subjects"; watchfulness for the revelation of interests in pupils and care to make use of it when it appears; emphasis upon the cultivation of *general intelligence and adaptability* rather than upon specialised attainment, and with it all, care for the necessary *fluidity of classification* within the school.

While it must be admitted that the "modern" school is, as yet, a hope and an effort rather than an achievement, the ultimate importance of these schools in relation to the economic future of the country cannot be over-emphasised. The training they can give in intelligent awareness, in general adaptability, and in command of the basic techniques has a direct employment value. But more important still is the hope they may offer that, amid the pressures and necessities of technological industry, we may still be able to preserve the essential freedoms of a truly democratic society. To achieve this we shall require qualities of understanding and of intelligent self-discipline in the ordinary citizen of no mean order. We shall need, too, to discover and equip among pupils diversified types of excellence, not all of the intellectual kind, to set standards and exercise their appropriate form of leadership wherever they may be placed in the community. In its own proper field the "modern" school will produce its own "élite" types in this sense. The leaving-age is now 15. When it can be raised to 16 and the planned "county colleges" are available to carry on, in part-time, further general training to the age of 18, the structure will be complete. But it is to be hoped that long before that time the high importance of this great adventure will have been grasped by everybody.

For people whose economic life will now have to be subject to severe stress and to a demand that all types of ability must be suitably placed in productive service, there is a particularly outstanding need that a fully-developed and well-diversified national system of secondary education can supply. It can undertake and carry through that preliminary sorting of the whole population which is so essential to the most vital form of economy, namely the most economical use of manpower. As we have seen, the idea of State direction of labour is strongly repugnant. Hope of avoiding it rests in no small degree upon the extent to which the

schools can discover and develop the approved "types," handing them on at the appropriate levels to advanced education or direct to employment, and upon the extent to which the organisation of employment can offer the corresponding opportunities and inducements. Equipped increasingly with the spirit and the means of educational diagnosis, the schools will be playing their part in this co-operative effort.

So we come to the critical transition of the pupil from school to employment. This has been and still is the subject of anxious inquiry. A thorough investigation was carried through in 1945 by a committee appointed by the Minister of Labour.[1] Legislation is now being introduced to give effect to its recommendations.

It is not possible here to discuss the details. But, clearly, what is involved is a peculiarly complex form of co-operative action by a variety of agencies to achieve a practical objective. English habit and tradition lead one to believe that there will be effective response. The objective is clear enough, the dual one of making full and appropriate use of every kind and degree of productive capacity and of so placing the individual worker as to offer scope for a free and satisfying personal life. There is little doubt that both purposes will be well understood and kept steadily in mind.

In the co-operative effort the school will have the duty of discovering and developing abilities, or detecting and providing for special interests, of informing pupils of available types of employment, and of maintaining close contact with the local employment office. That office, in its turn, has the duty of initial guidance and of supervision during the early years of work. Industry, including both employers and workers, has then to ensure proper provision within its own field both for specific training in productive skills, and also for that friendly, personal oversight of the young worker which may have such a great effect in ensuring the emergence of a useful and self-respecting member of a free society.

The awakening of industry on both sides to a sense of both these educational responsibilities is one of the most encouraging signs of recent times. Some large concerns are quite active in the discharge of the duty. The goal will be much harder to achieve where the youth is employed by a small concern, and no real solution to this problem has yet been found. But something may be done by co-operative action in the industry as a whole, in the building trades for instance. The nationalised industries, coal-mining in particular, are already giving a strong lead.

Supporting and supplementing all this, and to meet the more personal and cultural needs of the young worker, there has grown up in recent years an extensive provision of youth clubs and similar organisations known collectively as the Youth Service. Initiated

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[1] *Report of the Committee on the Juvenile Employment Service* (known as the "Ince Report"). His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1945.

many years ago by voluntary effort, these institutions are now very freely subsidised from public funds, and regular courses of training are provided by "youth leaders." Well conducted as many of them now are, they provide admirable training both in democratic citizenship and in the cultivation of those personal tastes and aptitudes which may mean so much both for the maintenance of civilised standards and for the enrichment of personal life. The members take an active and responsible part in the running of the club. But membership of a club is, of course, not compulsory, so here again we have the problem of bringing these facilities to a large mass of relatively submerged young people who are most in need of them. It is realised that there is social danger in allowing that mass to remain unduly large.

All that has been said in the above paragraphs serves to demonstrate the urgency of establishing the county colleges, with the requirement of compulsory attendance, at the earliest possible date. But it would seem that by reason of economic and other difficulties that hope will have to be deferred for some considerable time yet.

Thirdly, the State comes in now with particular force in public provision for technical education. It is true to say that, until recently, there has not been the will to provide adequately and comprehensively for this form of education, though the first tentative provision of public funds for the purpose dates as far back as 1889. Complacency induced by the lead achieved in the last century may have had much to do with this. Employers were largely indifferent, workers were suspicious, and the young people who did take advantage of the rather meagre facilities had to carry an unduly heavy burden. Attendance was almost invariably in the evenings after long hours of labour, and teachers were hardly less tired than their pupils.

For long the main initiative came from the State. It would have had greater effect had it met with more intelligent and energetic response. Indeed it has been a weakness in the whole effort that the State was in the position of stimulating a sluggish response rather than in that of responding to a strong demand from industry itself. But under the potent threat of disaster this situation is now largely reversed, and with it the direction of the pressure. Any risk that attention and effort may be concentrated too exclusively on the technical field as such to the neglect and possible distortion of its relationship to the rest of the educational planning will be powerfully checked by the continuing vitality of the humanistic tradition in England.

The essential task is to give to technical education its proper place, but no more than its proper place, in the total national planning. On the one hand the specific training should proceed in a context of conscious citizenship, aware of the fact that ability to contribute a trained, productive skill is a first duty of the citizen.

On the other hand it must also be set in a context of culture, meaning by that that it must be accompanied by a strong sense of the process that is now going on of cultural adaptation to the necessities of a technological society. There has been no graver handicap to the progress of technical education in England, dominated as Government and public life have been in the past by the conception of culture held by a limited governing class, than the idea that technical education was definitely non-cultural. A neo-Platonism of this kind has been the source of much mischief and neglect.

Now there are signs of an awakening. The technical colleges are developing, in typical English fashion, a strong community life, full of possibilities, designed or incidental, of humane education. Also, they show increasing sense of the cultural significance and implications of the special techniques in which they provide training. In all this they are supported both by the best educational opinion and by enlightened employers, who have grasped the all-round importance of maintaining and enhancing the full humanity of the worker. In short, it may be said that a new pattern of the skilled citizen-worker is emerging, all the more cultured just because of his skill, and the portent is full of hope and significance for the future.

The whole field of effort is now so complex, changing so rapidly, and so much under revision, that no detailed account of it can be attempted here. One can do no more than indicate certain objectives to be hoped and striven for. These are:

(1) A general shift from evening to day-time attendance largely by what is known as "day-time releases" from work. The tendency is growing rapidly. The increase in "full-time" students in 1946–7 over 1945–6 is estimated at 30 per cent. that of "day-time release" at about 20 per cent. This process will certainly continue.

(2) The extension of the practice of setting national standards of competence (Ordinary and Higher National Certificates), now well established over wide ranges of industry and commerce. Extension to the *crafts* (building and others) is now being strongly pressed.

(3) An industry to the needs of which particular attention will have to be given is agriculture. Great changes in world conditions affecting the production and sale of food, acting together with a sweeping change for the worse in conditions governing national security, have completely reversed the former English policy towards agriculture. Even apart from the wars and their effects, the growth of world population, the increased proportion of the crops which exporting countries retain for their own consumption, and the extending range of effective demand, might have produced the same effect.

It is calculated that even under the best conditions we shall have

to import at least a half and possibly three-fifths of our food and the great bulk of agriculturally produced raw materials. So there is every reason to keep the level of home production as high as possible. Moreover, the changes referred to above have diminished and may ultimately wipe out the margin of price-advantage as between imported and home-grown food.

Mechanisation of agriculture has now gone far, the wages of agricultural workers have risen enormously, and the need now is for a general rationalisation of the industry so as to increase production and keep down costs, especially labour costs.

The typical technical college can do little to provide the necessary training. In its place there is being developed a system of agricultural colleges for more advanced studies, with a large number of Farm Institutes for short courses and routine training. A few years ago Farm Institutes were placed under the administration of the Ministry of Education, a step which enables local authorities to include in their general provision facilities for rural areas analogous to those which are offered by the technical colleges in the towns. Parallel to the urban Youth Service is a network of vigorous and enterprising Young Farmers' Clubs, and in the villages Women's Institutes offer their own type of facilities for adult education.

Everywhere a new spirit of enterprise and scientific study is manifest. Farmers, now organised in a powerful national union, are no longer the hardened conservatives of the old standard jokes. Agriculture, thus revolutionised, will continue to take its place as one of the largest single employing industries in the country.

(4) Supplementing, rationalising, and grading the existing provision on the basis of an over-all national plan. This will have to take account of many factors, such as regional interest in some particular industry or group of industries, relations with universities and other teaching institutions, differences in the resources of colleges, and particularly relations with organised employers and workers. A few very large colleges may achieve something approaching university status.

(5) The progressive raising of the school-leaving age and the establishment of county colleges. The first will close the hiatus that has intervened between the standard of general education reached by many school-leavers and the minimum standard needed for successful pursuit of technical courses. The second will provide for a greater diversity of part-time educational facilities, and —since attendance is compulsory—for that general guidance and supervision of the young worker which is for every reason held to be necessary.

Local authorities are now submitting to the Minister their plans for the development of technical education in their respective areas. With these before him he will have decisions of far-reach-

ing importance to make. In its present temper the nation will be satisfied with nothing less than a comprehensive and thoroughly reorganised system.[1]

From what has been said so far of the educational planning, it will be seen that it is penetrated throughout by certain leading ideas. These are not often stated in explicit terms, but there can be no doubt what they are. Put shortly they can be expressed as a resolve to achieve efficiency without sacrificing democratic freedom. Or alternatively, to reinterpret tradition without rejecting it. It is increasingly realised, however, that this goal cannot be achieved by organised educational efforts confined solely to the years of childhood and youth. To ensure on the one hand the industrial discipline essential to efficiency and yet compatible with a democratic order, and on the other hand the moral and intellectual qualities that sustain the free citizen, calls for further efforts covering the adult years. To the term "education" as used at this level, a particularly wide connotation will have to be given. In addition to a great variety of organised forms under that name, account will have to be taken of the educative effect, for good or ill, of customary social and industrial experience, indeed of the whole tone and spirit of the society in which the citizen lives.

Further, since continuity of purpose and inspiration must be maintained throughout, from the earliest years of life, the same consideration will apply in due measure at every stage. The organised agencies of society will need to take thought over the conditions under which the young gather their experiences out of school as well as within its walls. The traditions, the powers, and the duties of English local authorities are well adapted to such a purpose. Thus we are reaching a social order which may well be described as that of the "educative society." That is, a society which knows itself to be supremely concerned with the qualities induced in its citizens by any or all of its processes and activities, and knows, too, how subtle may be the channels through which educative influence may be exerted. In this way social and educational policy draw together, aware of the inspiration of a common purpose. Such matters as housing, wages policy, and social insurance, for example, are seen increasingly to have a significance that can fairly be called educational.

This article may conclude with some estimate, in the light of this widening conception, of the possibilities of using educational methods for the two ruling purposes of ensuring democratic industrial discipline and of inducing and fortifying the necessary qualities of the free and responsible citizen, ready and able to carry the burdens of his freedom.

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[1] Further details concerning technical education will be found in the bibliography on p. 652.

It must be said at once that much will depend on what the school can do during the years—ten at present—of compulsory schooling. Here again the prospect is not unhopeful. Civic sense among teachers grows strong, together with a heightened understanding of their peculiar duty in years of transition and crisis. The profession is obviously rising in public confidence and esteem, better provision is being made for its education and training, and the organised associations of teachers show readiness to assume great public responsibilities. In alliance with somewhat similar associations of local authorities, they may be able to safeguard the essential autonomy of the school. It is now well established that responsibility for the curriculum and working of a school rests primarily with the teachers. There is no officially prescribed curriculum, and the Ministry, so far from opposing this autonomy, is pledged to maintain and extend it. Methods, too, have undergone change; there is less rigidity of curriculum and classification and much more of group activity, free initiative, and " practical " field and workshop activities. Local authorities, on their part, are well armed with powers to provide for the needs and interests of children out of school, though they may have to make more extended use of their powers.

It is for the later ages, after school days are past, that further developments are called for, requiring much anxious thought and wise planning. The Youth Service must be extended and further diversified, its relation to the county college has still to be thought out, and a resolute effort is called for to reach those large numbers of young people who, so far, are little touched by it. Most of all, perhaps, there is needed a new inspiration, the revelation and illumination of worthy objects of loyalty, the service of which, we may hope, can do something to dispel the cynicism and indifference by which, quite understandably, so many young people are now infected.

At the adult level there are two main groups of resources to be drawn upon—first, educative experiences within the structure of employment itself, and second, the diverse and increasing provision for adult education as such made by local authorities and by voluntary organisations.

In regard to the first of these, we have in mind not such things as " works schools," of which there are now a good many. We are thinking rather of the organisation and working of employment itself. With the securities afforded by full employment and national social insurance, it should now be more possible to make employment itself a school of citizenship. The move to do so is already well under way, though not necessarily with that as its avowed intention. Joint production committees, consisting of representatives of employers and workers, are now quite common in the larger concerns, but there is much to be done before factories and

businesses, great and small, can become co-operative institutions within which the worker is less under the necessity than he was formerly to divest himself of so much of his humanity and normal social attributes.

Nevertheless, there is hope that the problem of industrial discipline may prove to be soluble on a democratic basis. But deeply involved in it is the problem of *incentives,* to which reference has already been made. If full employment and universal social insurance are guaranteed, incentives cannot remain what they were, though the prospect of increased pay and promotion will still have its effect. Can we hope that a consciously civic motive will come to operate more widely, the willing and intelligent acceptance of duty in response to common needs? If this is a Utopian hope the prospect is less bright. The course taken by social, political, and economic developments in the coming years may help to provide an answer.

It is at this point that the facilities provided by the second group of resources—those for adult education expressly under that name—may have high relevance. They cover much that is designed for community activities, for social amenities, recreations, and pursuit of arts and crafts, all valuable and significant for the enrichment of the life of the free citizen. But they aim at more than this. In residential colleges, in municipal colleges and institutes, and in exacting tutorial courses such as are provided by the Workers' Educational Association, they provide means for close and serious study of the processes of social and economic change and of the moral and intellectual qualities that a changing order calls for in the citizen.

Here is real intellectual discipline of high value and at a high level. Not many are capable of undergoing it, but those who do so successfully have a function of the first importance. Together with some, at least, of the men and women issuing from universities and technical colleges, now much more accessible to merit, they will form the core of the new élite. The tone and standards set by this élite, wherever its members may be placed, will tend to be those of society at large. There may issue from this source influences which, spreading through the rank and file, may help to solve this acute problem of the incentives which are proper to the working of a " planned " democratic society and in accordance with the dignity of free men.

" The dignity of free men ": can anything less than that be taken as the standard? It may be that this article has adopted a more hopeful tone towards the prospect than the circumstances warrant. In other words, we may have brought into relief the hope and the goal while leaving in relative obscurity the powerful influences that may render the hope nugatory or unattainable.

So let it be confessed that there is no certainty whatever that

a large-scale, highly industrialised society can continue to be economically efficient at a high level and still continue to be free. And in the nature of the case there are no historic precedents to which we can refer for guidance. The effort, in these conditions, to achieve a society which can at the same time be highly efficient and guarantee the substantial freedom of its citizens is a new thing in human experience.

The forces operating to defeat the hope are powerful and seem to be growing more so. Nor can we yet be sure that when men are faced with the choice between security and a high standard of living on the one side and the dignity of moral freedom on the other, they will choose the freedom. Are there not indications already of a growing disposition among men to reject freedom when they realise what risks and burdens it may entail?

All we are entitled to claim, therefore, in this article is that Britain at present appears to be set for the great adventure, despite the unfavourable conditions in which the enterprise has to be undertaken. It is of the very nature of the enterprise that the main hope of succeeding in it is to be found in education. That is why the concept of education itself has now to be enlarged and why society can no longer ignore the educative effect, for good or for ill, of any of its actions. For the qualities engendered in the ordinary citizen are now all-important.

It should not be difficult to say what these qualities are: disciplined, informed, critical intelligence to judge rightly of situations for decision; public and personal readiness to accept the responsibilities that decision entails and to impose the self-discipline that common action requires; the imaginativeness that can enter sympathetically into the lives and motives of others and the tolerance that should be its accompaniment; a firmly-rooted and well-harmonised system of loyalties; a discriminating sense of the values of tradition; and, underlying all, the sensitive, informed, and disciplined *conscience* of the individual man and woman. (We shall need to restore that much-needed though much-abused word to our educational thinking and discussion.)

There also lies ahead the immense task of reharmonising work with life, and both with leisure, in new and still strange conditions. No change of outlook is more urgently needed than this, and none more difficult to bring about.

What a task for education in all the many forms it will now have to assume! Certainly the desired qualities can be achieved by individuals only at varying levels and by some hardly at all. That is why we have to speak of an élite, though an élite of influence rather than of government.

Yet tremendous as the task is, honour alone would require that it should be essayed. This article may have shown that there are resources at command which hold out the prospect of some

measure of success. Among them we can now count upon a powerful and growing impulse towards effective team-work. The Ministry, the local authorities, and the associated teachers are co-operating to give effect to the Act of 1944 with such energy and unity of purpose as we have not known hitherto. Nor is this all. Public opinion, too, is aroused; education is a major topic of discussion, and there is a noticeable diminution of the class-feeling which, in the past, restricted the range of action and tended to the expending of energy in conflict rather than in effective co-operation. It would seem, indeed, that the old barriers are yielding, all too slowly no doubt for impatient enthusiasts, but yielding nevertheless.

Something of this may be due to the prevailing sense of crisis, not so intense nor so sharply defined as in those fateful months of 1940 and 1941, but analogous to that. We may believe that there is much more than that behind the new and better attitudes. There is, beyond all doubt, a strong and deeply-felt concern for the young for their own sake. There is taking shape, too, behind all the contention and conflict about means, a vision of a possible Britain, a Britain which might show how life for the ordinary citizen could be free, humane, and gracious, in spite of all the necessities of material self-maintenance in this difficult technological age.

Without attempting to forecast the issue of the great experiment upon which we are now embarked we may yet feel assured that if the forces just mentioned can be fully mobilised, success will at least be merited. Something analogous to the effort that ensured survival in 1940–1 may yet make clear the destiny for which we have been spared.

Note.—While the writer of this article takes full responsibility for what it contains, he acknowledges with gratitude the great help he has received in preparing it from the comments and criticisms of a number of friends to whom a draft was submitted. Among these, he is free to mention the names of Professor Hamley, Dr. N. Hans, Professor Lauwerys, J. Wickham Murray, Lord Simon of Wythenshawe, W. E. Evans, Sir Geoffrey Vickers.

F. CLARKE.

CHAPTER TWO

SCOTLAND

EDUCATION AND ECONOMIC CHANGE

Economic Position and Trends

FROM the time of the Union of Parliaments in 1707, Scotland's general political and economic history has been bound up with that of England, and the present economic circumstances and problems are basically the same for both countries. The analysis recorded in the article on Great Britain broadly reflects, therefore, the position in Scotland and there is no need to indulge in mere repetition. Nevertheless, one welcomes the opportunity, within the limits of a necessarily brief article, of making specific references to conditions and prospects in Scotland, and certainly within the realm of education Scotland's traditions and prospective adaptations are so fundamentally different from those of England that a supplement to the main article is essential.

Even in the economic sphere understanding can come only from familiarity with the distinctive physical features of Scotland, and from an appreciation of the sensitiveness of the economic balance of the country and of the uneasiness of her people consequent upon the widely fluctuating experiences of the last two centuries. Physical contours, and physical obstacles to ease of transportation, have influenced and determined both the characteristics of the educational system of the country and its economic history.

Scotland is slightly larger than half the area of England, yet it has only one-eighth the population of England: it has a coast-line that is longer and much more irregular, and three-quarters of the land is hilly or mountainous. Moreover, from the beginning of last century there has been an increasing concentration of industry, and ultimately of three-quarters of the population, in the narrow waistline of the Midlands which stretches from the Clyde estuary in the west to the estuaries of the Forth and Tay in the east. In the early part of the nineteenth century, agriculture employed twice as many workers as all the other industries put together, whereas by 1931, according to census, the number following agricultural pursuits had fallen to 180,000, while something like two million were employed in industry and commerce. The rapid and continuous depopulation of the Highlands in particular has been a much-regretted consequence, and many would like to see a re-organisation of stable and attractive rural life. Industries, large and relatively few in number, have been the main foundations of

Scotland's economic life in the last century, and in more recent decades they have tended to be subject to serious fluctuations between comparative prosperity and extreme depression. The dreaded cycles in the economy of Scotland have thus started with the movement of the rural population to the industrial areas, and have culminated in emigration on a large scale. It is estimated that between 1871 and 1931 Scotland lost some 30 per cent. of her inhabitants by emigration. The fear of periods of depression is deeply ingrained in the Scottish people and is hardly dispelled by assurances that the problem of the moment is shortage rather than surplus of labour.

Yet the prospects for economic stability are far from being dim, and the industrial face of the country is visibly changing. An increasing number of newer, more diversified, lighter industries are being established and developed in urban areas, particularly in the former "depressed areas," which will provide elements of strength and balance and diminish the measure of dependence upon the few large industries, important as these may be. With the near-exhaustion of some of the coal-mines in the densely populated west, new mining areas are being opened up in the east, and in consequence there may be expected considerable movement of population and the growth of new townships in the east. The townships and villages of the coastal fringes can look forward to a period of prosperity too, since the fisheries have the opportunity of making an important contribution to the supply of food. In agriculture the need to raise to the utmost the production of food, and thereby to reduce to some extent dependence on imported foodstuffs, is recognised and somehow the farmers' labour problems must be solved. Nor are the Highlands themselves without hope of better prospects for the future. Afforestation, the creation of national parks, the development of tourist trade, and perhaps above all the great hydro-electric projects now being actively promoted, will all contribute to the establishment of a better-balanced national economy. An important experiment in a "specimen area" of the north-west is proceeding at present, which may lead to the development of a new policy for the repopulation of the Highlands by means of forestry and agricultural schemes, and there is likelihood that greater and more ambitious plans may follow.

These changes and prospective developments are of immediate interest and concern to all engaged in industry and commerce, but they also present challenge and opportunity to those responsible for the organisation and administration of schools and other educational agencies, and happily educational leaders and advisers are alert and responsive to the needs of a new situation. As the Report on *Secondary Education,* prepared recently by the Advisory Council on Education in Scotland, states: "The nation has

emerged from its greatest ordeal socially expectant and demanding that the education of its children shall not fall below the needs and opportunities of the new age."

Resources and Framework of Education

The interest evinced in education in Scotland immediately before and during the war years, and the thought given in anticipation to developments required in the post-war period, are reflected in the Education (Scotland) Act of 1945 and in the extremely important and realistic Reports of the Advisory Council on Education, which have attempted to deal with every main aspect and problem of education in a social democracy. Legislative enactments and administrative developments, as in England, make possible the necessary adaptations in the vital educational services, and, as in England, thought is in terms of readjustment, co-ordination, and integration, rather than of discarding what is valuable in the traditional set and structure of education.

Nevertheless, there is some danger that the response to new deeds may be somewhat slower than in England. Traditions, no doubt admirable in many ways, are particularly firmly rooted in Scotland, and while education for centuries has been valued by the people it has generally been education of an academic kind and education for the clever child in particular, while the needs of other children have tended to be obscured. On the other hand, education in Scotland has thoroughly democratic bases and there never was so complete a separation of elementary and secondary education as in England. In consequence the national system, of an end-on type, has allowed of the development of close articulation of the various stages in education and it has been but a natural step finally to regard secondary education as "a stage in the schooling of every child, not a particular kind of education to be provided for some but not for all." There is still, and perhaps rightly, general agreement that during the years of compulsory attendance at school, the emphasis should be upon "general" education, but the term will be interpreted in a less narrow way than formerly and there will be less hesitation to introduce appropriate "bias" in the various courses according to the needs, interests and environment of the pupils concerned. There will be greater stress upon variety in content of courses and in teaching method, upon the development of personal qualities, and upon the value of corporate life, aiming at widening within the social group the area of interests and activities which all members can share.

Purposes and Prospective Adaptations of Education

Signs are not lacking in the field of education that the will and the intention are present to meet the problems of new and difficult times. It has, however, to be recognised that the very economic

crisis which presents the immediate challenge imposes inevitable material restrictions upon education itself. Nevertheless, progress is being made and preparation proceeds for further advances.

The broad and general nature of the task confronting education is interpreted thus in the Report on Secondary Education: " With our material inheritance much diminished and our position of vantage lost, it is clear as never before that our real wealth is in the character and skill of our people, our hope as a nation in the wisest utilisation of our human resources. And such utilisation implies not merely a training adequate to the vastly greater technological demands of our age, important though that is, but such education as will secure social cohesion and promote the good life of the individual." And so there is the fundamental need and desire to provide suitable schooling for all children, according to " age, ability, and aptitude," and thereby to make the most of all the talent available, of whatever kind and degree, and at the same time there is concern that the schools should inculcate those virtues without which the values of democracy cannot survive.

So far as the years of compulsory attendance at school are concerned, there is little likelihood of any substantial change from the present organisation. But great and increasingly effective attention is required to the difficult task of selection and guidance at the time of transfer from primary to secondary schooling, which for most children offers three-year courses. That children at the age of 12 sort themselves out neatly into three categories, to which types of school would correspond as proposed in England, is not accepted in Scotland. As hitherto, it is maintained that the " omnibus " secondary school, though there are no rigid rules applied in this respect, " best embodies the ideals of the new age. Such a school embraces the whole range of secondary education not in time only but in diversity of courses and in provision for different intelligence levels." There will thus be no general policy of setting up separate technical high schools within the normal school system, but handicrafts and practical training will find a place in all courses, and considerable scope in some, not simply for pre-vocational purposes, important as these are recognised to be in a highly industrialised society, but because they meet the educational needs of the adolescent pupils themselves.

The importance is recognised, too, of the need to give careful and timely advice on choice of careers, and on the basis of recommendations of the *Ince Report* the schools will play a part in vocational guidance in collaboration with the Juvenile Employment Service of the Ministry of Labour. And when it becomes possible to introduce compulsory part-time education for young people up to the age of 18 in the junior colleges, as they will be called in Scotland, school and industry will each take interest in the general welfare of the youth of the country as they seek to establish them-

selves in the workaday world. These junior colleges, which will include, though they will not specialise in, instruction relevant to vocation, may not be established until after 1952, though there is and will be a measure of development on voluntary lines. Alongside the junior colleges the development of full-time pre-apprenticeship schools in the urban areas may be expected to continue.

Having referred briefly to practical or technical education in the normal school system, it remains, however, to say that Scotland considers herself seriously deficient in the provision made for technical education and has much leeway to make up as the needs of industry become more clamant. Through evening continuation classes, and technical colleges and universities, there is provision of an excellent kind, but the opportunities are not sufficiently general or widespread, and many branches of national life and industry have not been touched. National planning of technical education is therefore regarded as urgently necessary, and this point of view finds support both in the Advisory Council's Reports on *Technical Education* and in the more general Report on *The Needs of Youth in These Times* prepared by the Scottish Youth Advisory Committee. "There should be technical schools," the last-mentioned Report recommends, "in all Education Authority areas, equipped to provide the training required for the major occupations of each area, and arrangements should be developed under which employers are persuaded to release young workers to attend these technical schools for part of the working week, in addition to their attendance at compulsory day continuation classes," which in the junior colleges will of course serve more general purposes. Following such advice, the Secretary of State is at present taking steps to establish National and Regional Councils for Technical Education upon which various types of interest—industrial, commercial, and educational—will be represented. Their functions will be to survey national requirements and "to advise the Education Authorities in the region as to the development of technical education for persons *who have left school,* and are engaged or are preparing to engage in industry and commerce."

As in technical education so in agriculture, the view is taken that as a specific vocational pursuit it should have no place in the secondary curriculum within the years of compulsory full-time schooling. A good secondary education, it is maintained, for rural as for town children, must be one that gives the fullest opportunity for social usefulness in either town or country, according to talent and temperament. Nevertheless, education must find its material and bases in the environment of the pupils and it is acknowledged that in rural secondary schools the equipment for practical training, whether on the mechanical or on the agricultural side, is too meagre. It is moreover intended that arrangements pro-

posed for post-school technical education will take account of the needs of young people preparing to take up agricultural pursuits. What Scotland would like to see is a renascence of its country life, and although this cannot and should not be the concern of education alone, education will play its part. There are welcome signs that steps are already being taken by a few enterprising education authorities, who have secured mansion-houses with adjoining arable land, to provide post-school courses for boys and girls who are interested in farming and crofting work, and the movement will no doubt spread in the years to come. At the same time it is realised that economic limitations in rural areas were not the sole cause of the drift to the industrial towns. Considerable attention must therefore also be paid, not only to the bases of economic security for those involved, but also to the improvement of living conditions and to the fostering of attractive community life. None would derive greater pleasure from such developments than members of the Women's Rural Institutes and the Young Farmers' Clubs which have done much for many years to sustain in adverse circumstances the cultural and social life of rural Scotland.

Other Educational Needs

In the Government's *Economic Survey for* 1947, stress is repeatedly laid on the need for harder work, and higher output in the right sorts of work, if the present economic crisis is to be surmounted and real security assured. On the other hand, as State provision of social services increases and as the status of the workers has advanced, the standard of living and apparent security of the individual citizen appear less immediately dependent on his personal efforts, and incentive to work hard appears less immediately urgent. Incentives other than fear of unemployment and the like, and of a less obviously personal kind, must be relied upon. This means that the quality of responsible citizenship and of the relations between all elements of the community assumes the utmost significance and importance. Educational leaders and advisers have shown concern about this, as witness the Report on *Training for Citizenship*, and the foundations of good citizenship may be expected to be laid in the formative years of school life. Self-discipline, and a proper attitude in the minds of pupils towards work and the welfare of the community of which they will be responsible members, will be important elements in this training.

Formal education, however, is but one of the many agencies shaping the lives of youth, and too much must not be expected of the schools. An extension of the provision of Youth Clubs is regarded as essential. In spite of the impetus given to all forms of Youth Service in recent years, there are many young people who are out of touch with all educative agencies. The prospective establishment of junior colleges, and possibly of more inclusive com-

munity centres, may do much to foster healthy youth activities on a widespread scale and so strengthen the fabric of community life.

At the adult level, too, there is no doubt that education can make a valuable contribution. The greatest need is perhaps for enlightenment and understanding and appreciation of the factors which at present determine economic life. It is difficult for the ordinary adult to understand why, in the midst of apparent prosperity, conditions of struggle and austerity should persist, or to appreciate the intimate relationship there is between the drive for exports and the policy of domestic economy. Happily the demand for adult education is increasing, though slowly, and it is perhaps encouraging that amongst the most favoured courses are those relating to Current Affairs and International Problems.

Perhaps the last brief word in an article of this kind should relate to the recruitment and training of teachers. Staffing of schools at present is at no higher a level than pre-war standards, and in some areas and in some specialist categories, notably in mathematics and science, there is a definite dearth of teachers. This no doubt arises in part because industry and commerce at present offer so many attractive opportunities to well-qualified young men and women; yet it must be realised that without sufficient suitably qualified teachers it is difficult to make desired educational advances, or to see how the movement for the development of technical education can be either rapid enough or sufficiently effective. Therein lies one of the main problems in education in Scotland at present. It is further being questioned whether the traditional methods of recruiting teachers are adequate. In any case from whatever source they come, be it academic or commercial or industrial, there must be inculcated in prospective teachers an attitude of mind in keeping with the educational needs of the times and an acute awareness of the social and economic life of the people.

ANDREW F. SKINNER.

CHAPTER THREE

EIRE

THE REVIVAL OF THE IRISH LANGUAGE[1]

MOVEMENTS for the preservation of the Irish language began more than a century ago, at a time when movements of an opposite kind represented both official British policy and the political and religious policy of many influential Irish people.

Statements that the language was forbidden for Irish use by English legislation as old as the Statute of Kilkenny (1367) are inaccurate. That statute did not apply to Irishmen, but only to the English settlers in Ireland, who were causing perturbation by their adoption of, or adaptation of themselves to, Irish language, laws, customs, and culture. They have, however, this grain of truth: Irishmen were outside the pale of English law in those places in which English settlements had been established, and in those areas an Irishman was supposed either to disappear or to take whatever steps he could to Anglicise himself and obliterate the evidences of his origin. Like much other bad law in later times, this was often regarded lightly. The settled Irish and English of the Middle Ages were like those of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, in that they screened each other whenever friendship, interest, convenience, or the spirit of decency impelled them to do so. They fell in love with each other, intermarried, and made a blend of race, culture, and common practices that became in time a vigorous and useful element in the national life.

Throughout the Middle Ages, however, of the two influences at work, the Irish one, outside the Church at any rate, was much the more penetrating and pervasive, and the English settlements gradually ceased to have separate existences. Even the towns became more and more Irish in character.

In the sixteenth century a resolute conquest of the country began, and by the end of the seventeenth it seemed to be complete. During its course English law was made to apply to all parts of the country, and to all the people, and in the administration of the law the Irish language had no status. There was still no prohibition of the language for everyday purposes, but it was relegated to a low position. Knowledge or use of it might bring a person into contempt or suspicion, when to be suspected was dangerous. In

[1] The term "Erse" is never used in Ireland, except humorously. It originated apparently as the best attempt that a Gaelic-speaking Highlander could make to pronounce the English word "Irish," and in Ireland its serious use arouses amused astonishment.

the eighteenth century a great many people looked on the conquest as a *fait accompli* and adjusted themselves accordingly. Knowledge of Irish held no scope for advancement. The Irish and older Anglo-Irish noble families were mostly scattered or impoverished, and even the poets, whose ancestors had held high rank in the old social order, could not live on the small bounties that were all that the remnants of the old nobility could afford them, and had to fall back on the hospitality of labourers and small farmers, or to become labourers themselves.

> Once I had books, each book beyond compare,
> And now no book at all is left to me;
> Now I am spied and peeped on everywhere,
> And this old head, stuffed with Latinity,
> Rich with the poets' store of grave and gay,
> Will not get me skim-milk for half a day.[1]
>
> . . . . .
>
> If a person should think I complain and have not a good cause,
> Let him bring his eyes here and take a good look at my hand;
> Let him say if a goose quill has calloused this poor pair of paws,
> Or the spade that I grip on and dig with out there in the land.[1]

Others became schoolmasters, getting their penny or two a week from the neighbouring small farmers for each child that they taught, and sometimes receiving board and lodging as well, as they moved from place to place in the neighbourhood of the hiding-places where they carried on their illegal schools. Although they used Irish there was a tendency for them to teach what might be less appreciated by themselves but have a greater use for bread-and-butter purposes. They taught English and Latin, the languages that still helped people to get on in the world.

When the State system of elementary schools was established in 1831 it brought in a great number of these "hedge schoolmasters" and gave them salaries and security in return for following a course that was definitely anglicising in character.

There was not much resistance, so far as the learning of English went, and it is incomprehensible that Irish language enthusiasts to-day should say that their grandfathers gave up speaking Irish merely because they were told to. Daniel O'Connell and other leading politicians favoured English for utilitarian reasons, and the Roman Catholic higher authorities also were in general agreeable, partly for reasons concerned with the material welfare of their people, and partly because the existence of one English-speaking Catholic country within the British Empire was thought likely to be of advantage to their Church.

School regulations were not unlike those in Wales, where the attachment to the national language was much stronger, and was strengthened by the close bond between the language and the

[1] Translations from *Reincarnations*, by James Stephens (Macmillan).

people's religious life, in hymns, Sunday schools, bedside prayers, and chapel services. In Ireland, Latin was the language of the Church and English the language of the state and of the comfortable classes. Irish only led back to the cabins from which the people increasingly longed to escape. Children who allowed a word of Irish to pass their lips were not only beaten at school but began very soon to be bullied by their Irish-speaking parents. They grew up ashamed even to know the language. This was, however, recognised by an intelligent minority as involving the loss of one of the country's most precious possessions. All else that was Irish seemed to have gone. Land, national independence, monarchy, even clothing fashions, had been taken, banned, or otherwise lost, and now all the literary culture except the poor scrap that had only begun to be developed in English, was apparently to be thrown away in despair.

It was moribund already. It had ceased to be creative. Even poetry, in which it had been rich and productive for more than a thousand years at least, had stopped, and there was no production of written prose, though the vitality of oral prose remained unimpaired. Irish had no drama, philosophy, history (except annals), biography (except ancient romances), science, or fiction. People learning Irish to-day enter a fascinating realm through the poetry, and through the idiom of the language itself, but soon find its limitations and very often, after an early enthusiasm, turn away in disappointment. So, when Irish poetry ceased to be created the language became silent. Irish poetry in the early Christian centuries had been fresh and lovely, but the romantic prose stories of the time were already almost decadent in style when they were first put into writing. After the Danish defeat (1014) the prose romances of the eleventh and twelfth centuries were extraordinarily vivid and proud productions. The formal court poetry of the Middle Ages was duller, but with the later conquest came a fine outburst of poetry of national loyalty, defiance, and distress, and at last silence. Irish had become the tongue of a peasantry whose dreams were no longer centred at home, but in Boston, Massachusetts, or on Merseyside.

The change from Irish to English was helped by the eagerness of many to make it, but even so it brought on an intellectual catastrophe. The Irish-speaking districts are still, in the mid-twentieth century, storehouses of ancient culture, with a refinement of courtesy and a sensitivity and aesthetic appreciation that are not to be found in anything like the same abundance in the English-speaking areas, in some of which indeed they are most noticeable by their absence. The language was always far more than a medium for the expression of thoughts. It was itself a national work of art, an expression of the nation's mentality and culture. The intricacies of Gaelic thought and outlook on life revealed themselves in the delicacies of the

language. Much of its plain speech was sheer poetry without the prosody. With its disappearance some personal quality of great beauty passed away. The shadow of it has indeed lingered into the subsequent generations of English-speakers, but when the language first went the people were deprived of whatever inheritance they had of literature and of the other riches that are associated with it. English literature was simply not the literature of Ireland, and English to the majority of the Irish people was not a language even of folk-culture, but merely one of utility. By losing their popular literature the people were lowered intellectually. Their intelligence was dulled. Their vocabularies and exactnesses of meaning shrank to a withered shred of what they had been. Such culture as might have been made available to them was either primitive or alien, and generally out of their reach. The home had none and schooling ended at the age of 14 or earlier. A casual acquaintanceship with the Liverpool or Boston Irish would not usually have given even a hint of the fact that their parents or grandparents had been people of exceptional refinement no matter how poor or primitive their material circumstances may have been.

It was no wonder that a vigorous movement for the revival of Irish sprang up before the nineteenth century ended. The greater wonder may be that it was not more successful. Nevertheless the language-revival movement was part of a far-reaching national revival, showing itself in language, literature, drama, games, agriculture, and social and administrative politics, all following the eclipse of national politics after the downfall and death of Parnell. Nearly all this new Irish culture was born in English and the first contributors to it were mostly people of English connection who had come to think of Ireland as their home very much as the English of the Middle Ages had done, or as the Normans had become English within a few generations of the Norman Conquest. Later contributors have been more Irish in their origins and upbringing, and a more astringent and less idealistic note is found in their work, but all of them have helped to produce a new culture, natural to the English-speaking Ireland of to-day, an Ireland that is in its mind blended of Gaelic tradition and English vocabulary, and that has been able to some extent to transmute English speech into something distinctively national.

There is, because of this, less need now for the Irish language than there was a century ago, and yet the language supporters are much more self-assertive now than they used to be. Loyalty to the language is looked upon as loyalty to the nation, and just as people engaged in a life-or-death struggle for existence are ready, if there is the normal touch of the hero in them, to sacrifice everything else in order merely to continue to exist, so the zealots of Irish seem to be ready to go to any extreme merely to continue it in some sort of use.

Not only is it compulsory for public examinations, for civil ser-

vice appointments, for some professional qualifications, for appointments as railway clerks, local government officials, etc., but it is now the medium of teaching in many schools in which it is neither the home language of the pupils, nor even a language of which the teacher has an easy command, nor one that the pupils can understand without difficulty. This may be contrary to regulations but it is the outcome of official pressure, and it brings bonuses to teachers for making a travesty of their teaching. The bad effects of the imposition of English a century ago are therefore in some measure being repeated, but with less chance of righting themselves in time, as a result of an actual change in the language in common use. A child taught through a language that it does not know properly, by a teacher who cannot express himself properly in it, is badly taught. His mind is tormented and muddled. It loses its freedom and elasticity. He learns but does not understand. He does not learn to think, and cannot think, in the language through which he learns. The world of school is made unreal, and unrelated to the world of home and neighbourhood. Once again intelligence is thwarted and intellect dulled, but this time it is done in the supposed interests of the Irish nation.

The natural reaction to anything so shocking is condemnation, and yet performing a painful operation may be pragmatically justifiable. If the ultimate results of what looks like an anti-educational and inhuman policy are better mental health and greater happiness, then pity for the children and the teachers must be accompanied by some satisfaction at the greater hope that is held out for the future.

And conditions are not always so bad. There are schools in which Irish is not the teaching medium, and in which, whether it is taught well or ill, it thus escapes at least one way of doing harm. In other schools it is not only taught well but is treated, and accepted, as inspiring. Just as a Boy Scout may have a sense of uplift at the thought of his good deeds, so thousands of Irish boys and girls feel happy in the belief that their acquisition of Irish is their national service. Their lives would seem incomplete, their minds emptied of something good, if the chance of learning their country's language was taken from them. They might be left with a sense of being deserters.

There are schools, too, in which the language is taught so successfully, and learnt so readily, and in which the teachers are such fluent speakers, that Irish can be used fairly satisfactorily for teaching most subjects to most of the pupils. Such schools are, however, in a decided minority, and even in them real ease in the use of the language is unusual except in the upper forms. Educational success has had to be handicapped throughout the lower ones, and in every subject except Irish, in order that that final flourish may be achieved. The Department of Education gives additional marks in the public examinations for papers answered in Irish, and the

general standard of public examinations has also been lowered.

In a great many instances the hammering of Irish into unwilling heads has made it hated. It has even made young scholars lose their natural love of country, and want never to hear another word of it, or to emigrate, and has increased their respect for the sort of civilisation that is represented by the cinema or the English popular Sunday papers, which anyone can understand without effort.

We should not, however, be too caustic about weaknesses of this kind if in any considerable number of cases the zeal for learning Irish has given an all-round intellectual stimulus, so that work in all subjects has been made keener than it would have been if the happiness of this effort had been denied to the scholars. In another decided minority of cases this has happened, but the fact is that the effort to revive the language for common use has had almost no success. The general impression among teachers is that the effort reduces the understanding and injures the intelligence; and the teaching organisations are united in their sense of failure, their blame of the Department of Education for the mistakes in its policy, and their pessimism for the future.

A few years ago the present writer was interested in getting the views of one of the best-known authorities on the language as to the possibilities of its revival. His answer was indirect: "There is no known case of a language being restored when it has gone so completely out of use as Irish has done." The implication was that the attempt would fail, but feeling is so strong that to say so openly in influential quarters is equivalent to declaring oneself a defeatist and traitor. The sense of past failures of many kinds is only too present in the minds of good citizens, and the thought of accepting another defeat is unbearable. Rather would they pin their faith to Pearse's doctrine of "attempting impossible things," and thereby, like him, perhaps making the impossible possible.

Otherwise the obvious national policy would be to accept the loss of the language except as a field for the study and enjoyment of intellectuals, and, for the mass of the people, to hope for and encourage the further growth of the new Irish literature in English that has flourished so remarkably during the past half-century. At present it is officially despised, but without it the great majority of the people must have no literature of their own. The loss that that could involve can best be appreciated by people of other countries by imagining what their own cultural background would be if their literature was totally lost. They would not only be poorer but they would be uprooted, shaken from their stability, and set adrift.

Before admitting that restoration is impossible, a stronger attempt might yet be made to popularise the language by removing from it the stigma of being merely a "hard subject." It is difficult, and surprisingly little has been done about providing a rational approach to its teaching by means of textbooks based on word frequency, for

example. To make it a harder subject than it need be, and then to hope to lift it clean out of the classroom and have it chattered round the tea-table at home, is fatuous. Vernacular languages are not learnt in class. Particular usages and refinements in their use may be learnt there, but the vernaculars are caught up automatically in social intercourse, and most readily perhaps in a spirit of fun. To acquire vernacular Irish is exceptionally difficult because it is never slovenly or incorrect. It has therefore to be learnt with exactitude and then used in a natural way as a medium of enjoyable intercourse. The problem has not been taken seriously. The language has usually not even been taken out of the classroom and into the playground. The usual appeals have been to immunity from punishment, high marks, emulation, opportunities for material advancement, and national loyalty. None of these helps to popularise the use of the language. Some popularisation for selected scholars is done by providing holidays in Irish-speaking districts, and for both adults and juniors by subsidised musical revues and pantomimes. Other attempts to attract the young mind are made with Irish comics and Irish translations of thrillers and Wild West stories, as well as of other and better literature. Naturally, however, most readers prefer these things in the original, and would continue to do so even if, for example, *Treasure Island* or *David Copperfield* in Irish were a literary masterpiece. There are two promising periodicals in Irish, *Comas*, for university readers, and *Indiv,* a weekly news-sheet, both of which attract readers by their merits, but in general the baits are untaken, and the enthusiasm of from twenty-five to fifty years ago has weakened. The dogmatism that has succeeded it is not inspiring. The utilitarian appeal is reduced by the growth of industry, in which Irish is not needed, while for all too many bright intelligences there is still the open door for the emigrant. The bad old argument that Irish has no commercial value is happily heard less than it used to be—happily because so much skill, culture, and knowledge in every country has no commercial value, no matter how well worth having it may be—but Irish as it is commonly taught, especially in the elementary schools, would seem to have little value of any kind. To-day there can be very few, if any, educationists in the country who do not believe that the future common language of Ireland is destined to be English.

If they are right we must reconsider the whole question of how best to promote and maintain a national culture. We must ask: (1) to what extent must the loss of the language and the old literature destroy Irish culture? (2) To what extent can the study of the language merely as a school subject, and perhaps only in the secondary forms, help to preserve its influence? (3) To what extent does an Ireland using English as its common language automatically become an English province; or (4) to what extent does Ireland

survive the transmutation of her thoughts and speech from Irish into English forms? (5) To what extent does the study of Irish prevent pupils from getting an education suited to modern times? (6) To what extent can Ireland be bilingual?

The Ireland of a pure Gaelic race has gone, if it ever existed. (In fact it never did.) Ireland is a blend of races and influences that can no more be disentangled than the English people can be disentangled from the British in England; but living and working together, inheriting traditions, and enjoying a national conception of themselves have made the Irish, as obviously as the English, a distinctive nation. Ireland has no longer a distinctive language, but neither has England. The English are only a small minority of the users of their language. Through the medium of English a quite new national literature is growing up in the United States, and helping to strengthen that country's nationality, and the same national development will in time, we must hope, perform the same good service for several other countries. English is a blend of Germanic dialect, Roman vocabulary, and Germanic and Celtic usages. Ireland has taken that blend and strengthened the Gaelic influence in it, but just as the language has been used in England to express the spirit of England in an English literature, so in Ireland it has been, is being, and will be used in the creation of as Irish a literature, and as Irish a way of thought, as we have it in our mind to create. Further, even if we restored the Irish language we could never disentangle our culture from the influence of the past. Just as defeat or the suffering of a great injustice will alter the mind of a country for centuries, so also will the infiltration of foreign influences; and the original state can never be restored. All develops, all changes, all renews itself, and continual renovations, absorptions, and developments prevent stagnation and contribute to health and vigour. The work of the last half-century may well fill us with confidence in the literature that we may expect to have in the future.

One of the striking things about this new literature is the strengthening of the older Irish influence on the poets who, in their youth, steeped their minds in Irish poetry and have now done much to re-create it in forms comprehensive to the speaker of English. They are evidence of the influence that a study of Irish may be able to have, but the influence goes farther. Studying Irish at school prepares the young mind, and may even whet the young appetitie, for Irish poetry in the language that is now most familiar to it, in the shape of re-creations or reflections of the originals in new forms. A great deal of interesting translation has been done. The rhythms are usually altered, as they almost have to be, and the scholarly Irish reader often finds the change of form distasteful, but the reader who is not so familiar with the originals is glad to have at least the thought of the originals made accessible to him. To call the result "English" poetry would be to twist the word

English " out of all rational meaning. It is Irish with a new look. As for the effect of the study of Irish on the suitability of educa-on for the modern age, one has in all cases to remember the articular circumstances. The most that is usually expected of econdary pupils in the way of modern languages is to know their wn language well and to have a working knowledge of one, or ossibly two, of the languages of adjoining countries. Ireland has ie peculiar advantage of speaking the same language as her neigh-ours both east and west, so that her consciousness of the need for ther languages is much less than it would be if she was a Con-nental country. Quite apart from the pressure of Irish on the urriculum, therefore, we should expect to find the standard of 'rench, German, or Spanish in the schools rather low. It was low efore Irish was taught. It may be lower now, and in too many istances no modern foreign language is taught at all. To only a nall number of people is this a real disadvantage. But Ireland as a ioman Catholic country is less insular in outlook than might be xpected. She is conscious of definite affinities with Catholic urope. The Irish writer or artist, or other intellectual, seeking or a larger sphere than Dublin, is just as likely to go to Paris as ie English one would be to go to London; and very often he finds iat he can adjust himself to Continental ways more easily than ie Englishman can, and more easily than he can adjust himself to ngland. A need for French is therefore not uncommon, and com-laints about the low standard of its teaching are often heard. 'here is indeed reason for the jibe that in Irish schools the living inguages are Irish and Latin, and the dead ones are English and 'rench. Still, the poor quality of French studies is a handicap) only a few. The worst effect of giving so much time to trying to arn the "national" language, and the ecclesiastical language, is robably the reduction, or disappearance, of time for learning andicrafts, science, art, and music. In far too many schools these re wholly, or almost wholly, omitted from an education that is itended to supply the requirements of a civilised people.

Bilingualism, in the sense of having one language spoken in some arts of the country and another language in others, is looked upon s a defeatist solution of what ought to be a unitary problem. If ie distinctive language is an essential element in nationality, and , as is assumed, nationality is an essential element in the good life, e must accept this rejection. At the same time we must reject the aims to nationality made by England, Scotland, Switzerland, Den-iark, Norway, Sweden, Belgium, the United States, Mexico, India, nd so on indefinitely. All these either have more than one lan-uage or share their languages with other countries, and the number f nations pure enough to satisfy the purists must be remarkably nall. Even an all-Gaelic Ireland would have to be ruled out ecause it would speak one of the languages of Scotland. The

argument falls to pieces too easily to be worth following. One has to admit the possibility of a nation having a plurality of languages, which may be essentially the same as those of other nations, without losing the sense and reality of nationhood. Ireland could be, and in fact is, a bilingual nation, sharing one language with several other countries, and the other with northern Scotland. The only relevant problem remaining is whether it can keep itself bilingual or must become wholly English-speaking.

For a long time it appeared to be becoming so, even after the pressure in support of Irish became strong, and some cynical amusement has been caused by the fact that what seemed to be the first really successful move to arrest the discontinuance of Irish speech in the homes, and especially among the children, was a Government measure that had nothing to do with "education." The State simply paid the head of a family in an Irish-speaking district £2 a year for every child in his household so long as Irish was the common language of the home. No other measure achieved so much so quickly and so happily. The value of money was known already. That of Irish was now proven. Thousands of homes became Irish-speaking overnight. After a few years, when the pay looked a little meagre, the rate was raised to £5, and enthusiasm for the language rose higher. A new generation is now growing up in the Gaeltacht (the Irish-speaking areas) to which English is scarcely known. Already complaints are heard there about the "unfair" difficulty of the very simple English tests required for entrance to secondary schools, but perhaps a way will be found for glossing this difficulty over. Seeing that no other measure has succeeded so well there is a great probability that the system of financial inducement will be spread to adjoining areas where some Irish-speaking families live. Other privileges are available in the Gaeltacht also. Indeed, the possibilities of national redemption by way of making it pay, and paying parents to induce it in their children, are endless and fascinating to speculate upon. To extend the system to every family in the country, on the new scale, would cost over £4,000,000 a year, but over most of the country, of course, the plan could not work, for there are no Irish-speaking families, or families capable of being Irish-speaking.

For these impossible areas the national language must remain English, for the time being at any rate, and the new national culture, using English as its medium, must be further developed. In the new and enlarged Gaeltacht the main problems will be three: first, to create economic conditions that will stop depopulation; second, to ensure such encouragement to creative work in Irish that its hundred years or more of sterility will come to an end; and third, to save English, that is to say the medium of intercourse with the rest of the country, and the world, from dying out altogether.

ARNOLD MARSH.

SECTION III

U.S.A. AND OLDER DOMINIONS

Introduction

THE U.S.A. and the older British Dominions have been settled in relatively recent times, chiefly but not exclusively by English-speaking persons and by immigrants from Europe. In most of them, adjustments had to be made between groups originally affiliated to various European communities and the nature of these adjustments serves to determine the emerging cultural patterns of these new nationalities. In some Dominions, the problem of adjustment was not at all perplexing and never dangerous: for example, the Scots and the English found no difficulty in learning to live together in New Zealand, while the Irish and English in Australia readily came to a real understanding. In Canada, the French and the English-speaking nations found a happy solution, and in South Africa, too, the English and Dutch seem well on the way to finding a different, but satisfactory, compromise. The situation in the United States was more involved but, thanks to an enlightened educational policy, national unity has been forged.

The nature of these problems is well understood, and they have often been described. In the present volume of the YEAR BOOK, therefore, we wished to direct attention chiefly to the problems of adjustment that arise between "Europeans" and "non-Europeans." In all the countries in this section, there are large ethnic communities of non-European descent whose education could be guided either into the channel of complete assimilation or towards a partial adaptation aiming at the preservation of a relative cultural independence. For many years those in charge of education were uncertain which path to choose. However, judging from the articles that follow, the choice has now been made and the general tendency is towards the adoption of the second policy.

We should, however, distinguish between the American Negroes and the Cape Coloured (and Indians) in South Africa, on the one hand, and, on the other, the indigenous peoples such as Eskimos, American Indians, Bantu, Hottentot, and Maori. The former are already in large measure assimilated and have accepted the *mores*, the ways of thinking, and the social ideals of the dominant groups. They now have at their disposal few, if any, of the independent, original elements they would need for the development of vigorous autonomous cultures. Their problems are social and economic rather than cultural. The tension is between two socio-economic

groups and results from historical causes, being aggravated, however, by the quasi-racial prejudices of the whites. And both in the U.S.A. and in South Africa we note a definite, though somewhat slow, advance towards social and educational equality with the whites. It seems that the complete assimilation of these two groups is a question only of time.

With regard to the native populations which possessed their own language, culture, and social structure before the coming of the Europeans, the situation is quite different. Half-hearted attempts at assimilation did not bring about the results desired, and the policy had to be changed. In the U.S.A. as well as in Canada and New Zealand, the native languages are now officially recognised and used in schools. The cultural traditions, the arts, the crafts of Indians and Maoris are incorporated into school programmes, and pride of race fostered. In South Africa, a policy of assimilating the large Bantu majority was never even contemplated and segregation is inevitably leading towards a growing recognition of a separate Bantu cultural entity. The Australians, in their Mandated Territories, have accepted such principles from the start and have achieved a notable success in Nauru.

The new policy, needless to say, is beset by many difficulties. In the first place, the native ethnic communities are often cut off from the hunting and grazing lands which their traditional economy needed. They are thus faced with the task of changing their traditional ways of gaining a livelihood, often under unfavourable conditions. Secondly, their numbers are now increasing fairly rapidly. Not only does this cause growing pressure upon the means of subsistence, but it is likely to involve, in the near future, difficult problems of bi-cultural adjustment within the frontiers of single national States.

A comparison of the problems that arise in connection with the education of indigenous peoples in English-speaking lands and the problems that arise in many countries of Asia and Africa well displays the universal character of the main themes followed in the present volume.

EDITORS.

CHAPTER ONE

U.S.A.: EDUCATION FOR NEGROES

PART I—HISTORICAL REVIEW

It is the ideal intention of the American system of education to transmit to each succeeding generation a common cultural heritage. The education of Negroes in the United States has, however, expanded more rapidly than their opportunity for full participation in citizenship, and its development has been conditioned by the changing pattern of race relations.

The Proclamation of Independence did not immediately alter the long-held assumption that the Negro was uneducable, a theory so unconvincing that, before 1860, all Southern States, and a few in the North, had laws prohibiting the instruction of slaves; in some cases this prohibition was extended to free Negroes also. Even for whites tax-supported schools, already established in the North, were begun with extreme reluctance in the South. After 1860 the assumption of uneducability vitiated the short-lived movement for free and common schools under the Reconstruction Governments, and Negro education became largely the responsibility of private philanthropists, missionary societies, and churches, who sent money and teachers into the South to supplement the self-help of the Negro communities. The Freedmen's Bureau, created in 1865 to co-ordinate the establishment of free schools and colleges, expended over $1,000,000, and the Negroes themselves in their first five years of freedom raised another $200,000. By 1900 the missionary effort had reached its peak, and, with the impersonally managed funds of Northern philanthropy, was providing elementary schooling for 31 per cent. of the Negro population aged 5 to 20 years. Thirty-four Negro institutions were then providing collegiate training and a larger number of Negroes was being admitted to the universities of the North.

During this period of stabilisation the subordinate status of the Negro was gradually rationalised, and one result of Northern philanthropy was to encourage the Southern States to divert public money to white schools to make mere face-saving contributions to Negro education. Although illiteracy had fallen by 25 per cent. between 1880 and 1900, there had been little improvement in school conditions during the last quarter of the century.

More rapid expansion began in the succeeding period, when the conception of utilitarian education of the Negro superseded the assumption of his uneducability. There had been developing for

some time an ideological conflict between "classical" and "industrial" education, which had social implications beyond the classroom, and at the turn of the century the value of Negroes trained in simple industrial skills was an idea on which Southerners were prepared to compromise. The initiation of the "Tuskegee Idea," by Booker T. Washington in his Atlanta Exposition Speech in 1895, had commended the industrial high school to Negroes and whites as a new prospect of inter-racial co-operation. Although this industrial training was soon outmoded by technological progress, it nevertheless provided a corps of teachers to staff thousands of Negro schools in both South and North.

There was already a wide divergence between Northern and Southern practice. In the North almost all educational facilities were available to Negroes, whereas in seventeen States in the South a dual system of education was maintained on the spacious and inconsistent theory of "separate but equal" provision. The plea that the tax-paying capacity of the South was low, a plea used to justify long neglect of public education, was belied by discrimination. The illegality of such discrimination was proved in case after case brought before the courts by the NAACP to secure equalisation of salaries and an equal educational opportunity. The most far-reaching decision was the Lloyd Gaines *v.* University of Missouri case of 1938, in which the Supreme Court held that a State must give substantially equal educational privileges to all citizens and that such equality must be available within the borders of the State. The educational foundations had already stimulated the State authorities to an increasing recognition of their responsibilities, and the elementary and secondary schools were coming more and more under their control in areas where public responsibility was extensively accepted. There nevertheless remained a wide disparity in public expenditure. In ten Southern States in 1935–6 the current annual expense per pupil was \$17·04 for Negroes and \$49·30 for whites, and the average salary for Negro teachers was \$510 as compared with \$833 for white teachers of equal competence. Negro children, representing 28 per cent. of the total enrolment, got 3 per cent. of the public expenditure on transportation, and their school term was 13 per cent. shorter. The difference was greatest in States with the greatest proportion of Negroes, and school conditions were poorer in farm and cotton areas than in the towns. Although the teacher-pupil ratio was 35 (against a national average of 30), there was considerable understaffing, especially in the rural one-teacher schools. New school buildings and equipment have become an urgent necessity if the improved training standards and clearer objectives of Negro teachers are to be effective. Federal aid might do much to equalise regional standards and mitigate discrimination, thereby benefiting the entire South, but "States' rights" have so far been invoked in

opposition to Federal control over the expenditure of its grants-in-aid.

The growing demand for higher education is reflected in the existence in 1942 of 118 Negro institutions of higher learning, of which 85 were four-year colleges. In the decade 1930–40 enrolment had increased by 84·7 per cent., the greatest increase being in the 17 publicly supported land-grant colleges, which had a largely vocational aim. The issuance in 1916 of a highly critical report on Negro colleges, prepared on behalf of the Federal Bureau of Education, had stimulated reflection on standards and objectives, and from 1920 onwards far-reaching reorganisation resulted in the accrediting of 27 colleges by regional associations and 2 by the Association of American Universities. In 1945–7 there were 16 Negro colleges conferring the Master's degree, but no academic training is yet offered beyond that stage. Among many hopeful trends have been the increased co-operation of Negro and white institutions located in close proximity, and the appointment during the last five years of over fifty Negro faculty members to the staffs of Northern Universities.

TABLE I

SUMMARY OF NEGRO PUBLIC ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY SCHOOLS IN SEVENTEEN SOUTHERN STATES AND THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

	1929–30		1939–40	
	White	*Negro*	*White*	*Negro*
Population, 5–17 years of age, inclusive	8,328,914	2,902,657	8,915,305	2,827,565
Enrolment in elementary and secondary schools	7,444,731	2,282,578	7,608,378	2,428,842
Enrolment as percentage of school population	89·4	78·6	85·3	85·9
Enrolment in :				
Elementary grades	—	2,169,992	—	2,174,262
High-school grades	—	112,586	—	254,580
Instructional staff :				
Elementary : Men	—	6,246	—	7,277
Women	—	39,801	—	45,446
High school : Men	—	2,395	—	5,735
Women	—	2,836	—	6,018
Teacher/pupil ratio	34·5	44·4	29·2	37·7

Although no formal adult education programme existed until 1931, much had been accomplished earlier by various movements initiated by religious organisations and Abolitionist societies. In 1931 the Carnegie and Rosenwald Funds made possible some

pioneering experiments in New York City and in Atlanta, Georgia. Conferences sponsored by the U.S. Office of Education resulted in the publication of pamphlet material on Negro life, and, by 1944, some 40 voluntary agencies and 51 Negro institutions were offering adult education in various forms. The main emphasis was on literacy and simple skills for vocational purposes and the provision was confined mostly to evening classes, but in 1946 the Institute on Adult Education of Negroes projected a scheme for instructional guidance and preparation of teachers, and the need for a comprehensive plan for adult education is widely felt.

The present tendency to racial equality in education, supported by legal decisions and pressure of enlightened opinion, is further reinforced by the high standards attained by Negro schools and universities. As Negro youth is oriented to life in the larger world, the paradox of segregation becomes increasingly meaningless and education becomes a process of assimilation, rather than accommodation, within the American social order.

TABLE II

Persons, 25 Years of Age and Over, by Years of School Completed, and by Race for the United States, Urban and Rural, 1940

		Native White	*Foreign-born White*	*Negro*	*Other Races*
Persons, 25 years old and over		57,038,335	10,961,188	6,491,399	284,914
Percentage completing :					
No school years		1·3	12·2	10·0	18·8
Grade school :	1–4 years	6·1	16·1	31·3	17·1
	5–6 years	9·7	14·3	21·4	14·0
	7–8 years	36·0	36·4	19·8	22·6
High school :	1–3 years	17·3	6·9	8·5	10·1
	4 years	16·6	7·4	4·1	9·8
College :	1–3 years	5·4	1·9	1·8	2·9
	4 years	5·4	2·3	1·2	2·4
Not Reported		1·1	2·5	1·8	2·4

TABLE III

Enrolment in Negro Colleges and Universities, 1945–6

No. of Institutions Reporting	*Resident Undergraduate Students*	*Graduate Students*	*Summer Session*	*Total*
105	41,741	5,213	23,217	71,171

TABLE IIIA

DEGREES CONFERRED, 1939–40

First Degrees : 3,822. Graduate and Professional : 2,037. Honorary : 45

LIST OF PRINCIPAL EDUCATIONAL AND WELFARE FOUNDATIONS

General Education Board (J. D. Rockefeller), 1902
Julius Rosenwald Fund, 1917
Carnegie Corporation of New York, 1911
Phelps-Stokes Fund, 1911
Russell Sage Foundation, 1907
Millbank Memorial Fund, 1908
United Negro College Fund, 1944
Southern Educational Association
American Missionary Association
George Peabody Fund
Anna T. Jeanes Fund, 1907
Daniel Hard Fund
John F. Slater Fund

NEGRO COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES

Among these the following examples will suffice :

Howard	Atlanta	Lincoln	Meharry Medical College
Fisk	North Carolina	Missouri	Teachers' Training Colleges

NEGRO TEACHERS' ASSOCIATION

American Teachers' Association, affiliated with American Federation of Labour.

CHARLES S. JOHNSON.

PART II—EDUCATION TO-DAY

Charles Spurgeon Johnson has written the following article on this topic. He is a distinguished educator, sociologist, and writer who has recently been chosen president of Fisk University in Nashville, Tennessee; a university for Negroes which enjoys a reputation for high scholastic standing and constructive service to the nation. Dr. Johnson has given a brief historical review of various aspects of the development of schools and higher institutions for Negroes in the U.S.A. This statement is intended to supplement that prepared by Dr. Johnson.

The task of giving an adequate picture of education for Negroes in the United States is exceedingly difficult, and the following comments throw light on only a small part of it.

The United States consists of forty-eight separate States, the Federal District of Columbia, and outlying territories such as the Hawaiian Islands, Alaska, Puerto Rico, and the Virgin Islands. Each of the forty-eight States has its own system of schools and its own programme of education. In the District of Columbia and the territorial areas mentioned, the Federal Government controls the educational programme. There are wide variations between the States in the *per capita* cost of education, due in large part to the wide variation in *per capita* income and wealth and to the wide variation in the number of children of school age. As an illustration of this the following is quoted from a Report of the President's Commission on Higher Education.[1]

> . . . In 1945, for example, only 18 per cent. of the population of California was between 5–17 years of age. In the same year, the 5–17 year age group amounted to 31 per cent. of the population of South Carolina.
>
> . . . If California's percentage of children had been as high as South Carolina's, the State income per child of school age would have been cut from $9,029 to $5,243. If South Carolina's percentage of youth had been as low as California's, her State income per child would have been raised from $2,363 to $4,070.
>
> By devoting 1·5 per cent. of the 1945 income in the State to public elementary and secondary education, California managed an average expenditure per child of $131, whereas 1·8 per cent. of the total income in Mississippi averaged $36 per child.

The South, in which a large proportion of the Negroes live, has for a long time had a higher proportion of its population in the lower ages and has for a long time had a considerably lower *per capita* income and wealth. This has inevitably made the attainment of equality of educational opportunity especially difficult.

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[1] *Higher Education for American Democracy*, Vol. I, "Establishing the Goals": A Report of the President's Commission on Higher Education, Washington, D.C., December 1947.

A Bill has been passed by the United States Senate which will, if approved by the House of Representatives, provide a large sum of money for the primary purpose of bringing the tax-supported (public) schools in the States, where the income and wealth per child of school age is low, more nearly to the level of schools in the more prosperous States. This should help greatly in closing the gap between the schools for Negroes and those for whites.

In the study of the differentials which still exist in a marked degree, it is important to remember that striking progress has been made since the emancipation of Negro slaves in the United States in 1865. In the States, where the segregation pattern was followed, free public schools for both Negroes and whites were first established about 1870, less than eighty years ago. Despite a highly commendable eagerness for education, a race, almost wholly illiterate and occupying the economic level of a group just emerging from slavery, could not be expected to gain an educational status comparable with that of the whites except over a long period of years. The desire for education increases with the improvement of economic status. This is, of course, particularly true of the desire for secondary and university education. Negroes in the United States have made, and are making, steady progress in both their economic and their educational status.

PROPORTION OF NATIVE WHITES AND OF NEGROES 10 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER IN CERTAIN STATES CLASSIFIED AS ILLITERATE IN THE U.S. CENSUS REPORTS OF 1910 AND 1930

	Whites		*Negroes*	
	1910	1930	1910	1930
	Per cent.	*Per cent.*	*Per cent.*	*Per cent.*
Virginia . .	8·2	5	30	19·2
North Carolina .	12·3	5·7	31·9	20·6
Alabama . .	10·1	4·9	40·1	26·2
Mississippi . .	5·3	2·7	35·6	23·2

Dr. Johnson has referred to the progress in literacy, and the following figures will show the gains made by Negroes in certain Southern States as compared with whites during the twenty-years period from 1910 to 1930. The basis for determining educational status was changed in the 1940 census, so that the census volumes do not give data which make it practicable to list literacy figures for 1940 which are comparable with those for 1910 and 1930. The definition of literacy used in the 1930 census was not identical with that used in 1910, but the comparison shown may be regarded as a fair approximation of progress in literacy.

Marked progress was made, particularly by Negroes, in the decade 1930-40, and it is regrettable that this continued progress cannot be shown in this table.

As Dr. Johnson has said, of the forty-eight States, seventeen plus the District of Columbia have laws requiring separate schools for whites and Negroes. In the other thirty-one States Negroes are not restrained by law from enrolling in the schools or higher institutions with white students. In general, the segregation laws exist in States where Negroes constitute a substantial proportion of the population, although the proportion varies greatly; for example, in Mississippi, where the proportion is highest, there are very nearly the same number of Negroes as whites, whereas in Virginia, where the proportion is lowest, only a little over one-quarter of the population is Negro. It may be said also that in general the States with the largest proportion of Negroes have the greatest inequalities between the schools for Negroes and for whites.

The Negroes, like the whites, can freely move from one State to another, since there are no legal barriers to such movements. The Negro population in particular has shown great fluidity. Migration between Southern States and Northern States has taken place on a large scale when economic conditions made it advantageous. These migrations have tended to establish large colonies of Negroes in the large industrial cities. The Negro population in New York City is now half a million, and large colonies will be found in other Northern cities such as Philadelphia, Chicago, and Detroit.

Several of the States in which the schools are segregated by law have provided financial aid for Negroes to attend universities in other States when the particular kind of study desired is not offered for Negroes in the higher institutions of the home State. The aid is usually based on the difference in cost of travel, living expenses, and tuition between attendance in the home State and in the other State. As Dr. Johnson has said, the Supreme Court held in the Gaines *v.* University of Missouri case of 1938 that substantially equal educational privileges must be made available within the home State, so that the steps taken, as described above, to make the privileges of Negroes to study, in higher institutions, courses of their own choosing more nearly equal to those enjoyed by whites, are not regarded by the Supreme Court as satisfactory.

In States where the segregation laws exist the problems of providing university study for such professions as law and medicine are proving most difficult, for the number of Negro candidates for such professional study is usually much too small to justify special schools of law and of medicine as part of the university offering for Negroes in the home State.

In a Report of the President's Commission on Higher Education published December 1947, under the heading " Barriers to Equal

Opportunity," the following discussion of this national problem appears:

The outstanding example of these barriers to equal opportunity, of course, is the disadvantages suffered by our Negro citizens. The low educational attainments of Negro adults reflect the cumulative effects of a long period of unequal opportunity. In 1940 the schooling of the Negro was significantly below that of whites at every level from the first grade through college. At the college level, the difference is marked; 11 per cent. of the white population 20 years of age and over had completed at least 1 year of college and almost 5 per cent. had finished 4 years; whereas for the non-whites (over 95 per cent. of whom are Negroes) only a little more than 3 per cent. had completed at least 1 year of college and less than 1½ per cent. had completed a full course.

Noteworthy advances have been made towards eliminating the racial inequalities which in a large measure are responsible for this low level of educational achievement by the Negroes. Between 1900 and 1940 the percentage of Negroes 5 to 20 years of age attending school rose from 31 per cent. to 64.4 per cent. And the percentage of Negro youth 15 to 20 years old attending school increased from 17·5 in 1900 to 33·8 in 1940. That differentials still persist, however, is shown in Table V.

TABLE V

PROPORTION OF YOUNG PERSONS ATTENDING SCHOOL, BY AGE AND COLOUR: APRIL 1947[1]

Age	*Attending School*	
	White	*Non-whites (about 95 per cent. Negro)*
	Per cent.	*Per cent.*
6 years of age	67·8	63·4
7 to 9 years of age	97·1	89·2
10 to 13 years of age	98·2	93·7
14 to 17 years of age	82·5	71·9
18 to 19 years of age	28·2	24·2
20 to 24 years of age	11·3	6·7

Institutions which accept both Negro and non-Negro students do not maintain separate record systems for Negroes, and so data on enrolment of Negroes are restricted to those institutions—usually located in the South—which accept only Negro students. In recent years, since 1932, these institutions have almost tripled their enrolments, whereas the institutions for whites, or which are unsegregated, only about doubled theirs:

But the numbers enrolled in school do not tell the whole story. Marked as has been the progress in Negro education in recent years, it cannot obscure the very great differences which still persist in educational opportunities afforded the Negro and the non-Negro.

[1] Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census.

TABLE VI

ENROLMENT OF INSTITUTIONS OF HIGHER EDUCATION AND INDEX OF CHANGE

Year	Enrolments in Institutions accepting: Negroes only — Number	Negroes only — Index of Change (1932 = 100)	All other — Number	All other — Index of Change (1932 = 100)
1932	21,880	100	1,132,237	100
1936	32,628	149	1,175,599	104
1940	41,839	191	1,452,364	128
1947	63,500	290	2,290,500	202

In 17 States and the District of Columbia, segregation of the Negroes in education is established by law.[1] Separate schools for white and Negro pupils are maintained by 17 southern States and the District of Columbia. Outside the District of Columbia, facilities, including salary schedules, length of terms, supervision, types of courses, etc., for Negro pupils are in some cases far below those for white pupils. Although much more improvement is desirable, great strides have been made in Negro education during the past few years.

The average length of school term in schools for white pupils increased from 170·8 days in 1939–40 to 173·5 days in 1943–4. During the same period the average length of school term for Negroes increased from 156 to 164 days. The average number of days attended by white pupils was 145 days for both periods, while in schools for Negroes it increased from 125·7 days to 133·4 days. The average number of pupils per teacher in white schools decreased from 29·2 to 28 pupils during the 4-year period. Negro schools showed a decrease from 37·7 to 34 pupils during the same period.

In the *Gaines* decision, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that "if a State furnishes higher education to white residents, it is bound to furnish (within the State) substantially equal advantages to Negro students." Although segregation may not legally mean discrimination as to the quality of the facilities, it usually does so in fact. The schools maintained for the Negroes are commonly much inferior to those for the whites. The Negro schools are financed at a pitifully low level, they are often housed in buildings wholly inadequate for the purpose, and many of the teachers are sorely in need of more education themselves. Library facilities are generally poor or lacking altogether, and professional supervision is more a name than a reality.

These facts are supported strongly by a recent study in the District

[1] In the case of Mendez *v.* Westminster School District, the segregation of students of Mexican ancestry in the Westminster, Calif., school district, on the alleged grounds that because of their ancestry such students have language difficulties, was held illegal. The U.S. District Court which heard the case held that segregation is unconstitutional under the Federal Constitution. On appeal by the Westminster School District, the U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals limited its affirmance of the District Court's decision by holding that the specific statutes involved were illegal under the California law.

of Columbia. The District Superintendent of Schools in his 1946–7 report to the Board of Education states that the student-teacher ratios in the schools for Negroes were significantly and consistently higher than those for non-Negroes—from the kindergartens through the teachers' colleges.

Segregation lessens the quality of education for the whites as well. To maintain two school systems side by side—duplicating even inadequately the buildings, equipment, and teaching personnel—means that neither can be of the quality that would be possible if all the available resources were devoted to one system, especially not when the States least able financially to support an adequate educational programme for their youth are the very ones that are trying to carry a double load.

TABLE XXIII

COMPARATIVE DATA FOR WHITE AND NEGRO SCHOOLS IN SEVENTEEN STATES AND THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA, 1943–4

State or District of Columbia	*Average length of term in days in schools for*		*Average number of days attended by each pupil enrolled in schools for*		*Number of pupils enrolled per member of instructional staff in schools for*		*Average annual salary of principals, supervisors, and teachers in schools for*[1]	
	Whites	*Negroes*	*Whites*	*Negroes*	*Whites*	*Negroes*	*Whites*	*Negroes*
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Total	173·5	164·0	145·0	133·4	28	34	—	—
Alabama	169·6	166·1	138·4	137·9	30	38	1,158	661
Arkansas	165·3	141·8	132·7	111·8	31	38	924	555
Delaware	181·5	181·7	158·4	152·0	25	27	1,953	1,814
Florida	172·4	168·2	152·7	145·3	26	30	1,530	970
Georgia	175·3	165·0	143·9	127·2	27	34	1,123	515
Kentucky	159·2	171·6	125·4	138·0	29	26	(2)	(2)
Louisiana	180·0	156·7	149·8	131·5	26	37	1,683	828
Maryland	186·7	186·5	164·4	156·8	31	34	2,085	2,002
Mississippi	165·5	130·0	135·8	104·6	30	42	1,107	342
Missouri	182·4	193·9	154·0	152·5	26	31	1,397	1,590[3]
North Carolina	179·9	179·9	161·4	152·7	31	35	1,380	1,249
Oklahoma	169·0	175·8	140·3	150·4	27	25	1,428	1,438
South Carolina	176·9	160·4	145·9	124·2	27	34	1,203	615
Tennessee	166·7	169·0	134·6	139·7	29	34	1,071	1,010
Texas	173·9	166·2	141·9	128·6	27	30	1,395	946
Virginia	180·0	180·0	155·3	151·1	28	33	1,364	1,129
West Virginia	172·1	173·7	151·3	157·1	27	26	(2)	(2)
District of Columbia	175·0	177·0	146·2	151·1	26	31	2,610	2,610

[1] Teachers, supervisors, principals, and other instructional staff.

[2] Separate salary data not available.

[3] Higher salaries due to the fact that most Negro schools are located in cities where all salaries are higher.

TABLE XXIV

RESIDENT COLLEGE ENROLMENT OF INSTITUTIONS FOR THE HIGHER EDUCATION OF NEGROES, BY STATE, AND BY SEX, 1943-4

State	*Number of institutions reporting*	*Resident college enrolment* [1]	
		Men	*Women*
1	2	3	4
Total . . .	105	7,308	27,704
Alabama	7	437	2,341
Arkansas	5	125	557
Delaware	1	20	67
Florida	4	311	1,226
Georgia	11	722	2,550
Kansas	1	12	77
Kentucky	2	59	428
Louisiana	5	302	1,582
Maryland	4	146	737
Mississippi	6	120	771
Missouri .	3	128	874
North Carolina	11	781	3,440
Ohio . .	1	193	523
Oklahoma .	1	42	265
Pennsylvania	2	173	135
South Carolina	11	486	2,058
Tennessee .	8	463	2,053
Texas . .	11	908	3,290
Virginia .	6	674	1,920
West Virginia .	3	342	728
District of Columbia	2	864	2,082

It must not be supposed that Negro youth living in States in which segregation is not legalised are given the same opportunities as white youth. In these areas economic and social discrimination of various sorts often operates to produce segregation in certain neighbourhoods, which are frequently characterised by poorer school buildings, less equipment, and less able teachers.

The war greatly affected the number of men students enrolled in Negro colleges. There were 19,007 men students in 1939-40 and only 7,308 enrolled in 1943-4. From 13,140 in 1933-4, the number of women students more than doubled, reaching 26,911 in 1939-40. The number increased in 4 years to 27,704 in 1943-4.

In the *Statistical Summary of Education, 1943-4,* Chapter I,[2] under the heading "Schools for Negroes," additional data are pre-

[1] Regular session only.

[2] Source: United States Office of Education. *Statistical Summary of Education, 1943-4.*

sented as shown below. Since these data were gathered in 1943–4 the wide gaps between the average salaries of Negro and white teachers shown in columns 8 and 9 for certain States have been substantially reduced. This improvement in the salaries of Negro teachers has resulted in part through the initiative of Negro educators and Negro lawyers, who have found that an appeal to constitutional law is an effective way to make local educational authorities correct the discrimination between white and Negro educational institutions which has made the educational opportunities for whites superior to those for Negroes. This recourse to constitutional law is effective with regard not only to salaries but to all forms of discrimination.

There has been a marked increase recently in the number of appeals to the courts of law for correction of alleged deficiencies in the schools and higher institutions for Negroes as contrasted with those for whites. When discrimination is proved the courts are issuing mandatory orders for corrections, and there is good reason to believe that this action will sharply accelerate the rate of improvement of educational facilities for Negroes in the 17 States where separate facilities are maintained.

J. L. B. Buck.

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CHAPTER TWO

U.S.A.: INDIANS AND ESKIMOS

CHANGING POLICIES

THE 1945 census data show that there are about 426,000 Indians (including Aleuts and Eskimos) under the general supervision of the United States Indian Service. Of these, approximately 98,500 are between the ages of six and eighteen. About 32,500 of these children attend public schools in the various states or the Territory of Alaska, and another 32,300 are enrolled in federal Indian schools. About 7,700 are attending schools operated by various religious denominations. Almost 20,000, the great majority of whom reside on the Navajo Reservation in Arizona and New Mexico, are known to be out of school. No accurate information is available with regard to another 6,000, the majority of whom are absent from the reservations with which they are affiliated and in all probability in attendance at public schools.

All Indians born in the continental United States and all natives born in Alaska are citizens of the United States by federal statute passed in 1924. Some of the privileges ordinarily associated with citizenship such as voting are, in the United States, controlled by state legislation; in the states of Arizona and New Mexico, Indians are excluded from the franchise either by state law or by court interpretation of state constitutional provisions. These interpretations to-day are being challenged in the courts. As citizens, all Indian children have the right to attend public schools where these exist.

Many American Indians still reside on reservations. From colonial times, the United States has recognised Indian title to land traditionally used and occupied by Indians. To provide land for its non-Indian citizens the Federal Government has from time to time bought land from the Indians, entering into treaties in which the Indian tribes have agreed to the cession of their land in return for certain payments, services, or equivalent properties. Most of the tribes have elected to reserve portions of this estate for their own use, after ceding the remainder to the Federal Government. Sometimes the tribes accepted other lands in lieu of reservations of their original property. For example, the Cherokees abandoned all of their lands in Tennessee, Alabama, and North Carolina and accepted in lieu thereof land in what is now Oklahoma. In some few instances, as with the Plains Arapahoe, the Indians were transferred to existing reservations as a disciplinary measure growing out of their revolt against the Government. Initially these reservations

vere looked upon as the property of independent nations, and they vere therefore not taxed. Later, as Indian tribes were incorporated nto the nation, their relations continued to be with the Federal Government, and they were thought of as instrumentalities of the Federal Government. Their land therefore continued free of taxa-ion by state or local governments, as is the case with all federal property. This non-taxable status of Indian real property has lelayed in some ways the extension of normal public services to ndian groups and individuals.

In the case of Indian children attending public schools the Federal Government often compensates for the loss of local property taxa-ion by payment to the local public school district on behalf of ndian children enrolled in the schools. Many state governments contribute financially to the support of public schools. The Federal Government makes no payments to the states, however, because tate funds are ordinarily not derived from a property-tax levy but rom corporation taxes, income taxes, sales taxes, and various excise evies, all of which are paid by Indians. By contract with the Federal Government, many states act as its agents in the distribu-ion of Federal funds to local districts, however. Federal support s extended to local school districts on behalf of about 20,000 chil-lren scattered through twenty-two states and the Territory of Alaska. These payments have approximated $1,800,000 annually, and are based in large part upon the financial need of the district ather than upon a *per capita* allowance.

The Federal Government continues to operate schools in reserva-ion areas where no public schools are available, or for dependent children whose parents are dead, confined to hospitals or penal in-titutions, separated, or deemed unfit guardians. It has been the policy of the Federal Government for many years, wherever pos-ible, to operate reservation day schools for Indian children which esemble in many ways typical American public schools. About 0,000 Indian children are enrolled in such day schools. About 2,000 are enrolled in federal boarding schools. The boarding chools are of two types:

(1) Those operated on reservations (31 schools), which enrol elementary children whose homes are too far from the day schools o attend, and serve as the central high schools for the reservation, enrolling all children above the eighth grade. There are a great nany thinly settled rural areas in the Indian Service where the operation of day schools would be uneconomical. High school tudents who can be reached by school buses attend on a day basis; others board. There are about 6,000 pupils enrolled in reservation boarding schools.

(2) Those operated adjacent to cities (there are 17 non-reservation chools). These schools were built at a time when it was believed hat the most rapid assimilation of the Indians would take place if

the children were taken away from their homes and placed in boarding schools. They were frequently kept in these schools for from six to twelve years without the opportunity to return to their reservations and see their families. They were forbidden to speak their native languages. During that period, most reservation children were also sent to local boarding schools. This policy was reversed in 1934. Seventy-three boarding schools were closed and all remaining boarding-school pupils were encouraged to return home for vacation periods and were permitted to use their native languages on the playground and elsewhere around the school. To-day about half of the non-reservation schools enrol dependent elementary children. The other half are operated as vocational schools of secondary grade, preparing the youngsters for effective and active off-reservation employment.

The important curriculum emphasis in the reservation high school is upon vocational training which will prepare Indian youth for the maximum effective operation of their local resources; e.g. on the Dakota plains, where cattle raising is the major resource, the schools teach all phases of the cattle business. Where irrigated agriculture is possible, that is taught in the schools. Where poultry or hog raising or vegetable gardening is an effective way to make a living, the techniques of these are taught in the schools. Programmes in the non-reservation schools emphasise the building trades, the mechanical trades, commercial education, and other forms of wage employment which will enable Indian youth to make a living if they wish to live in urban areas with persons of other races.

About one-third of all Indian children enrolling in federal schools, and a great many who enrol in public schools, speak a native Indian dialect when they enter school. A recent study of children now enrolled in federal, public, and mission schools reveals that half of the children in federal schools come from homes in which English is not the basic language of conversation. About one-third of the children enrolled in mission schools come from such homes, and less than 20 per cent. of the children in public schools come from non-English-speaking homes. This same study also revealed that 73 per cent. of children in federal reservation elementary schools came from full-blood homes, while only 50 per cent. of those in mission schools came from full-blood homes, and only 25 per cent. of those in public schools. There was a time when it was assumed that the blood content had something to do with the speed of Indian assimilation. There are psychological studies of twenty years ago which report that intelligence is related to blood content. More recent studies show that test reactions are not a matter of blood content, but of cultural exposure. There are full-blood Indian children in our schools who score as high on all tests as anyone.

Mixed-blood Indian children, however, live with one or more non-Indians who are part of the majority culture and who are con-

stantly training the children to conform to non-Indian culture patterns. These non-Indians usually talk English, read newspapers, subscribe to magazines, buy books, and carry on activities customarily encountered in American life. The children adjust quickly to the English language, and begin thinking in English almost from the time they begin to talk. Their intellectual activities therefore find free expression in English and their scores on tests are proportionately better than are those of children to whom English is a secondary language and who do their ordinary thinking in some Indian dialect.

Instruction in all federal Indian schools is in the English language, except for a recent experiment with older (12 to 18 years old) Navajo students who have no English and who have not previously been in school. The Federal Government some years ago, as a result of linguistic studies, developed a Roman alphabet for written Navajo and introduced the reading and writing of Navajo to adults and to some of the older students in reservation schools. This previous experiment has been turned to account with these older Navajo students, who are receiving their content instruction in arithmetic, history, health education, and vocations in the Navajo language, while they are also being taught the English language in separate classes and are being helped to acquire an active use of English through contact with English-speaking Indian students attending the same schools. There is every evidence that these older students are making rapid progress in the acquisition of English and are also making better than average progress in the acquisition of the content subjects.

The great majority of Indian tribes were promised that their children would receive an education by the earlier treaties with the Federal Government. As American citizens they now have a right to such education. However, there are areas such as the Navajo Reservation in Arizona and New Mexico, where the Federal Government has been remiss in fulfilling its treaty promises. The Navajo Reservation is the largest Indian area in the United States. It consists of some 26,000 square miles, which are equal to the land area of the three New England states of Massachusetts, Vermont, and New Hampshire combined. There are some 65,000 Navajo Indians, and it is estimated that there are about 22,000 children of school age. This is a higher proportion than usual, but while an exact census has never been taken, all of the available facts tend to support this conclusion. The Federal Government has built reservation schools for about 5,000 Navajo children. Mission and public schools accept another thousand. There remain about 16,000 children of school age without school facilities. These facts have recently been recognised by the public and by Congress, and steps are under way in Congress to correct at least a portion of this shortage. A programme is under consideration for the doubling of

the number of schools now available. When some decision has been made with regard to providing these Indians with a satisfactory way to make a living, additional school facilities will undoubtedly be built. Because of the lack of schools and the lack of opportunity for contact with whites (probably fewer than 2,000 whites live on the entire reservation), about 40,000 Navajos neither speak nor understand the English language. Plans are being laid to provide additional instruction in the reading and writing of Navajo for adults as well as supplying schools for the children.

In general, Indian schools select their textbooks from those manufactured for American public schools in general, carefully selecting those whose vocabularies and subject-matter are appropriate to isolated rural children. The Indian Service for the last dozen years has also printed bilingual readers in Navajo and English and in Sioux and English dealing with subject-matter familiar to and interesting to Indian children. These have been designed to assist the children in learning English and also provide reading material in the native languages which are used by a substantial number of Indians. It is now believed by Indian Service leaders that more can be accomplished towards successful assimilation of Indians by building pride in their heritage, than through developing shame which was the early missionary approach.

In Indian areas where native crafts still exist and are practised by many of the adults, instruction in these crafts is offered in the schools in order to improve the quality of the performance while preserving the traditional designs. Where the traditional crafts have disappeared as a result of contact with white culture, non-Indian handicrafts are often introduced. In many areas, the Indians are extremely poor because much of their reservation land is inferior as agricultural land or because the older Indians were never adequately trained in its effective use. Therefore, in addition to training Indian children in the proper use of native resources, the schools are also directing the exceptional manual skill possessed by many Indians, to the production of saleable crafts of either traditional pattern or of more modern type.

Education through the twelfth grade and in some cases vocational training for two years additional is free to all Indians in either public or federal schools. Advanced vocational or collegiate training is open to all competent Indians in the regular vocational schools, colleges, or universities of the United States. The Federal Government arranges loans assisting Indian students to attend such institutions. It may also make scholarship grants for advanced collegiate education to deserving Indians. As a result of this type of training, approximately one-third of all employees of the Education Division of the Indian Service are of Indian blood. An increasing proportion of other federal employees working with Indians are of one-fourth or more Indian blood.

Language Difficulties

One of the most difficult educational problems confronted by the U.S. Indian Service is the instruction of Indian children who still speak the native Indian languages when they first come to school. Despite the several hundred years with which North American Indians have been in contact with whites, the use of Indian languages persists in many parts of the country. Among the Navaho it is estimated that at least 40,000 of the total of 65,000 Indians speak only the Navaho language. This is understandable, because it is only eighty years since the Navaho Treaty, and there are probably less than 2,000 non-Indians scattered over the reservation area in contact with the Navahos. As a result, many of the Indian traders find that it is easier to learn Navaho than it is to try to deal with their patrons in English.

In parts of Oklahoma where most of the Indians are assimilated, and through much of the Dakota country, about one-third of all the children entering school for the first time have no use of English. In both of these States large numbers of Indian children attend public schools. A recent study supplied some interesting statistics showing that 90 per cent. of Indian children attending public schools in all areas (8th grade level) come from English-speaking homes, whereas 46 per cent. of the Indian children attending the federal day schools, all of which are in the reservation area, come from homes in which the native Indian language is used exclusively and is the preferred language.

Another interesting correlation has to do with the extent to which the cultural environment of the home influences language use and the adaptability of the children. Mixed-blood families in which one or more of the adult members are familiar with non-Indian culture greatly speed up assimilation. Our figures show that 39 per cent. of the children attending public schools come from such mixed-blood families, whereas 63 per cent. of the children attending federal schools come from full-blood families where non-Indian cultural experiences are few.

Experience in Indian Service schools indicates that it requires from a year to two years of intensive vocabulary training through activity experiences in the English language before they begin to speak fluently, to think in English, and are ready to begin to learn to read and write. This unquestionably delays the introduction of content material by just this much. However, if this delay is not interposed and we attempt to teach reading and writing before we have established the ability to think in English language sequence, the language handicap apparently is seldom overcome in later years. The use of the native languages in the early years, which has been attempted as indicated above in some of our off-reservation schools for Navaho students, probably points the way to a wiser educational approach. However, this requires the recruit-

ment of bilingual teachers and in most of the Indian languages these are almost impossible to find. They are almost non-existent among non-Indian personnel and we would find it difficult to recruit enough properly-trained Indians in any one language group to meet the problem, at least immediately.

Politically, a bilingual approach would probably receive very little sympathy from the American Congress, which is particularly concerned with producing an English-speaking Indian group as rapidly as possible. The resistance to the acceptance of English among Indians is greater than any other non-English-speaking language group in the United States. Probably this is because the non-English-speaking immigrants of the United States came voluntarily because they desired to be absorbed within the American population, whereas the Indians feel that they are the victims of penetration by a group which they do not particularly desire to emulate.

WILLARD W. BEATTY.

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CHAPTER THREE

CANADA

EDUCATION OF INDIANS AND ESKIMOS

Introduction

It is difficult to obtain accurate and concise data relating to the Indians inhabiting what is now recognised as the Dominion of Canada, in the early exploratory period following the arrival of the white man. Accounts of Indian conditions and standards of life by early European observers vary greatly with the personal experience of different narrators and by reason of the marked differences in the various tribes and areas concerned. To the white man, the Indian appeared, relatively speaking, a simple, plaintive person living a nomadic life and enjoying a vast area of land when he was not at war with rival Indian tribes. The Indians, when first encountered, were in no sense a homogeneous group, and remain at this date a group the members of which differ widely in economic achievement and cultural attainment. Prior to the arrival of the white man, advanced tribes, especially such as the Iroquois, who still remain the largest single organised group, trained their children in hunting, fishing, and handicrafts. The advent of the white man, however, and of Christianity, brought with it different requirements in education and in secular interests. In New France, the Church assumed responsibility for the establishment and operation of Indian schools. As early as 1576, a school was established by the Sulpician Order on the Island of Montreal and by Bishop Laval at Quebec in 1684, the King of France contributing 500 livres. A small number of instructors were sent from France to this school in 1684 and 1685. With few exceptions, the education of the Indian for the next century was undertaken by missionaries. After the War of Independence, the Iroquois from the State of New York settled on the Bay of Quinte and in the district of the Grand River in 1784, and were provided by the Government with a school at each of these places. In 1793, the Moravian Missionaries, with 300 Delaware Indians from Ohio, came to Canada and settled near the Thames River, where they were given lands. The Moravian Missionaries provided instruction for this group of Indians until 1902, when the work was transferred to the Methodist Church. The New England Company began their missionary and educational work among the Iroquois on land adjoining the Grand River in 1827. In the western section of the country, Father Lacombe

engaged in missionary work among the Crees, 1845–90, and Bishop Legal, 1881–90, among the Blackfeet. At the time of Confederation in 1867, the Government assumed but little of the cost of Indian education, as revealed from a statement for the fiscal year ended June 30th, 1868:

Schools paid for from Church Funds .	21
Schools paid for from Band Funds	18
Schools paid for from Band Funds and Church Funds	7
Schools paid for by Quebec Provincial Government . .	2
	48

Number of students enrolled, 1,716

It gradually became apparent to those in authority that the Indian problem, from the viewpoint of welfare and economics, was primarily one of education, in that the Indian had to be trained to earn a living on standards dictated by his white brothers. Since Confederation, the State has gradually assumed greater responsibility in Indian education, although the Churches continue to play an important part in the administration of residential schools.

Indian Population

The summary on the opposite page of the last official Indian census, which does not include Eskimos, indicates an Indian population of 125,686, and the distribution of this population by provinces.

It is significant to note that the Indian population, reported to be 75,000 at Confederation (1867), is increasing at the rate of 1,500 per annum. The last decennial census of the Eskimo in Canada records the population as 7,639. These combined figures give Canada a native population of approximately 140,000—a native group for whose education, medical care, and general advancement the Federal Government assumes sole responsibility. Provincial Governments, ordinarily responsible for educational effort in their respective jurisdictions, have not at any time contributed to the costs of the Indian Service.

Resources

The total area of Indian reserve lands exceeds 5,570,000 acres, with an additional 42,000,000 acres under long-term lease. This leased land, secured from the Ontario and Quebec Governments, has been set apart for the organisation and promotion of fur-conservation projects. It is estimated that if the Indian reserve lands were evenly divided, each family would be endowed with 200 acres of land, one-half of which is arable. Indian Trust Funds obtained by Indians from the sale of reserve lands, waterpower sites, timber and other resources, amount to $19,000,000. On these funds held in trust by the Federal Government, interest is paid at the rate of 5 per cent. per annum.

Census of Indians in Canada—1944

Agency and Band	Number in Band	Religion: Anglican	Religion: Baptist	Religion: United Church	Religion: Presbyterian	Religion: Roman Catholic	Religion: Other Christian Beliefs	Religion: Aboriginal Beliefs	Under 7 years: Male	Under 7 years: Female	From 7 to 16 inclusive: Male	From 7 to 16 inclusive: Female	From 17 to 21 inclusive: Male	From 17 to 21 inclusive: Female	From 22 to 65 inclusive: Male	From 22 to 65 inclusive: Female	From 65 years upwards: Male	From 65 years upwards: Female
Provinces																		
Alberta	12,441	1,518	—	1,537	—	6,347	—	72	1,380	1,439	1,551	1,515	581	571	2,495	2,224	309	376
British Columbia	25,515	5,831	—	4,425	62	14,465	694	38	2,350	2,573	3,056	3,171	1,238	1,127	5,548	4,808	825	819
Manitoba	15,933	5,791	52	3,438	528	5,388	438	298	1,663	1,665	1,828	1,711	1,020	1,005	3,102	2,923	461	555
New Brunswick	2,047	—	—	—	—	2,047	—	—	210	202	244	238	109	105	445	414	46	34
Northwest Territories	3,816	667	—	—	—	3,149	—	—	374	403	434	436	212	209	775	745	90	138
Nova Scotia	2,364	6	—	—	1	2,357	—	—	259	259	231	240	130	131	534	457	65	58
Ontario	32,421	10,494	1,281	5,925	307	10,338	1,147	2,929	2,630	2,739	3,189	3,351	2,094	2,101	7,283	6,904	1,042	1,088
Prince Edward Island	266	—	—	—	—	266	—	—	27	22	28	34	14	15	57	57	5	7
Quebec	15,194	2,932	—	557	1	11,517	93	94	1,319	1,360	1,750	1,718	804	878	3,471	3,010	463	421
Saskatchewan	14,158	4,804	—	1,499	163	6,934	42	716	1,572	1,611	1,683	1,646	642	639	2,828	2,779	355	403
Yukon	1,531	1,224	—	—	—	307	—	—	147	157	180	195	74	71	331	278	54	44
Total Indian Population	125,686	33,267	1,333	17,381	1,062	63,115	2,414	4,147	11,931	12,430	14,174	14,255	6,918	6,852	26,869	24,599	3,715	3,943

MESTON TRAINING COLLEGE MADRAS

Schools

This table does not include 350 Indian pupils engaged in high school studies at provincial schools in the Dominion. Provision is made from year to year for the payment of tuition grants to students anxious to proceed with academic or vocational courses at secondary schools. No record is available of Indian families, residents of urban communities, who at their own expense make provision in many cases for the enrolment of their children in provincial high schools.

It is estimated that there are 10,000 Indian pupils between the ages of 7 and 16 for whom no educational facilities have been provided. These pupils are, with few exceptions, the children of nomadic bands of Indians living in the northern regions of the provinces and in the Northwest Territories. Yet it is interesting to note that education for the Canadian Indian is compulsory. Section 10, sub-section 1, of the Indian Act reads in part: "Every Indian child between the full ages of 7 and 16 years who is physically able shall attend such day, industrial, or boarding school as may be designated by the Superintendent General." The failure of the Government to provide for the educational needs of this particular group can be attributed almost wholly to—(*a*) the failure during the depression period (1930–9) and throughout the war years to secure Parliamentary appropriations necessary to establish and operate the additional schools required to carry forward a worthwhile educational programme in the Indian Service, and (*b*)—perhaps more important—failure on the part of permanent officials and educationists to agree upon the type of school building and courses of study that should be provided to serve groups of Indians who reside in tents and tepees, live a nomadic mode of life, and who for lengthy periods each year are engaged in hunting, trapping, and fishing over vast areas. A feeling persists that the residential school, enrolment in which removes the Indian child from his environment, unfits him for the tasks that await him on his return to the band. Indeed, there are those who contend that the pupil frequently returns a dissatisfied and frustrated individual, unable to compete with the white man, on the one hand, and unable to adjust himself to Indian life, on the other. The passing of Family Allowances legislation in 1944 by the Dominion Parliament has rendered the position of the Indian Department still more untenable. Section 4, sub-section 2, of the Family Allowances Act reads: "The allowance shall cease to be payable with the payment for the month when the child attains his sixteenth birthday or when, being above the age of 6 years and physically fit to attend school, he fails to attend school or to receive equivalent training as prescribed in the regulations." The enactment of this legislation resulted almost immediately in a 25 per cent. increase in the attendance of pupils

Summary of School Statement—1947

Province	Classes of Schools			Total Number of Schools	Number on Roll			Average Attendance	Percentage of Attendance	Grades									
	Day	Residential	Combined		Boys	Girls	Total			I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X
Prince Edward Island	1	—	—	1	15	13	28	20	71·42	14	3	1	6	1	—	3	—	—	—
Nova Scotia	9	1	—	10	273	302	575	455	79·11	218	84	86	70	53	35	21	7	1	—
New Brunswick	10	—	—	10	174	199	373	305	81·77	110	61	63	30	41	30	27	10	1	—
Quebec	30	2	1	33	761	887	1,648	1,260	76·46	531	276	231	227	163	104	29	58	29	—
Ontario	76	13	3	92	2,242	2,477	4,719	3,919	83·05	1,463	833	552	533	502	331	266	205	30	4
Manitoba	42	9	2	53	1,303	1,439	2,742	1,983	72·32	1,165	464	366	261	211	134	84	32	25	—
Saskatchewan	31	14	—	45	1,288	1,454	2,742	2,298	83·81	933	476	382	331	281	155	108	60	16	—
Alberta	2	19	—	21	1,032	1,186	2,218	1,894	85·38	722	346	284	298	236	175	85	70	2	—
Northwest Territories	3	4	—	7	112	146	258	200	77·51	104	63	32	25	12	8	9	5	—	—
British Columbia	54	13	—	67	1,984	2,135	4,119	3,179	77·18	1,454	678	574	438	399	276	134	114	32	—
Yukon	7	1	—	8	93	107	200	128	64	122	36	24	11	6	1	—	—	—	—
Totals	265	76	6	347	9,277	10,345	19,622	15,641	79·71	6,836	3,320	2,595	2,230	1,905	1,249	786	561	136	4

at Indian day schools and has, to a large extent, solved the problem of non-attendance or of irregularity of attendance at Indian schools.

Approach to the Problem

In 1942, a survey designed to study and report upon the medical and dietary needs of the Indians in northern Manitoba was organised by the Indian Service. The Director of Indian Health Services undertook this survey in co-operation with a representative of the Milbank Memorial Fund, New York, the Consultant on Nutrition, Medical Branch, R.C.A.F., the Medical Superintendent of the Norway House Indian Hospital, and the Hudson's Bay Company. A survey was made of the dietary habits and the nutritional status of a representative group of bush Indians. A report of the survey disclosed that the infant-mortality rate among the Indians studied reached the astounding figure in 1942 of slightly under 400 per 1,000 live births, with a comparable figure for the white population of Canada of 52. The dietary intake of those examined failed to meet the recommended daily allowances for most nutrients. For a number of the nutrients the margin was so far under the recommended levels that it is obvious the diet was markedly deficient. The most pronounced vitamin deficiencies were vitamin A, vitamin B2 (riboflavin), and vitamin C (ascorbic acid). The report of this survey was published in the *Canadian Medical Association Journal*. Results of the survey would seem to confirm the beliefs of many that the innate inertia of the Canadian Indian may be attributed directly to the unbalanced diet consumed by him, particularly when engaged in hunting and trapping activities that lead him long distances from trading posts and at times when his income is insufficient to secure for him and the members of his family the foods necessary to make up a well-balanced diet, rich in vitamin content.

The education of the Indian assuredly cannot be undertaken with any hope of success, if indeed it can be undertaken at all, unless scientific consideration is given to his physical and economic needs, the sanitary conditions of the tepees or houses in which he lives, his annual income, the ravages of the diseases that attack him, and a number of related matters: and yet there is a sense in which it can be said that the problem of the Indian is basically an educational one. Commissioner Burke, in his foreword to a book entitled *The Red Man in the United States,* has this to say:

> Practically all our work for the civilization of the Indian has become educational: Teaching the language he must of necessity adopt, the academic knowledge essential to ordinary business transactions, the common arts and crafts of the home and the field, how to provide a settled dwelling and elevate its domestic quality, how to get well when he is sick and how to stay well, how to make the best use of his land and the water accessible to it, how to raise the right kind of live-stock, how to work for a living, save money and start a bank account, how to

want something he can call his own, a material possession with the happiness and comforts of family life and a pride in the prosperity of his children.

The report of the Manitoba survey resulted in immediate demands for a more extensive study of conditions on Indian reserves in northern Canada. Surveys, many of which had taken place to discover the educational needs of the Indian population, and medical surveys designed to provide greater medical care, had not been sufficiently comprehensive and had proved inadequate as a base for sound departmental policy. A Joint Committee of the House of Commons and the Senate now engaged in a review of Indian Administration in Canada, at their 1946–7 session, recommended that a thorough survey of Indian conditions in the James Bay area, northern Ontario, and adjoining areas in north-western Quebec be undertaken by the Indian Service in co-operation with men selected by the faculties of two Canadian universities. This recommendation was accepted by the Government, and steps were immediately taken to organise the survey party. It was the intention of the Committee that this survey, now in process of completion, should study and report upon the life needs of the Indian in a social and economic order from which the Indian, particularly the northern Indian, has largely lived apart. As stated by a member of the Parliamentary Committee: "This survey, whether undertaken now or thirty years hence, must of necessity be undertaken in the interests not only of the Indian, but in the interests of the white man and in the interests of national unity."

The officials of the Indian Service are encouraged by the spectacle presented by trained anthropologists, sociologists, economists, educationists, and medical scientists engaged in a task which has been looked upon until now as their peculiar responsibility. There is encouragement, too, extracted from the fact that a large number of Indians, in some cases as many as 50 per cent., temporarily abandoned life on the reserves during the war period to accept work in war industries. There is evidence to justify the belief that a large number, if not all, of these industrial workers are returning to the reserves with a better understanding of the white man's ways and a greater appreciation of the educational needs of their children. Requests for the tuition grants necessary to enable the Indian pupil to proceed with high school studies are rapidly multiplying, and at this date have reached the highest peak in the history of Indian educational effort.

The Eskimo

In 1939, the Supreme Court of Canada ruled that from a legal standpoint and for administrative purposes the Eskimo residing in Canadian territory are Indians. The effect of this decision is to transfer the responsibility for the administration and advancement

of the Eskimo population from the Bureau of Northwest Territories to the Indian Service, Department of Mines and Resources.

The Eskimo, in even a greater sense than Indians, are a nomadic people. Their movements are strictly in relation to the food supply, and since their system of living depends upon a closeness to the sea, they are a coastal people and seldom wander far from coastal waters unless engaged in trapping or in hunting of caribou. The sea and fresh-water lakes provide the greater part of their sustenance, the balance being secured by exchanging at trading posts the furs obtained by trapping certain fur-bearing animals, particularly the white fox. An Eskimo family and its sleigh dogs consume forty pounds of meat per day. To secure this large amount of meat an individual Eskimo must hunt over a very large territory. The approximate density of population is one Eskimo for 115 square miles. The Eskimo live in scattered bands of from three to five families, each band inhabiting some particular tract of the coast. Since the Eskimo are scattered over an area of more than three-quarters of a million square miles north of the tree-line, the problem of securing an accurate population count is difficult. Like the Indian, the Eskimo are not a homogeneous people. Those residing in the western Arctic have been considerably affected by civilisation. They have adopted the white man's wearing apparel, regard as essential many of the commodities imported by the traders, and are in many instances relatively prosperous. On the other hand, the Eskimo of the central Arctic have been more isolated, and as a result follow the manner of life and the pursuits of primitive man. The Eskimo inhabitants of the eastern Arctic fall between these two extremes. The summer form of habitation of the Eskimo is usually a tent, formerly made of skins but now generally made of canvas material. In winter months, he lives in snow igloos. The dress consists of a parka or jacket, usually made of caribou, and the boots of sealskin. The Eskimo all speak the same language, although the groups are separated by great natural barriers, the only difference being one of dialect. The Eskimo have shown themselves as being capable craftsmen—boat builders, carpenters, and blacksmiths. It is not uncommon for them to install, maintain, and operate gasoline engines in small schooners. The Eskimo have outstanding qualities of ingenuity and endurance, and experience has proved that they are by no means incapable of assimilating a good deal of worthwhile instruction.

The difficulties of providing adequate educational facilities for such a migratory people scattered over an immense area are readily apparent. In the western Arctic, the Canadian Government has assisted religious denominations in the construction, maintenance, and operation of two residential schools at Aklavik. The Eskimo attendance at these schools is approximately 100. Two somewhat similar schools at Fort George, Quebec, accommodate a dozen

Eskimo children from the eastern Arctic. The school returns as at June 30th, 1947, indicated that 359 Eskimo children were receiving instruction. It is also evident that the great majority receive intermittent schooling from missionaries and missionary teachers while their families are residing at various times of the year in the immediate vicinity of trading posts. A rough estimate would suggest that approximately one-quarter of Canada's Eskimo population of school age are at present participating in some form of educational instruction. That the proportion is not larger is due to a number of factors, in addition to their mode of life. The Eskimo are essentially content with their lot in life, and the Government has not at any time exercised compulsion with respect to the attendance of their children at school. In this regard, the Eskimo differ from the Indians, The children appear to dominate the parents and do not attend school unless disposed to do so. The family bond is strong, and parents seem reluctant to live apart from their children during the regular school period.

The Canadian Government is not unmindful of the fact that the Eskimo are responsible for contributing well over half a million dollars' worth of furs annually to the national income. Their welfare and progress are matters in which the Government constantly exercises a real interest.

Conclusion

The tasks that lie ahead for those engaged in the administration of Indian affairs are likely to prove difficult, exacting, and, at times, perplexing. These tasks will demand goodwill, close co-operation, and understanding on the part of Indians and the white population. On both sides, the missionary and scientific spirit may be necessary. Indians have made and will continue to make mistakes and are likely to profit thereby. The educational policy of the future will be evolved in the light of well-established scientific facts. It will be based on individual rather than institutional needs. The research work for which provision has now been made will be directed towards very clearly defined objectives—the establishment of the Indian population on a self-supporting basis—an Indian citizen proud of his origin and cultural heritage, adjusted to modern life, progressive, resourceful, and self-reliant.

R. A. HOEY.

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CHAPTER FOUR

AUSTRALIA: MANDATED TERRITORIES

PART I

PAPUA—NEW GUINEA: MASS EDUCATION

THE area in which the Administration of the Territory of Papua-New Guinea is responsible for educational development covers approximately 157,000 square miles, rather more than half of the main island of New Guinea, and more than 26,000 square miles in adjacent groups, such as the Bismarck Archipelago and the Northern Solomons.

The native population of the area is estimated to be about 1,250,000, of whom at least 200,000 live on outlying islands. This population seems to be fairly evenly distributed over the Territory, and a density figure of about six per square mile appears to be reasonably typical.

An initial problem for education is, then, that the region is an extensive one of somewhat scattered population, which sometimes is concentrated in villages of about three hundred inhabitants, but elsewhere may be dispersed in scattered hamlets or even in single homesteads. There is much variation in this respect, especially when accessibility is taken into account.

In addition to this, there are a number of other factors, which fall into three main groups. In the first place, basic problems arise from the original cultural diversity of the native peoples, social, political, legal, and economic, together with a most complex linguistic situation. The second group of factors consists of those produced as a result of contact with alien cultures, particularly of a European type. Finally, consideration must be given to the influence on education of plans for general territorial development, which Australian policy has decided to be dependent chiefly on the development of the native people.

In pre-European days, the effective territorial grouping was, typically, the village, and villages rarely contained more than two or three hundred people. For social, political, and legal purposes, such villages were generally self-contained units. To a degree, they were also economically self-contained, though the Papua-New Guinea region was one of extensive sea and land trade routes. Separated in this fashion, village communities tended to evolve not only individual cultural forms, but also, as a corollary, individual conceptions of desirable social personality and means

of guiding the development of such personality. Clearly, there were, in such communities, educational processes, sometimes deliberately planned over brief periods but more often completely informal, by which individuals were equipped to take their places as satisfactory villagers.

Considerable work has been done in recording and classifying the languages of the Territory, but our knowledge of most of them is very limited and there are still many of which we know almost nothing. It does, nevertheless, appear that a pre-European language group of more than five thousand is unusual, and that most groups are well below that figure. It is a notable fact that possession of a common language appears to have had extremely little effect in inducing any sense of unity in such groups. The general cultural influences focusing corporate sentiment on the village group were usually of sufficient strength to refuse the opportunity presented by the wider extension of language.

On the whole, then, the words written seventy years ago by the missionary Lawes may be taken as giving a reasonable description of a pre-European scene, in which village communities were "practically as isolated and separated as if they were living on some lone island in mid-ocean."

European contact with the natives followed a pattern usual in the history of expanding frontiers in the nineteenth-century Pacific. First came individual traders, and those interested in the region as a source of cheap labour for export to other Pacific regions. Following them were Christian Mission bodies and organised commercial interests. Finally, came administrative control from two rival European Powers, when Great Britain declared a protectorate over south-eastern New Guinea (now the Australian Territory of Papua) in 1884, and Germany annexed the north-eastern area (now the Australian Trust Territory of New Guinea) in the same year.

European Administration

The story of the first stages of European contact is a haphazard and, on some points, not particularly creditable one, from which emerges the fact that, for many years, the main contribution towards assisting the natives in adjustment to changing circumstances came from Mission bodies. Between the year 1872, when the London Missionary Society settled a small party of Rarotongan pastors and teachers a few miles to the west of Port Moresby, and the year 1916, when the Papuan Administration inaugurated a scheme for financial assistance to Mission education, the entire weight of responsibility for educational organisation fell on the Missions.

In the meantime, native reactions to European contact were developing, with a momentum of their own, along definite lines in both British and German areas. Though there were differences

between the two Powers in matters of policy, the means through which contact influences operated were generally similar.

In each case, localities of actual European settlement were extremely limited: in the German region, for long confined mainly to the Bismarck Archipelago; in British territory, to scattered points along the south coast. This meant that, in both territories, contact influences operated in three distinct spheres of intensity.

One had, in the first place, a rather narrow field of intense operation among natives actually living round areas of European settlement. Then there was the wider field of labourers removed from more remote villages for employment, over varying periods of years, at centres of European enterprise. Finally, there was the transmission of influences to distant villages when such labourers were repatriated to their homes at the conclusion of their employment.

Educationally, this general contact situation was of great importance, for it was through such means, usually little modified by the guidance of organised education, that the natives of Papua–New Guinea mainly evolved their adjustments to European culture. Not only was there little guidance in the evolution of such adjustments, but it was given a somewhat unfortunate bias by the defensive attitude of Europeans in the earlier stages of contact, which frequently presented the native people with the spectacle of an apparently desirable world, comprehension of which was closed to them.

This was, perhaps, inevitable, but it has considerably increased a major initial difficulty of education in Papua–New Guinea: the difficulty of helping the native people towards an adequate understanding of systems which have produced what came to them as the immensely impressive achievements of the European way of life.

Though, as has been noted, the cultural patterns of pre-European villages varied a good deal, one may say that they were all communities in which there was hardly any specialisation. Apart from the dichotomy of the sexes, there was little difference in individual opportunity and practically no difference in individual equipment of skills. So far, at least, as his material requirements were concerned, each native in Papua–New Guinea was, in a very real sense, master of the whole range of culture to which he belonged.

The evolution of contact adjustments to European culture has had some effect on the economic organisation of many village communities, in that it has brought about a certain amount of reliance on European tools and other articles of trade. However, such external reliance appears to have had hardly more influence in broadening the group consciousness of the people than had the old, pre-European systems of inter-village trade.

Concentration of loyalty on the village has, in fact, been little altered by contact with European culture. Even the development

of what has been called a "kanaka society" has proceeded no farther than the establishment of a fairly large class of individuals, with vaguely general experiences in common, but with no widespread sense of unity.

Apart from the extension of certain native languages, through their use in organised education and for general missionary purposes, there have developed in the Territory of Papua–New Guinea two main languages of the marginal type. These are Melanesian Pidgin, which is almost entirely confined to the former German territory, and "Police" (or Pidgin) Motu, which is entirely confined to the Papuan region. The chief importance of such languages probably lies in their potentiality for binding together large groups of people possessed of a common tongue, and their influence has, in this respect, been very small indeed.

Though organised education has not, in the past, been in a position to achieve a great deal in modifying the general contact situation, it has, nevertheless, established a fairly widespread tradition, involving a demand for education, among the native peoples.

Papua

At the time of the outbreak of the Second World War, different policies in regard to the organisation of schooling operated in Papua and New Guinea. Papuan policy was to work entirely through Mission institutions. New Guinea policy was to concentrate Government resources on the organisation of Government schools.

Papuan policy had been consistently developed from the year 1890. The Government interest in Mission activities led to an agreement between the Anglican, Methodist, and London Missionary Society, defining their "spheres of interest," in order to "use to the best advantage for the native population the force available for Mission purposes."

Though the Roman Catholic Mission, which had commenced work in Papua in 1885, and the Seventh Day Adventists, who arrived in 1908, were unable to accept the principle of this agreement, the limited resources available for Mission education were spread over a fairly wide area.

The Papuan Administration, furthermore, assisted the Mission system of schools by making attendance compulsory upon all children up to the age of 14 years. This was modified following the Administration's decision, in 1916, to assist Mission education by the payment of Government subsidies. Eligibility for subsidies was dependent mainly on results in the teaching of English, and compulsory attendance applied only to those schools carrying out such teaching.

The subsidy ranged from 5*s*. per year, for each pupil successful at Standard I, up to 25*s*., for those at Standard V.

The grant-in-aid paid to any one Mission was very small indeed —not more than £250 in any one year. This payment depended upon an examination of the children by a touring Government Inspector, who used the English language. The official Government syllabus laid down the rule that English was to be used as the medium of instruction. Accordingly, in Papua all secular instruction, after the infant-school stage, was given in English, but *lingua-franca* vernaculars were largely used for religious instruction and worship. Naturally enough, this rule had a very inhibiting effect upon native teachers whose own understanding of the language was, except in rare instances, very limited. In the Mandated Territory, English was never so used, except in the post-primary section of the Government schools. A *lingua-franca* vernacular usually, more rarely Pidgin, was used. In some schools, Pidgin was taught as part of the curriculum.

Technical and agricultural education was assisted by the payment of special subsidies to certain Mission bodies. This, however, was not a continuous system.

The Papuan Administration included no specialist Department of Education, and the only educational activity which it carried out directly was the organisation by the Medical Department of the training of native medical assistants. In the case of a few such assistants, the Administration extended the training to cover a period of special work at the School of Tropical Medicine in Sydney.

New Guinea

Australian administration, under League of Nations Mandate, commenced in the former German Territory of New Guinea in 1921. In this region, organised education had been pioneered by the Australian Methodist Mission, which had established its first station in the Bismarck Archipelago in 1875. From 1882, a Roman Catholic Society was working in the same area, and it was not until the organisation of Lutheran activity, in 1886, that work was extended to the German portion of the New Guinea mainland.

Practically nothing of an organised nature had been done by the German Administration, during whose regime the Missions had been established and had undertaken, without any Government aid whatever, such elementary education of the natives as was necessary to their particular work of evangelisation. Within these limits, some outstanding work was done by certain Missions, especially in the field of teacher training and in the relation of educational content and methods to local cultural conditions.

The Missions of the Mandated Territory remained in this position during the period of Australian administration between the two World Wars. The Administration commenced the organisation of its own system of schools with the establishment, in 1922,

of a boarding school for native boys, located near Rabaul, which was then the seat of Government.

By 1942 there were a Government primary and technical school in Rabaul itself, two Government primary schools in the near neighbourhood, and three other Government schools in the remainder of the Territory. The Government contribution to organised education was, then, a small one, and certainly achieved less than did the Papuan system in bringing about any movement towards common educational standards or programme. That its limitations were officially recognised may be seen from the Territory's Annual Report to the League of Nations for 1937–8.

As in the case of Papua, the Mandated Territory of New Guinea did not have any specialist Department of Education. European staff for Government native schools was obtained, on temporary secondment, from Australian State Departments, and their general administration was the responsibility of the Territory's Department of the Government Secretary.

The New Guinea Department of Agriculture carried out a certain amount of work in agricultural education, and the Department of Public Health trained its own native medical orderlies.

School System

Broadly, four types of school were distinguishable in both Papua and New Guinea. In the villages were schools, conducted by native teachers, which aimed at teaching vernacular literacy. In most cases, these schools were open for only a short period on certain days of the week, were poorly equipped, and the teachers generally not highly trained. At stations under resident European missionaries there were usually boarding schools, to which pupils could proceed from village vernacular schools. Instruction at these stations was mostly carried out in a central vernacular selected by the Mission.

Beyond these were teacher-training centres, each major Mission maintaining one or more of these for the purpose of training certain selected natives as village teachers or pastors. In such institutions the training was mainly religious, and the standard of general education for such training varied according to circumstances.

Finally, certain Mission stations, under European direction, conducted technical training centres. At centres of this type, practical instruction was given in carpentry, boatbuilding, elementary mechanical and electrical work, and cane-furniture making.

Except in their personal association with women missionaries, who provided some instruction in handicrafts and in domestic affairs and health, there was no general provision for the special educational needs of native girls and women.

Language Problem

In the matter of language, the usual practice of the Missions was to select one native language for development as a *lingua franca* over a fairly wide area. This system had some success, but was, in many cases, hampered by the fact that insufficient care was taken in the selection of such languages. Frequently, the selection was quite fortuitous, the language of the locality in which the Mission established its first station being chosen.

One Mission organisation, in its extension of languages, took care to distinguish between Melanesian and non-Melanesian-speaking groups. Even this practice, however, has not been altogether satisfactory, probably because too rapid an extension has been attempted over areas which were too wide.

Only a few stations, belonging to two denominations, organised instruction through Melanesian Pidgin. Similarly, only one denomination in Papua made any use of "Police" Motu.

The encouragement of English by the Papuan Administration extended to the publication of a monthly newspaper, written in simple English and adapted to native interests. Though this was used for instructional purposes in some Mission schools, its main intention was the maintenance of educational interests in the adult sphere. Since, however, it was not supported by any other activity, it was far from successful. The late Government Anthropologist, who edited the paper, said of it: "The plain fact of the matter is that mighty few of those who have passed through the schools *can* read it, and of those who can, a mighty small proportion want to." This was after the paper had been in existence for seven years, and twenty years after the Papuan Administration had decided on its scheme for the encouragement of the teaching of English in Mission schools.

Japanese Occupation

Following the entry of Japan into the Second World War, there was a great deal of disturbance and some devastation, so far as native communities were concerned, in many parts of Papua–New Guinea. Even in centres remote from military operations, the conduct of the war necessitated large concentrations of troops and war materials, while the native people were brought close to European organisation on a scale quite beyond their previous experience. At the same time organised education had to cease, in many localities, for three or four years.

The chief importance of those war years was that the intensity of processes involved in the general situation of culture contact was tremendously increased, while the part played by organised education as a modifying influence was considerably reduced.

Civic administration was suspended in both Papua and New Guinea in February 1942, and, following a short period of separate

military administrations, the Territories were combined, for administrative purposes, under a special unit of the Australian Military Forces. *Bona-fide* native teachers were, however, exempt from conscription to labour for the army and in Papua, as well as in parts of New Guinea, many native teachers continued to hold school with surprising regularity and carried on with wonderful devotion in the face of great practical difficulties. In parts of Papua, European missionaries were able to remain at their stations and, to a limited extent, to help and to direct some of their teachers in outlying villages. During the war years, however, the Missions received no grants-in-aid from Government and were not, of course, inspected. In 1944, the army unit in the charge of the Administration of Australian New Guinea opened a school for young men of promise who had left primary school, preparatory to training them as teachers or medical assistants, and during those two years many young men were given some medical training in the native hospitals under military control. They were then posted to village dispensaries or to work as orderlies in hospitals. In spite of these valuable and useful developments, the loss of equipment caused by the war, together with the almost complete lack of regular guidance and supervision by the white missionaries, did mean that the efficiency of the village schools was very greatly impaired. The Papuan regulation concerning compulsory attendance at school was also suspended during the war.

Post-war Period

Following the conclusion of the war, the Australian Government established a Provisional Civil Administration, which took control of the whole of Papua and a portion of the Mandated Territory in October 1945. Control of the remainder of the Mandated Territory was gradually taken over from the Military Administration, this process being completed in June 1946. Since that time the administration of the two Territories has been the responsibility of the Provisional Administration of Papua–New Guinea, and under this Administration a specialist Department of Education has been established.

The experiences of native communities during the war years have not, fundamentally, altered the educational problems already mentioned. Papua–New Guinea remains an area in which the cultural diversity of the people is sufficiently strong to be the primary determinant of the bases from which organised education must be developed. The desire and surmise, with which European material culture has from the first been viewed, have been somewhat intensified, though not nearly so much as might have been expected. There has, furthermore, been little sign of any extension of village loyalty into a wider group sentiment.

In areas of former Japanese occupation, the effect appears to

have been temporary and surprisingly small. This may be due to the fact that, with the exception of a few occasions, in a limited number of localities, the Japanese early adopted a policy of reducing their relations with the native people to a minimum. Such a policy was expressed in at least one detailed Order issued by Japanese Army Headquarters in Rabaul, and further illustrated by numerous instances of practice. It seems to have been adopted following the results of attempts to use labour and other native facilities in an ill-advised manner.

The greatest post-war change in the educational situation lies, then, not in any abrupt alteration of conditions inherited from the past, but in the extension of the part to be played by the Administration in the future. This has been rendered possible by extensive financial assistance from Australia and the consequent establishment of a Department of Education to guide the development of plans.

The Department's policy provides both for the organisation of Government educational projects and for the provision of financial aid, on an extensive scale, to Mission bodies. It thus combines the two principles of the separate, pre-war Administrations of Papua and New Guinea, and each extends over the whole Territory of Papua–New Guinea. The application of these principles has, however, been considerably altered.

Aid to Missions is no longer based on payment by results, but is applied to particular projects. It is, for instance, applied to improvement of the standards of teaching, in that grants are made for the payment of certain Mission staff, both European and native, whose qualifications are approved by the Department. Again, it is applied to the improvement of equipment, in that examination is made of the requirements of individual Mission localities, and suitable equipment is supplied. This, in certain cases, involves the printing of vernacular texts, such work being based on recommendations arising from officially sponsored research by an independent authority in linguistics.

Here, it may be said that uniformity is not an immediate aim of policy with regard to languages. The fact that English is considered to be the ultimate solution to the problem of linguistic complexity does not reduce the urgent present need for the development of literacy in whatever tongue may be suitable to local circumstances. Generally, English is treated only as one subject in curricula until institutions of higher training are reached.

So far as the organisation of projects directly controlled by the Government is concerned, concentration is on work in the villages, and not on the establishment of central boarding schools, except for purposes of higher training. To allow for flexibility and adjustment to varying circumstances, the evolution of details of policy is guided, to a large extent, by the local experience of Government

Education Officers placed in charge of educational administration in Districts and Regions (groups of Districts) into which the Territory has been divided.

An innovation in Government educational activity in Papua-New Guinea is the provision, by special sections of the Department, of broadcasting and film services. Though a good deal of use has been made of these educational aids over the past year, such work is regarded as of no more than an extensively experimental nature. In the case of broadcasting, daily programmes are given in a number of vernaculars, as well as in "Police" Motu, initial experiments in the use of simple English having shown little promise of immediate success in the use of this medium. Use is also to be made of Melanesian Pidgin.

Specialist officers of the Education Department are conducting research into native music and arts and crafts, with a view to their conservation and development. A general research section, dealing with variations in forms of social, political, legal, and economic organisation, is intended to provide for the adaptation of educational projects to existing patterns. This appears to be of particular importance in the adult and adolescent spheres.

The education of native girls and women receives attention, in the first place, from a Female Education and General Welfare Section, which guides, from Departmental Headquarters, the work of women officers in Districts and Regions. In the second place, certain grants are provided for Mission organisations to apply specifically to the employment of women, of approved qualifications, for work among native girls and women.

Technical and other vocational training is given in both Government and Mission institutions. In the case of the latter, a system for Government financial assistance has been established.

Such an organisation involves, even now, the expenditure of approximately twenty times the amount which the Territories were able to devote to education before the war, and its maintenance will obviously necessitate Australian assistance for a considerable time. This, however, cannot be regarded as a permanent state of affairs. The continuance of adequate education will, ultimately, be dependent on the development of the local economy to such an extent that Papua-New Guinea can financially support its own social plans. This is the final factor to be considered in any discussion of native education in the Territory.

The Australian Government has stated that, in all aspects of development, the interests of the native people are paramount. It seems, from previous colonial experience, that large-scale economic development by alien interests would be of little benefit to the economic status of the natives. If, then, the economy of the Territory is to be improved, it is probable that it must be done through the improvement of native systems, and it is on the success of

schemes for such improvement that the financing of educational and other welfare plans will, in the end, depend.

Improvement will, in certain areas, involve fairly rapid change, and for its part in assisting such change education must allow. It cannot, in some instances, work through evolutionary stages at the rather slow rate which has often in the past appeared essential in dealing with native communities. Initially, this will involve careful experiment in selected localities, experiment taking as its starting-point a clear knowledge of the values and potentiality for rapid adaptation of local cultural elements, and fully understanding its goal in the achievement of the developmental aims of such agencies as the Territory's Department of Agriculture.

Activities of this nature will actually be experiments in mass education directed to the hard, practical purpose of discovering how rapidly a native community can, without danger to its social well-being, be set on its own financial feet. While they have this practical purpose, they will have a further purpose in that education in Papua–New Guinea will, no doubt, derive from them much experience, resulting in the refinement of techniques and knowledge of the possibilities for the extension of mass-education methods over an ever-widening area.

CHARLES JULIUS.

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PART II

NAURU: A PATTERN FOR THE SOUTH PACIFIC

Due to the comparatively advanced nature of the indigenous culture of Nauru, and the facility with which the native people adapted their mode of life and outlook to European cultural contact, the educational position up to the war period was very different from and considerably more progressive than those of Papua and New Guinea.

The 1927 *Report on the Administration of the Mandate for Nauru* includes the following statement, which is the basic explanation of educational advance there:

> The Nauruans are a gentle, happy, law-abiding people, eager to learn, most interested in educational matters, and as a rule have a singular capacity for acquiring knowledge.

At Nauru, more than in any of the other territories of the South Pacific known to the writer, there has come about a happy blending of native and European cultural elements, almost perfectly adapted to the progressive changes and developments that have come about from time to time since the occupation of the island by Europeans.

And for this happy situation, which might serve as a model for other territories in their approach to the problem of European-native contact and cultural change, a well-conceived programme of educational interests related to the daily life of the community, and in which the natives themselves took the major part, may be counted mainly responsible.

Education in Nauru prior to 1922 was in the hands of two Missions, assisted by grants-in-aid from the Administration. From that year, when the first Government school was established, the number of such schools increased, until by 1940 there were eight primary schools, and two higher schools for the special training of young men and young women respectively.

The compulsory Education Ordinance of 1921 made it obligatory for all Nauruans to attend school regularly up to 16 years of age. An amendment in 1925 increased the age to 17 years. Girls, in fact, remained at school until their marriage.

Of the total native population of 1,800, 512 were at school in 1938 with a teaching staff of 34 natives employed in the schools. Except for religious and economic interests, the schools were the focal-points of practically all the activities of the communities to whom they belonged. They served the same community social purpose as did the native meeting-house (*Domaneab*) of former days, and were in fact the district counterparts of the large central gathering-place of the island, which was still known as the

Domaneab, and upon which all the island-wide interests of the people were focused.

The total of direct expenditure on education in Nauru for the year 1938 was £4,115, representing approximately £2 5*s*. per head of population.

The curricula of the schools represented a blend of Nauruan and European features, with native art and handicrafts, music and games providing the high-lights, and representing an appreciation, by the Government as well as the Nauruan community, of the worth of native culture. The Nauruan education plan, in this regard, conformed with the principles laid down for local interpretation in the respective dependent territories by the British Advisory Committee on Education in the Colonies, but it had been devised in a natural way without those concerned being aware of the existence of such British colonial practice.

There were no school truants in Nauru; it was perfectly normal to go to school—for young adults as well as children, because school was linked in all its activities with the normal interests of the people. Real-life activities like canoe-building, net-making, fishing, making equipment for native games such as Itsibweb balls of woven pandanus; learning and reciting Nauruan culture-hero stories and their translation into English; " cats' cradles " with their associated folk-stories—all of these had a real place in the routine school programme, and provided the contexts of lessons in literary subjects and the three R's. Education in Nauru, in short, provided the necessary preparation for Nauruan life, and wove its whole programme realistically into the pattern of that life.

Except for one European as Director of Education (seconded from the Education Department of Victoria for specified periods), head teachers of all schools and assistant teachers were Nauruans, including a small number of women teachers. And the vocation of teaching was held in high esteem by the people, the senior native head teacher being a man of gentle and refined type, equally at home in a European or a Nauruan setting, with a flawless knowledge of English.

Contact with Europeans made a knowledge of English necessary for all Nauruans, and the schools consequently taught English with practised technique and modern equipment and methods, correlating the subject with other school subjects and practical activities.

School was held on four and a half days per week, the additional half day being given to religious instruction conducted by Mission representatives. Frequently the head teacher of the school was the religious instructor during this special period, and, although handled by two different agencies, there was always a close association between the secular work of the Government schools and the Christian teaching of the Missions.

The primary school course consisted of six classes, teaching in the first two being in the Nauruan vernacular, with English introduced and developed progressively in grades 3 to 6. Classes were co-educational until the transfer of the students to the respective higher schools for males and females, where the curricula were organised with special regard to the differing domestic and vocational needs of men and women.

Each school had its active Parents' Committee, with an Education Advisory Committee for the island as a whole, of which natives were members with the European Director of Education as *ex-officio* chairman.

Expenditure on education was provided from the Nauruan Royalty Trust Fund, built up from royalty payments made in connection with the rock phosphate taken from the island by the British Phosphate Commission.

Life was very full and very happy for the people of Nauru, and the education system caught this spirit, becoming part of and contributing its large quota to this happy, full way of life, in a way in which few European communities appear to have done.

Selected Nauruans, having completed their schooling on the island, were sent to the Suva Medical School for training as native medical practitioners, and a number sent to Australia for courses of up to four years for special training in technical subjects, including radio-telegraphy, and in accountancy (for employment in the well-managed Nauruan Co-operative Society store).

A school in full operation in the island's leper settlement; an annual exhibition of arts and crafts (Nauruan and European) from the schools; a programme for Scouts and Guides adapted to local conditions, and practically every young native a member of the Scout or Guide organisation; high-grade cricket played by native teams against Europeans; a practical system of baby health instruction organised through the girls' school and carried out at the Government hospital, where all babies born on the island were cared for in the early stages; evening sessions of song and story, old natives and young sharing the interest, at the *Domaneab*; natives as competent clerks in the Administration, one as the efficient official postmaster and Commonwealth Bank representative for the island; an efficiently managed native Co-operative Society and Store; an abiding attachment to the culture and traditions of their own people, together with an appreciation of the good features of European culture; schools of native design and materials built and owned by the people, who regarded them as their own and not the Government's; native teachers, locally trained, displaying natural talent in teaching and in art, music, and handicrafts, using illustrated teaching texts of their own graded for the different classes, and not depending upon printed textbooks; an atmosphere of natural happiness of teacher and pupils

pervading all schools; school a real part, and an important part, of the interwoven pattern of Nauruan life. These are some of the features of the education system of Nauru which made it wholly satisfying in relation to the life and development of the native community.

To reproduce such an educational pattern might well be the worthy goal of education in other South Pacific territories.

W. C. GROVES.

CHAPTER FIVE

NEW ZEALAND

THE MAORI REVIVAL

WHILE the first result of contact with the white man and his civilisation was a sharp decline in native populations throughout the Pacific, in this century the tide has turned and, in most of the Pacific area, numbers are now increasing. Probably nowhere, however, has there been such a striking revival as in the case of the Maori people of New Zealand, or such a conscious effort by the people themselves to renew their life and adjust themselves to new conditions and demands.

The Maori population is increasing rapidly and has now passed the hundred-thousand mark. This represents a remarkable change from the position at the end of last century, when the number of the Maori people had fallen as low as forty thousand, and when the extinction of the race was freely predicted and generally believed in. The Maori population doubled between 1896 and 1936, and its recent rate of increase has in some years been more than double that of the white population of New Zealand. The age composition of the two groups is also different, the Maori population showing a much larger percentage of young people, and its youthful character is significant for future increase. Nor is the change one in numbers only. The Maori people has regained something of its old confidence and pride, it has become more vigorous and self-aware, has shown aspirations of its own and a growing desire to undertake responsibility for its own affairs.

Distinguishing between population and race, though the proportion is difficult to determine, probably no more than half of the total Maori population is of pure Maori descent, and the number of those of mixed blood is increasing more rapidly than those of unmixed blood. The pure Maori population is likely to give way to a people of varying degrees of mixed descent, but this does not appear to mean rapid or general merging with the population. Those of mixed descent usually regard themselves as Maoris and usually marry one another or full Maoris. The Maori people seems likely to remain, and indeed for some time increasingly to become, an integral part and distinct element in the life of New Zealand, especially in the northern portion of the country. There are two living peoples in New Zealand, and two there are likely to be for a long time to come.

It has often been stated that no native people has ever been so

fairly treated by Europeans as has the Maori people. Actually, if it is fully and fairly told, the story of the contact of Europeans with native peoples is much the same everywhere, with local variations of what an anthropologist has termed " the tragic mess which invariably results from the impact of white upon aboriginal culture." If the Maoris were treated more decently than some other peoples, and in certain respects they were, it was primarily because their own qualities and condition demanded it. But there has been injustice and tragedy enough in the century and a half of contact of the two peoples. In its early stages the white man's diseases and his weapons—which latter were eagerly sought by a warlike people—took heavy toll of Maori life. Maori institutions and beliefs were profoundly disturbed by contact with the European way of life and by missionary activity. After the initial period of shock and disorganisation, however, it did for a time appear as though the civilising of the Maori people could be successfully accomplished. They accepted the Christian religion and many of the white man's ways. In particular they turned enthusiastically to agriculture and made remarkable progress in the production of wheat and other foodstuffs.

But a clash between the two people was inevitable. The Maoris were not slow to realise the consequences of shipload after shipload of settlers, who had but one desire—land. By the middle of the nineteenth century they were thoroughly alarmed at the growing threat to their national existence and formed land leagues to resist the further sale of land. Their social and political condition was becoming chaotic, as a result of the loss of their own institutions and administrative neglect. The desire for a separate national existence, and for the fixing of the boundaries of European encroachment, grew strong and urgent and found expression in the Maori " King " movement. Armed conflict was precipitated by an act of land purchase insisted upon by the Government, and ten thousand British troops and nearly as many colonial troops defeated the Maoris in the war of 1860–5. Nearly three million acres of Maori land were thereupon confiscated from the " rebels " and fighting dragged on until 1870. Ten years of struggle with the white man had a profound effect on the whole Maori people. " Rebels " and " friendlies " alike were kept in a state of uneconomic activity and unnatural tension. The habits of industry thus lost took a long time to recover. And the Maoris now saw the white man growing in power in the land and felt themselves to be passing away. A mood of intense depression, which affected birth-rate and numbers, resulted, and it was now that through legal sale the Maoris lost most of their lands to the white settlers of New Zealand and spent and were assisted to spend the proceeds in ways which were far from conducive to their welfare. Their numbers and social condition continued to decline until almost

the end of the century, and the white man often blamed the Maoris for becoming what he had made them.

A more conciliatory attitude on the part of the Government and a number of welfare measures halted the worst phases of defeatism and resentment before the end of the century. But the actual renewal of Maori life was achieved primarily from within the people and as a result of Maori leadership. What came to be termed the Young Maori Party, a loosely organised but intensely purposeful group of educated Maoris, provided the effective impulse towards revival. The Young Maori Party grew out of the Te Aute College Students' Association, and this mission school played an important part in aiding the re-emergence of Maori leadership. The Party and the Maori people had leadership of genius from Apirana Ngata (now Sir Apirana), possibly the ablest leader who has appeared anywhere in the many contacts which the British have made with native peoples. Ngata, Maui, Pomare and Peter Buck (Te Rangi Hiroa) led the movement. They had had university education, and were able to take a more objective view of their people and its conditions and needs. As university students some of the group had travelled among their tribes preaching a gospel of health and work and morals. Their influence gradually permeated Maori society, and it was exercised partly through political agencies and Maori representation in Parliament, but more through the wise and patient use over many years of the surviving forms of Maori society. As a movement from within for the regeneration of a native people, and as a conscious effort on its part to adjust itself to civilised demands, the Young Maori Party and its work are probably unique.

Farming of the lands that still remained to them seemed the obvious solution to the problem of providing for the economic life of the Maori people, but serious obstacles lay in the way, the main one being the Maori title to land. A Maori might possess a series of interests in various blocks of land while actually owning no piece of land which he could effectively work. Twenty-five years of experimentation and patient negotiation in the face of complex human and material circumstances were necessary before the problem was solved by the invention and acceptance of new devices in land tenure. All this work was done, and by their own leaders, among the Ngatiporou tribe, which by deliberate policy had retained much of its best land. In 1929–30 legislation provided for Maori land-development schemes financed by State funds. These land schemes, mostly for dairy-farming, had been most carefully planned and prepared for by Sir Apirana Ngata, then Native Minister, and every effort was made to launch them successfully. Much suspicion had first to be overcome, for some tribes feared further loss of their land, but once launched the schemes made rapid progress. They now comprise nearly two thousand farms and more

than a million acres of land, not all of it yet developed. There have been some failures among those placed on farms, but the schemes represent a really big achievement.

It has for some time, however, been clear that land development does not at a single stroke solve the problem of the future of the rapidly growing Maori population. It has been estimated that when all suitable Maori land has been fully developed the farms provided will support not more than one-fourth to one-third of the existing population, in terms, that is, of the general New Zealand standard of living. A large proportion could, if necessary, be supported at a simpler standard. Horticulture has been successfully attempted in some Maori districts, and reafforestation work is another possibility; but it is clear that a self-supporting life on the land, for which Maoris are well suited, will not be possible for a large section of the people. At present many are dependent on casual and seasonal work. The opening up of new vocational outlets, and the preparing of young Maori people for them, is at the moment an urgent need.

Though it is often done, and in a brief article such as this, cannot be avoided, it is misleading to generalise about the Maori people as a whole, save in the most general way. The condition and circumstances of different groups of tribes vary considerably, as do tribal moods and attitudes due to varying experiences with the white man. In some districts war, defeat, and the confiscation of land left a slowly disappearing legacy of bitterness and distrust. The degree of Europeanisation varies in different districts and in different ways. Relative numbers of Maoris and Europeans also vary greatly in different parts of New Zealand. At the present time the Maoris are rather more than one in twenty in the total population of the country, but in the north-eastern portion of the North Island one person in nine is a Maori. One thing is certain: that in New Zealand to-day many features of Maori life and mind persist after one hundred and fifty years of contact with the white man, many beliefs are held, many customs, arts and crafts and relationships are pursued, which, though changing, must still be described as Maori.

Maori Education

The first schools for Maoris were established early in the nineteenth century by the various missions, and Maori education was left in missionary hands for many years, the Government making grants of money and land and having the right of inspection and examination. What was on the whole an enthusiastic and successful phase of Maori education was, however, halted by the Maori wars, and the Maoris then almost wholly withdrew from the schools. Village schools for Maori children were established by the Government at the end of the wars, though some districts for

a long time refused to have them and one important Maori district never accepted them. The general objective of these schools was the Europeanisation of Maori children with a view to the assimilation of the Maori people—results, it was assumed, which could be rapidly and harmlessly achieved. All instruction was now in the English language, Maori being strictly banned from the schools. As the years have passed it has been realised that the situation demands educational objectives much less simple than was formerly believed.

At the present time the Maori school population is more than twenty-five thousand. More than half of the primary school children are scattered throughout the ordinary State schools and no special provision is made for them, but some twelve thousand attend the 159 Native village schools (mostly small and scattered), which are directly controlled by the Education Department. Some sixteen years ago important changes were made in the curriculum of the village schools with the aim of relating instruction to the special background and needs of Maori children. Emphasis was given to surviving elements of Maori culture, such as arts and handicrafts and to health and domestic training, with some elementary agriculture and woodwork for the boys. Emphasis on oral and written English continues. The attempt has also been made to relate the schools more closely to the Maori communities. In recent years the number of Maori teachers has considerably increased, as has the number of those entering teachers' training colleges. Aims and objectives have changed greatly. Those who administer the Native schools are now conscious that these schools have the extremely difficult and complex task of teaching the child both to be a good Maori (so far as Maori life still persists) and, as a Maori, to be able to adjust himself to a dominantly European environment. This is a task impossible of complete fulfilment, but the special Native schools will long continue to be needed to attempt it. Much of the excellent work done in them in recent years has, however, been lost in its effect through the very limited opportunities for continuing it at the secondary level.

Maori children have the same rights to secondary education as have white children in New Zealand (just as Maoris share all other legal rights), but distance from secondary and technical schools prevents all but a few from attending them. A system of scholarships takes more than two hundred Maori children annually to secondary schools, mainly the denominational boarding schools, some of which are the long-established mission schools. But most of the scholarships are for two years only, and few scholarship-holders complete a full secondary training. Most leave school with an academic course uncompleted and no training for a trade. It is at the secondary level that the problem of Maori education now mainly lies. In 1941 the Education Department directly entered

the field of Maori secondary education and established three Native district high schools. The experiment has proved successful and the number is now being increased. The curriculum of these schools is along practical lines, but leads also to the School Certificate Examination. Three university scholarships for Maoris are awarded each year, and a few other Maoris make their own way to the university. Some graduate but others fail to complete their courses, mainly due to problems of adjustment. The Maori world has in the past benefited greatly from educated leaders, and they will long be necessary to negotiate between the two peoples.

Closely connected with Maori education is the language situation. The present position in regard to the use of the Maori language cannot be stated with any exactness, but there is a general impression that its use is gradually declining. It is still safe to say, however, that the majority of the Maori population knows and partially uses Maori, and it is used on all ceremonial occasions. The situation varies greatly with individual families and from district to district. Some Maori children acquire their own language thoroughly, some very imperfectly, some do not acquire it at all, some acquire English thoroughly and some do not get a real grip on either language and so inevitably lack intellectual grip. Many Maori children enter the village schools with no English, and, as mentioned, all instruction is in the English language. The intellectual development of Maori children and their educational progress is undoubtedly much affected by this bilingual situation and its variations, and a thorough investigation of the language problem should be made. There has unfortunately been no research conducted in New Zealand on this subject. In several investigations into Maori intelligence, and in comparisons of the test scores of Maoris and whites, the effect of the language situation on the Maori results does not seem to have been sufficiently taken into account. Recent years have seen a certain revival of interest in the Maori language and there has been at least talk of efforts to restore and preserve its use. It is taught in several of the denominational secondary schools, it is a subject for the University Entrance Examination and for the Arts degree, and there are regular broadcasts in Maori. Much more could, however, be done than is being done at least to slow down and postpone its loss. Texts in Maori are at present not easily available, though there is much that could be reprinted. Recently a committee of scholars, mainly Maori, has thoroughly revised the Maori translation of the Bible. It is clear that the Maori people must now be bilingual: all now need to use the English language, and as contacts with the general life of the country increase English steadily becomes the more useful of the two languages, with a tendency to discard the use of Maori.

The Maoris in the Life of New Zealand

In the course of their work for the welfare of their people, and as its situation became increasingly clear to them, Maori leaders gradually formulated and began consciously to apply the idea of reorganising Maori life by adapting, applying, and building into it what was necessary of European ways, while holding to features of the Maori cultural heritage which had survived and which could be brought into stronger consciousness and given new usefulness. More than twenty-five years ago the injunction of the late Sir James Carroll (part-Maori, part-Irish), " Hold fast to your *Maoritanga* (Maorihood)," was consciously adopted. Maori life was to be revived so as to retain Maori identity, not by way of isolation or segregation, but as the best means of sharing in the common life of the country. Maori leaders here anticipated recent scientific opinion by more than a generation, seeing clearly that rapid and complete Europeanisation was neither possible nor desirable. They have been consciously aiming at continuing self-identity not in any spirit of exclusive nationalism or of hostility towards white New Zealanders, but as the only means of securing a self-respecting future. This revival of pride in their own race and its past, and their continuing use of their own social forms and decorative arts, have been the central factors in saving the Maori people from a damning sense of inferiority as a racial minority of another colour, and in preventing them from becoming a depressed if not dependent class existing more or less unhappily on the fringes of the dominant white civilisation. A few Maoris are in this position, but the people as a whole has been saved from it by the policy of their own leaders, aided by some sympathetic official and non-official agencies throughout the country.

The characteristic outward expression of Maorihood is the Maori *marae*. Literally the open courtyard in front of the communal meeting-house, the term has become the symbol of Maori community life. It now implies community buildings embodying in their structure and decoration the arts and crafts of the people, occasional tribal gatherings, social and religious life, characteristic forms of dance and song, and the organisation of games and sports. Recent years have seen remarkable activity in the building and decorating of Maori meeting-houses and general *marae* improvements, and the enthusiasm displayed among Maori groups for projects of this kind is an index of their persisting and renewed vitality and of their strong desire for forms of social life characteristically their own.

The war years and the increased demand for manpower which then existed resulted in a considerable movement of young Maori people from their villages to the towns and cities; a movement which robbed them of their own social background. But an interesting feature of the past few years has been the establishing of Maori

community centres, some very well organised, in these towns and cities themselves. They are extremely valuable in giving a stabilising social background to young people in many ways unprepared for living in a fully European environment.

Apart from problems of health and housing, which are urgent enough, the main Maori problem at present is one already mentioned, namely the problem of finding vocational outlets for those many young Maori people who cannot find a life within their own districts. Greatly increased opportunities for entering trades and for vocational training of many kinds are an obvious and urgent need. A rather disturbing amount of delinquency among Maori youths occurs in the gap between village schooling and the securing of regular and suitable employment. The vocational problem has recently been surveyed by H. C. McQueen for the New Zealand Council for Educational Research, and his *Vocations for Maori Youth* contains a number of sensible recommendations, some of which are already being put into effect. Maori vocational guidance officers are now tackling the problem, but its solution depends on increased and extended educational facilities, especially of a practical and technical kind. Though it is often denied, a certain amount of discrimination against Maoris and some prejudice on the part of employers undoubtedly exist.

The attitude of white New Zealanders towards Maoris varies from district to district. Indifference is probably the commonest attitude, though there is some genuine liking and respect and, in districts where Maoris are more numerous, some intolerance and discrimination. These latter are based more upon popular stereotypes regarding Maori attitudes towards such things as work, money, liquor and sexual morals than upon actual observation and acquaintance. To some extent the white attitude towards Maoris is determined by the fact that they are regarded as belonging to a lower social class. But in the main, the situation is still a racial rather than a class one. It is not true, as is often stated, that there is no colour issue in New Zealand. As Maori numbers increase, and as the future brings, as seems likely, more contacts and intermingling of the two peoples, colour feeling may grow unless vigorously combated. On the Maori side the recent settlement of a series of claims against the Government, mostly for wrongful and over-confiscation of land after the Maori wars, has greatly reduced a long tradition of resentment among certain tribes, while the policy of the present Labour Government in giving Maoris full equality in all its Social Security legislation, as well as recent legislation giving Maoris fuller local control over their own affairs, have given much positive satisfaction. A recent and very thorough study of one Maori community, *Some Modern Maoris,* by Ernest and Pearl Beaglehole, concludes that the people concerned should learn to be like white New Zealanders as rapidly as

possible. While this may well be the wisest policy for the community studied (one already much Europeanised), conditions and attitudes are much too complex in most parts of the North Island for such a policy to be advocated. It would meet with the strongest resistance. Nevertheless the situation of the Maori people is in many respects a difficult one. The Maori must, as best he can, live in two worlds, the one consisting of what remains and can be preserved of his traditional life and outlook and communal values, the other the complex contemporary world in which a livelihood must be earned. Maoris will long continue to live in varying degrees and with varying success in these two worlds. It is not easy. Intellectual development is made more difficult by the language situation, and the achieving and maintaining of stability of character is rendered difficult by the dual cultural environment and by contrasting values and demands. The situation of a minority so placed cannot permit of any entirely or universally satisfactory adjustment. Points of stress, of frustration and deterioration, of unhappiness and of failure are inevitable, though every effort is made to minimise them. The Maori people has itself made a remarkable and in many ways successful effort at adjustment, and social and personal disorganisation might very easily be more evident than they are. A situation such as theirs is, however, never static, and so far as the Maori future is concerned there is much to be said at present for a conservative policy (in the proper meaning of conservative) of slowing down the rate of inevitable culture and personality change if disorganisation is not to be increased. Though not stated in these terms such a policy seems implicit in recent Maori education.

I. L. G. SUTHERLAND.

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CHAPTER SIX

SOUTH AFRICA

EDUCATION FOR NON-EUROPEANS

The Shaping of Educational Policy

To be seen in correct perspective, the development of education in South Africa must be studied against the background of South African history. The complex situation was shaped by a variety of factors operating at different times, since the earliest days of the European settlement at the Cape of Good Hope. A brief account of the historical events and circumstances which determined the course of education in the countries which to-day form the Union of South Africa will therefore be found helpful.

When the settlement of the Dutch East India Company was established at the Cape in 1652, the coastal regions were inhabited by cattle nomads, called Hottentots. The relations between the early settlers and these aborigines were of an indifferent nature and it was found exceedingly difficult to recruit labour from their ranks for the Company's agricultural projects. In order to supply the necessary labourers, the Company decided to import slaves from various countries, but mainly from its Malay possessions. As no one at that time entertained the idea of a permanent independent European nation in South Africa, free and easy relations, in the approved colonial manner, were permitted between Europeans, Hottentots, and Malays—and the Cape Coloured, who have since those early days grown into a community of over 900,000 people, came into being.

Although the formation of a "new" essentially European community at the Cape naturally required some time, in view of the heterogeneity of the settlers, who had come from Holland, Germany, and France respectively, a common race consciousness and pride appears to have asserted itself very soon, followed in due course by the general acceptance of the ideal of racial purity. This necessarily meant recognition of the Coloured people, too, as a separate and relatively stable entity of the population.

Apart from other more patently selfish considerations, this desire to maintain clear-cut racial distinctions probably accounts for the antagonism experienced by the first missionary educators. Conversion to the Christian faith was held to entail both manumission and the removal of social disabilities, and therefore constituted a definite danger to the "new" European people of the Cape, then in the process of evolution, because there was no clear policy re-

garding the future relations between the Europeans and a civilised Coloured community. This explains why the pioneer missionary, Georg Schmidt, was compelled to abandon the work he had begun at Genadendal.

Before the final British occupation of the Cape in 1806, the European settlement had already expanded very considerably in all directions, and contact with the numerically strong and politically well-organised Bantu tribes in the eastern province had been established. The years which followed were crucial in the shaping of the destiny of the South African peoples. The arrival of a large number of British settlers and the introduction of English as the official language gave rise to much dissatisfaction among the old colonists. Their initial dislike of the newly established foreign regime was particularly aggravated by its toleration of a type of mission activity going beyond mere evangelisation and stressing the right of the Coloured people to a greater measure of social equality. Under these circumstances the hardships shared by the frontier farmers in the many serious border conflicts with the Bantu, together with the general resentment aroused by the way in which slavery was abolished, combined to accelerate the merging of the Dutch colonists of the interior into a South African nation, a process which was carried a long stage farther during the subsequent Great Trek, which culminated, after many vicissitudes, in the victorious occupation of the territories now forming the three northern provinces of the Union.

While previously only the Xhosa tribes had been in touch with the Europeans, the Great Trek and the more or less peaceful penetration following it gradually brought all the Bantu tribes of South Africa under European control. These pioneer settlers of the northern provinces were, however, no longer a medley from many European countries, but a new culture-conscious people—though still using Dutch as the written form of their greatly changed spoken language—and the Natives, too, were organised in well-defined tribal entities. Racial segregation was accordingly more rigidly observed right from the beginning, and the Eurafrican population never assumed large proportions in any area outside the Cape Province. This segregation was much facilitated through the withdrawal of the majority of Bantu tribes into relatively restricted refuge areas during Chaka's and Mzilikazi's reign of terror, which came to an end when the power of the Bantu tyrants was broken and the regime of the Trekkers was established.

The northward movement of the missionaries virtually coincided in time with that of the Voortrekkers, some preceding and others following them, so that within the short span of a few decades all the Tswana, Sotho, Zulu, Shangaan, and Venda tribes were forced to adapt themselves to entirely new and rather bewildering circumstances. On the one hand they found that their destinies were now

determined by a virile European people determined to make the land recently occupied its national home, in the full sense of the word, and, on the other hand, there was another set of European people, hardly connected in any way with the former, who had come to civilise and uplift them. In this way, in the northern areas, too, the process of evangelisation and education began as a venture of alien elements not rooted in the European people of the land, tolerated because of the Christian spirit of the new republics, but not encouraged. The general racial policy of these northern states was couched in chiefly negative terms, and lacked the constructive quality without which no policy can hope to endure.

In Natal the small Dutch republic was soon displaced by a British colony, and as there was no considerable home-minded European population the colonial attitude reasserted itself completely. When the sugar industry was established, the colony, thinking in terms of immediate gain and ignoring the serious racial implications of this step, proceeded to solve its problem of labour shortage in exactly the same short-sighted way as the early Cape settlers. On this occasion cheap Indian labour was imported. These Indians soon gained a firm foothold, not only in the sugar industry but also as successful traders. Owing to phenomenal increase the Indian population has since passed the quarter-million mark. In this way a further race problem was created, which is now viewed, not only by Natal but by South Africa as a whole, with grave apprehension.

After the Anglo-Boer War the racial policy of the northern areas was radically changed. The missions, which had previously been regarded as an alien element, and had therefore been restricted in their educational work, now obtained full recognition as well as financial support from the Government.

This very brief account of the historical events affecting educational policies in South Africa would not be complete without reference to the recognition of Afrikaans as one of the official languages. The importance of this event in 1925 cannot be overrated; it marked the self-realisation of the Afrikaans people. What they had vainly striven to attain in the political sphere had now been achieved in the realm of culture. The Afrikaans children, who had previously been educated in English or, in some cases, through the equally foreign medium of Dutch, could now be guided to a fuller understanding of knowledge and culture by means of their own language in both school and university.

European, Coloured, and Indian Education

Europeans, Coloured, and Indians are grouped together in this short article because they all receive practically the same kind of education. The main difference is that far better facilities are provided for European children and that the *per capita* expenditure is

far higher than in the case of the non-Europeans. As regards content of education, however, the only difference is that the European children are permitted a wider choice of subjects.

The only point in connection with the education of Europeans—which, otherwise, I think, compares favourably with that offered in any other country—presenting a peculiarly South African problem is bilingualism. There is no doubt that relations between the English-and-Afrikaans-speaking communities can never become as cordial as they should be unless every citizen can converse freely in either language. Various methods of achieving this have been tried out without great success. Recently a scheme of double-medium schools, teaching certain subjects in Afrikaans and others in English, has been introduced. Unfortunately this scheme, which theoretically holds great promise, was introduced under political pressure at a very inopportune time and was not received kindly by the teaching profession, which is already reporting adversely on its effects. It is to be hoped that the teaching profession will soon come forward with the scheme so amended as to receive the general support it deserves. The main change, or rather extension, which should be made, in order to convince everybody of the sincerity of the underlying aim, would be to make the learning of both official languages compulsory in all types of non-European schools as well. To this point, however, I shall revert later.

Over 35,000 Indian pupils receive school training in South Africa. This means that probably 15,000 children of school-going age are not in school. Compulsory education, however, is not feasible, as the Indian community would oppose compulsory school attendance of girls. The majority of the children are in the lower standards, and on the whole all pupils are somewhat retarded, because they begin their school career with little or no knowledge of English but have to cover the same ground as English pupils. An adaptation of the school curriculum to the needs and circumstances of the Indians appears to be necessary if their settlement in this country is to be permanent.

In the Cape Province the number of Coloured pupils already exceeds that of the European school children, and is bound to outstrip it completely when the proposed compulsory education is introduced. What has been said of the level of education and of its content in regard to the Indians also applies to the Coloured. They are, of course, a truly South African community with no language of their own and, therefore, present a problem parallel to that of the Negroes in the United States. This means that their educational system, which to-day is still largely mission-controlled, will in due course become completely the same as its European counterpart. Improved facilities can, however, hardly be expected before the mass of the Coloured people produce more wealth than at present.

Two points call for comment. The home language of the vast majority of the Coloured people is Afrikaans, but in their schools English predominates. This is natural enough if one keeps in mind that this choice was made, and has since become a tradition, when Afrikaans had not yet been recognised as a fully-fledged language. Whether it was sound educational policy on the part of the Education Department to retain English instead of switching over to Afrikaans, when the corresponding change was effected in European schools, is open to question.

A very large percentage of the Coloured people are artisans. It is, therefore, surprising that very little industrial education is offered to their children. The young Coloured people learn their trade as apprentices and they appear to be satisfied with this system. In order to raise their standard of proficiency more industrial and technical training, for which they show great aptitude, should be provided.

The general attitude of European South Africans to Indian and Coloured education can be deduced from the fact that it has not been found expedient to create separate State departments to study and to attend to their needs. In the case of the Indians this may be due to their relatively small number, in the case of the Coloured people it is felt that scope and aim of education do not constitute anything radically different from that of European education.

Education of the South African Natives

(a) The Present Position: Control, School Population, Cost, and Curriculum.—At the time when the mission campaign among the Southern Bantu began in real earnest, compulsory education had not yet been introduced in the European homelands nor had the State accepted responsibility for the training of its future citizens. It was generally felt that this work could be safely entrusted to the Church, which had everywhere taken the initiative in this matter.

It is only natural, therefore, that the colonial authorities in South Africa should have adopted the same attitude. It is nevertheless a matter for regret that the essential difference between circumstances existing in European countries and in South Africa respectively was so completely overlooked, namely, that in the former countries the State incurred little risk in allowing the firmly established Churches, which adequately represented the population, to control the schools, while in the latter the many Churches authorised to do this work had little or no connection with the people of the country.

All Native schools in South Africa, whether primary, secondary, or teacher-training, were originally built up by missions and when, in due course, Government recognition and aid were granted the missionary still retained full authority. In recent years a number of non-denominational, Government, or community schools have

been established, but this is quite a new departure. The following table shows the denominational classification of Transvaal Native schools in 1936:

	Number of Schools	*Enrolment*
Methodist Church .	122	16,986
Anglican Church .	99	13,547
Berlin Mission .	164	17,046
Hermansburg Mission .	50	6,683
Roman Catholic Church .	23	5,405
Dutch Reformed Church .	89	8,451
Swiss Mission . . .	43	3,493
Miscellaneous Churches .	106	12,677
All Churches . . .	696	84,288

In terms of the Education Law of the Union of South Africa the four provincial administrations are responsible for all pre-Matriculation training, European as well as non-European, although no contribution is made to Native education from provincial revenue. In each of the provinces there is a board, consisting largely of the representatives of the missions enumerated above, which advises the administration on Native education. Formerly it was the task of the Union Native Affairs Commission to act as co-ordinating and directing agency on behalf of the Native Affairs Department, which had to make the necessary financial provision. This system has, however, broken down, primarily owing to the inability of this Department to meet the ever-increasing cost of Native education out of Native revenue. Its place is now supplied by a Union Advisory Board on Native Education, which functions under the auspices of the Union Education Department.

Syllabus and courses of training are still determined by the provincial departments, and in each province, with exception of the Cape, there exists a separate branch of the Education Department which deals with the administration and inspection of Native schools.

The enrolment in Native schools is increasing by leaps and bounds, and would increase even more rapidly if the available funds were not so inadequate. In the Transvaal the enrolment mounted from just over 80,000 in 1936 to over 230,000 in 1948, while the increase in the secondary schools alone over the same period was more than tenfold.

In primary schools, excluding some of the schools conducted by Roman Catholic sisterhoods, Native teachers only are employed. Practically all new secondary schools are staffed with Natives, and even in the older secondary schools the European teachers are gradually replaced by Natives who have graduated at the Fort Hare Native University College.

All the Education Departments employ a number of Native supervisors of schools, but up to the present time inspectors of Native schools have always been recruited from the ranks of the European teaching profession. University education is offered by the Fort Hare University College, and also by the External Studies Department of the University of South Africa. Facilities for the medical training of Natives are provided by the University of the Witwatersrand. It is, however, obvious that further institutions offering post-Matriculation courses must be established, as the existing colleges cannot cope with the ever-increasing demand for academically and professionally highly qualified Natives.

A scheme of education for Native adults has recently been inaugurated by the Union Education Department, but has not yet progressed beyond the experimental stage. As probably 60 per cent. of all grown-up Natives are either wholly or semi-illiterate, the task of educating these masses is stupendous.

The term "aided school," which is applied to all schools under denominational control, has progressively become a misnomer. It creates the impression that there is some *pro rata* Government contribution and that the Churches still carry a tremendous burden, whereas in actual fact they have been relieved of all financial obligations in respect of such schools. The aid given by the Government comprises: rent for all approved classrooms, grants for classroom equipment, school books provided free of charge, the teachers' salaries, grants towards the maintenance of hostels. No school fees are charged, and over and above all this every pupil receives a free meal each day.

It is correct that certain missions, notably the Roman Catholic mission, do not regard the Government grants to be adequate and therefore make liberal use of Church funds to provide superior buildings and equipment. It must also be remembered that the missions often maintain private schools for considerable periods of time before they can be admitted to the list of aided schools, but the funds required for this purpose are usually collected from the parents concerned.

As the expansion of school services was accompanied by a considerable increase of the emoluments received by teachers, the cost of Native education for the Union as a whole rose to well over £4,000,000 in 1947 for a total enrolment of 600,000 pupils. The corresponding total expenditure in 1922 was only £340,000.

Although only 40 per cent. of the potential school population attend school at any one time it can be safely assumed that as many as 60 per cent. actually receive some education in view of the fact that so many pupils fail to complete the full primary course and thereby make room for newcomers.

The schooling of the South African Natives is, therefore, on the whole of a very elementary nature. Nearly half the total enrolment

is to be found in the sub-standards. This is, however, mainly due not to retardation but to the very rapid expansion which in a growing system naturally takes place at the base of the pyramid.

The great majority of schools are ordinary elementary schools. After completing their primary school course, pupils can proceed to secondary schools, to teacher-training colleges, and to industrial and vocational schools. The number of schools in this last category is very small, as the teaching profession is virtually the only one requiring professionally trained persons in great numbers. Many of the industrial and vocational schools which flourished at one time have become stationary or have even declined because the demand for skilled Native labour is artificially restricted.

Mention must here be made of certain very successful schools with a definite agricultural bias. Agricultural training is encouraged in every possible way by the authorities, but most Natives do not take kindly to this type of education, which they consider to be of a lower order.

Almost complete uniformity has been achieved as between the provinces in regard to the administrative and the financial aspects of Native education. In regard to the content of the school courses there is one fundamental difference between the Cape Province and Natal, on the one hand, and the Free State and Transvaal, on the other. The latter provinces compel all pupils to learn both official languages, while in the former English only is compulsory. Bar the fact that the various Bantu languages, each in its own area, play an important part in the initial school years there is little difference between the content of the courses offered in Native and European schools respectively. Native schools are expected to pay more attention to the " Training of Hand," and this is done successfully in the case of the girls, who receive really useful training in needlework and housecraft. The manual work of boys, on the other hand, leaves very much to be desired, because the erratic water supply makes gardening so difficult and because the cost of furnishing ordinary schools with tools for arts and crafts is prohibitive. The teaching of indigenous arts and crafts in schools does not find much favour with Native communities, on the one hand because it constitutes a danger to the trade of the village craftsmen and women, who regard this as their monopoly, and on the other hand because they prefer training in European crafts, considered to be of a superior order.

All the provincial Education Departments demand instruction through the home language during the first four school years. This regulation is often disregarded by the teachers, who prefer to impress their pupils by constant use of English and who fail to understand that this practice accounts for many promotion and examination casualties.

(*b*) *Critique of the Present System of Native Education.*—The

critics of the system of education which has just been described are by no means unanimous in regard to the features which they condemn but actually hold widely divergent views, the most important of which I shall endeavour to discuss very briefly.

South Africa is often quoted as presenting an example of the particularly harsh treatment of a Native people by an overbearing European minority. Statements to this effect have been repeated so often that they have come to be regarded as axiomatic and as requiring no further proof. Actually nothing could be more beside the mark. The stark truth is that not one of the African colonies or protectorates spends nearly as much money *per capita* on Native education as the Union of South Africa, notwithstanding the fact that all these territories are indisputably " black " countries which should be governed and developed first and foremost in the interests of the indigenous population. The figures quoted in the previous paragraphs bear out this contention fully, and should suffice to dispose of the above-mentioned damaging misrepresentation.

As regards the aim and scope of Native education many critics, both Native and European, claim that there should be no such thing as " Native education," as education cannot recognise colour bars and colour distinctions without violating its own basic principles. They contend that there is no case for differentiation. What they appear to overlook is that application of the identical principles necessitates differentiation in practice. For instance, the educational principles—proceed from the known to the unknown, from the simple to the involved—must always mean that the child's home language and home culture are basic in the truly educational process which will permit personality to unfold itself to its optimum capacity.

Probably the protagonists of " one and the same education for everybody " do not hold with any principles whatsoever. The following is a case in point. The missions, one and all, chose English as the official language of their Native schools, and this was perfectly justifiable because the choice was made at a time before Afrikaans came into its own, and when Dutch, a language written but not really spoken in South Africa, was the only alternative. But now that Afrikaans has become the language of South Africa *par excellence,* one can readily understand that the Afrikaans people can hardly approve of Native schools with entirely English orientation. Similarly, English South Africans who criticise Native education on the score of overemphasising the value of the vernacular would undoubtedly have little sympathy for Native schools which " turned " Afrikaans and excluded English. I am convinced that they would change their ground and would agree that the only procedure equally sound for each and every people, including our South African Natives, is to build up your education on the foundation which is your own. In a vague and by no means consistent manner

the Natives themselves are beginning to feel that they would like to be masters in their own house. They have not yet given much thought to the basic concepts of education and are still mainly interested in its external structure; they would like to control their own schools, to have teachers and inspectors of their own colour only. Intensely proud of the measure of Western civilisation in its English garb which they have been able to acquire, they are becoming impatient of European control which debars them from occupying key positions in their educational system. In this way the tide has begun to run strongly against continued mission control and in favour of community schools under direct departmental supervision.

As the mission Churches have allowed the State to relieve them of practically all financial obligations in respect of Native schools, a fact of which educated Natives are fully aware, it is difficult to think of any valid argument which could be advanced against this change. In the Transvaal the Hermansburg mission has already requested the Education Department to take over from it all its schools, and the powerful Dutch Reformed Church has fully endorsed this decision in principle, although it holds that the transfer of schools from mission to Government control should not be effected piecemeal, but that the Government should itself take action and acknowledge its duty to take charge of Native education as part of its trusteeship responsibilities. Certain Churches hold that it is their sacred duty to attend to the educational needs of their flock and that they can under no circumstances agree to transfer their schools to a secular agency. Whether this view can be upheld in a country like South Africa, where the Dutch Reformed Church is the only one that represents a very substantial portion (about half) of the European population, is very questionable. Certainly no Church can accept total Government support and still continue to claim the right of unilateral control.

There are a number of thoughtful and thought-provoking publications which deal critically with the various problems of Native education. C. T. Loram published his authoritative *Education of the South African Native* in 1917. This was followed by a strong plea for a more liberal policy of education in E. H. Brooke's *Native Education in South Africa* (1929). In 1935 a most useful and comprehensive report by an interdepartmental committee of experts came to hand, in which many of the recent improvements already mentioned were recommended. One of the main contentions of this report was that one must take a realistic view and educate the Native so as to prepare him for a useful life in the complex South African community as it exists to-day, that this includes adaptation to European circumstances of life. This view was then modified by stating that in a country where the Europeans permanently held the dominating position a realistic programme of education could not offer the full range of educational facilities to the Natives.

This report led to a very spirited rejoinder from the Native Affairs Commission in their report for the year 1936, in which it was pointed out that the current of Native education with its adaptation ideals ran counter to the country's recognised policy of segregation, and that the position would have to be regularised by embarking on a definite programme of " Bantuising " Native education, that is to say, stressing all the valuable elements in Bantu culture and encouraging the Natives to use these in building up a modernised Bantu culture.

A further comprehensive study of Native education was made by B. F. Nel, who published his stimulating *Naturelle opvoeding en Onderwys* in 1942, in which for the first time the views of the liberal Afrikaans-speaking community were clearly analysed and a programme, much on the same lines as that of the Native Affairs Commission but going into constructive detail, was recommended.

Valuable constructive suggestions on the development of Native reserves are made in Report No. 9 of the Social and Economic Planning Council of 1946. But its programme is far too limited in scope.

The idea that Bantu manpower should be employed primarily in the interest of Bantu economic development should be applied to a far greater extent than is advocated in this report.

(c) Constructive Measures.—The critics of Native education in its present form are perfectly right when they assert that there is room for much improvement, but, in my opinion, their diagnosis of the situation leaves the vital point undetected.

In my short and, I fear, very inadequate account I have tried to bring out this one point clearly, and I must now gather up the threads to follow the argument right to the end.

One thing stands out clearly, and that is that the Union has no reason to fear criticism on the score that it spends too little on non-European services. Its record in that respect stands unequalled. In fact its expenditure on the education of less than half of the potential Native school population raises doubts as to whether the Government has not already overstepped the mark in furnishing services at such an expensive level.

The inadequacy of our present system of Native education is not caused by an attitude of niggardliness, but is rooted in the circumstance that the Union, while it has developed to a status of political and cultural majority, has not yet outgrown its former colonial status in regard to Native education.

The question of providing the kind of education which will create happy racial relations in this country is of such vital importance that this task cannot be satisfactorily undertaken by anyone but the South African people itself.

Inestimable harm has already been done by allowing strangers, however well disposed, to do this work for us, because their

handling thereof has in many cases had a vitiating effect on the relations between Europeans and non-Europeans.

The people of South Africa, which has attained maturity in this country, is the only body competent to deal with this matter. It must now give its Government, which is already paying the full cost of non-European education, the mandate to declare Native education a national service and to recondition it so that it will truly serve its purpose.

As national service it must be extended to all, for carefully planned training will obviously make the Natives more useful partners in building up the country's economy.

In this extension scheme the training of leaders deserves priority. Remarkably enough the traditional leaders of the Natives, namely their hereditary chiefs, have been allowed to remain ignorant and magic-ridden men. These men must now be trained for their work of building up progressive communities.

Another matter calls for immediate reform. No system of education can be worth while if it is subject to various limitations and does not offer full scope of development to optimum capacity. If the Natives, as we have reason to believe, are a virile and progressive people, then they cannot and may not be satisfied with anything less than the fullest opportunity of development. In these circumstances one cannot but regard with grave misgiving the views expressed by the Native Laws Commission in its report which has just been released. In this report the old slogan that South Africa's future must be built up on "white man's brain and black man's brawn" is reiterated in the slightly amended form, that the two pillars indispensable to the national economy of South Africa are "on the one hand European initiative, organisation and technical skill, on the other hand no less the availability of a few million Native labourers." The fact that this report has been called "a document of paramount importance" by the most influential section of the South African Press, including even the organ of liberal opinion, indicates that very many South Africans are greatly relieved to find that this Government Commission has expressed itself in favour of the present shortsighted economic policy, which is based on the assumption that Native labour will remain cheap permanently.

It requires no great acuity to see that an economy which depends on the availability of a constant supply of cheap Native labour implies for its successful functioning to a negative, if not actually repressive, attitude in regard to the legitimate desire of the Natives to rise to a higher standard of culture and living. In a system evolved on the basis of such an attitude there is no place for "initiative, organisation and technical skill," existing and potential, of the Natives of South Africa, but only for their labouring millions.

It stands to reason that the Natives cannot accept this stratification, but that they will ceaselessly demand equal opportunities and ultimately equal rights, while white South Africa will employ every conceivable retardation device. So much bitterness born of frustration will vitiate the relations between black and white that, given the power to do so, the Natives in their turn would be tempted to reverse the position.

We must, therefore, be realistic and honest in this matter of education. We know and we agree that racial relations would rapidly deteriorate if the Natives were granted full potential equality within the same community as the Europeans. We are advocating full opportunities for the Natives in their own spheres of life. A progressive people of 8 million souls surely offers unlimited scope of success to the gifted.

This presupposes, however, a complete reorientation of the traditional views. It means that the Natives must not only be permitted but also encouraged and prompted to march forward in every sphere of life: in agriculture, in industry, in trade, and in the professions, and that no white man will be permitted to occupy remunerative posts created by such development.

It may be difficult to visualise a revolutionary scheme of such magnitude. But instead of dismissing the idea, which offers the one and only solution of our racial problems, as fantastic, we must at least test out in a suitable Native area the general improvability of a Native community. If undertaken in a spirit of real helpfulness the experiment will succeed and point the way to further success.

W. W. M. Eiselien.

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SECTION IV

THE CARIBBEAN AND SOUTH AMERICA

Introduction

THE five articles of this section are devoted to Latin America. The term " Latin " cannot be applied to the twenty American Republics in the same sense as it is used as regards Italy, Spain, or Portugal. The population of these countries is a mixture of three races, European, Indian, and African, of which not more than half is of purely European origin. The three races are unequally distributed throughout the area, so that the whites predominate in the moderate zone of South America, in Argentina, Chile, Uruguay, and Southern Brazil. The Indians and the Mestizos predominate in the north-western part of South America and Central America, in Bolivia, Paraguay, Peru, Ecuador, and Mexico, and Guatemala, whilst the Negroes and Mulattoes are concentrated in the islands and the coast of the Caribbean Sea. By origin, thus, only the predominantly white countries can be properly called " Latin ", whilst the others are Indian, Mestizo, or African. By official language, eighteen Republics are Spanish, one Portuguese—Brazil, and one French—Haiti. But there are still millions of Indians who speak their native languages: Guarani in Paraguay, Aimara and Quechua in Bolivia, Peru, and Ecuador, and Mayan and Nahuac dialects in Guatemala and Mexico. Officially, again, all these Republics are Roman Catholic, but among the Indians and Negroes the Catholic religion is mixed with many beliefs and customs of native origin. Rich in natural resources, these countries until quite recently were dependent on industrial production of the U.S.A. and of Great Britain, and imported their machinery and tools from abroad. The great majority of their peoples are employed in agriculture and still use the old-fashioned methods of production, often inherited from pre-Spanish days. In these circumstances the educational problems of Latin America are of more complex nature than elsewhere. On the economic plane it is the problem of industrial self-sufficiency, towards the solution of which the increased industrialisation during the last war made a rapid stride. From the racial point of view it is the problem of amalgamating three different stocks, which is so well demonstrated in Dr. Freyre's article on Brazil.

From the national point of view it is a problem of creating a new national culture from the contribution of the Spanish and Indian heritages, as described by Dr. Gamio. The linguistic aspect is also

present in those countries where the Indian masses still use their national tongues in daily speech. Thus all four main problems, which are the focal points of this volume, can be studied with profit in the countries of Latin America. The articles of the section do not cover all twenty Latin-American Republics, but present a selection of typical situations and attempted solutions. In this respect the educational policies of Brazil and Mexico deserve special study. Brazil is perhaps the only country in the world which purposefully strives to achieve the amalgamation of white and coloured races through an actual equality of educational opportunities and total absence of colour discrimination. A new "nationality" is being forged from heterogeneous stocks, and a new variation of mainly Latin-European culture is in the process of emergence. The success of the Brazilian experiment—and according to Dr. Freyre's showing it is a success—may prove of inestimable value to the solution of interracial relations in other countries. As interesting and as important is the Mexican experiment of welding two cultures —Spanish and Indian—into something original, which already has contributed new values in arts and crafts, especially in mural painting, to the common treasures of humanity. Dr. Gamio, the well-known pioneer of Indian renaissance, gives an instructive description of the "Educacio Integrale" by which the Mexican Government raises millions of Indian peasants from poverty and ignorance. It should be compared with the Soviet policy in Asiatic areas and with the British and French policies in Africa. The case of Haiti, a black French-speaking Republic, is another highly interesting example of acculturation of the descendants of primitive African slaves to European ways of life.

EDITORS.

CHAPTER ONE

SPANISH AMERICA

EFFECT OF THE WAR ON EDUCATION

OUR fellow educationists overseas will state afresh the problems with which education is faced in their countries. We have been asked to give a short sketch of the position in which educational activities find themselves in the countries of Spanish America. We do not intend to make separate studies of the present state of education and of present tendencies in each of the twenty Ibero-American republics. This would take us beyond the limits of a short article. We shall content ourselves with a statement of the basic foundations underlying educational work in these twenty countries at the present time. It will, of course, be well to emphasise the fact that Latin America was the only great area of the world for which the war was a thing seen from afar that scarcely touched its life.

Away in Europe there was the inferno of war with all its burden of horror, its toll of human suffering, of maimed bodies and homeless orphans, the terror of hunger, sickness and cold, and beneath the embers of that tragedy, rancour and hatred, unextinguishable and liable to break out at any time, and ever present the dread spectre of new wars. Here, in Latin America, if it is not an Eden, there is at any rate peace in the home; we are free of haunting fear, the generous earth yields its plenty to our peoples, and instead of rifles man wields the tools of field and workshop. Years devoted to wild destruction on the one hand, of busy building up on the other.

So startling is this contrast that any traveller arriving unwarned on our continent would be struck at the very moment of setting foot in any one of our ports or of our capitals, choose which he would, by the idea that those years in Europe of the most terrible destruction and devastation known to man were years of the most intense creative activity among us. If some of *our* great cities also present the impression of having undergone bombardment, this is an effect of what we might call a constructive bombardment; it is the wake of the storm of urban progress which has widened streets, opened up avenues, laid out parks and gardens, demolished old buildings, and raised new modern edifices on all sides. Those metallic skeletons whose distorted outlines stand out amid the ruins of the cities of Europe after the passage of the hurricane of fire and steel are the ghosts of buildings that existed once; the skeletons

that rear their heads in our countries belong to those of the near future. This is the fundamental difference between them.

The truth is that never in these lands of the Americas has there been greater constructional activity that during the last war. What we could no longer obtain from abroad we had to make for ourselves. We were, in general, nations that had hitherto produced only raw materials which we exported in return for manufactured goods, and even for the extraction of those raw materials and their conditioning for export we employed foreign technicians. But all has changed; we have transformed ourselves into manufacturers and managers. Mines, waterfalls, agriculture, stockbreeding, fertilisers, in our speeded-up industrialisation, provided new avenues for our agriculturists and industrialists. What is even more important, we have begun to have faith in our own resources. The war forced us into trying out at full capacity our productive potential. The isolation in which we found ourselves because of the great world conflict forced us to think and work on our own account. In the dilemma in which we found ourselves, we sharpened our wits, multiplied our efforts, embarked on new lines of activity, experimented in the search for a solution to our difficulties, and discovered that we could solve very many of them.

We did not, however, give up our cultural interests nor turn our backs upon the foreigner. On the contrary, our countries opened their frontiers to a good number of men of science and learning who, unable to work freely at home, sought the haven of these countries. If it did not seem harsh and cruel to speak of the *benefits* of war, we might say that this influx was an unexpected benefit brought to us by the war.

In this connection, it must be stated that we in Latin America look on culture not as the privilege of any one nation or race or of any special area of the world, but as the property of the whole of mankind, something that we all must know how to turn to good account. It has therefore been our custom to open the windows of our spirit to beneficent influences from outside. In this all of us in Latin America are one. Spain bequeathed us her language, her religion, her traditions; but, equally, France and England, as well as Italy and Germany, in their days of democratic freedom have been our teachers.

Between our different countries there exist fundamental differences which have their origins in the various types of Spaniards who discovered or conquered them and the different types of aborigines they met with. It is obvious that different latitudes breed differences which, too, are fundamental. But this is not the place for enlarging on these questions. What matters for the purposes of this short survey is to bring out the undeniable likenesses of our cultural aspirations.

In a brief journey through the countries of South America a year

or two after the First World War, we noted an extraordinary similarity of outlook in the realms of the spirit and an almost complete identity in our educational problems: illiteracy, lack of adequate premises, the excessive size of classes, primary schools as the only form of education for the masses, insufficient training of teachers, lack of technical schools, the almost complete orientation of secondary education towards the universities, excessively bookish education, lack of relation between education and life alike in rural school, secondary school, and university.

In another tour twenty years later, our problems were still similar, and in the course of visits made in the capitals of seven republics (November 1946), in conversation with leaders in Education, we have had brought home to us a consciousness of the similarity that still exists in our outlooks on cultural questions, a similarity that holds good in the matter of the quickened pace at which progress is being made in all lands.

There is no country in this continent in which, at the present time, talk does not turn on certain common topics of reform. It is true that there has always been talk of reform, but to-day it has become a question of the day throughout the continent and it is only fair to state that almost everywhere we have now passed from words to deeds. Schools are being built, new methods are being tried, technical schools are being established, teachers are being sent to study abroad; in conferences of experts, problems of all kinds are being thrashed out systematically and thoroughly and with the greatest goodwill. Syllabuses are being reformed and prominence is being given in curricula to disciplines aiming at the development of personality. The school which merely teaches subjects no longer satisfies; it must educate too. It is now something more than a mere empty phrase to say that the people are sovereign, and this sovereignty has therefore to be trained for deliberately and on a broad basis. Attention is being paid to popular demands and not merely because of electoral considerations. The fact is that the masses have overflowed into the secondary school and the university and to political power, a fact of the highest importance.

The war has put no obstacle in the way of educational progress in this part of the world. Rather, along with more ample financial resources, and balances in our favour, there have come wider developments in the field of education. Budgets for cultural purposes have doubled and trebled in a number of countries. Some countries have built more schools, established more libraries and laboratories, and widened their general cultural activities to a greater degree during the five years of war than in the two preceding decades.

The only retrogression in the world of culture was the closing of the German and Italian schools, but this loss was only

apparent since these schools which at one time had been undoubtedly a valuable cultural asset were beginning to be, at the time of their closure, centres of political propaganda, in complete opposition to the democratic ideals categorically supported by all the governments of this continent and even by those whose tendencies and actions have offered a grotesque contrast to their expressed opinions.

Having said how alike are the cultural problems in the Latin-American countries, let us give a few examples of points of similarity.

Illiteracy

Statistics show that, except in the case of three or four of the countries of Latin America, illiteracy is a universal problem, generally in respect of more than 50 per cent. of their populations. The causes of so backward a state of affairs are well known: our populations are scattered over very wide areas, not all of which have rapid means of communication; work on the land calls for the help of children at an early age, and the need for teaching country children to read and write is not realised, there being no occasions, as agricultural workers themselves say, for them either to read or write. Governments have been consistently insensitive to the urgency of the need for enlightening the masses, and although there is no country in Latin America which has not made education compulsory by law, this measure has, in large degree, remained in abeyance: in rural districts, for lack of means to render compulsion possible; in urban areas because, although existing Government schools have been added to considerably in recent years they still, in many countries, are insufficient to accommodate the pupils who wish to attend them even without the whip of compulsion.

All these countries are conscious of the gravity of the problem and are striving to wipe out the shameful slur of illiteracy. To this end peripatetic schools have been started; schools have been built in "strategic" positions in country areas which draw their children from the surrounding districts; free transport services have been established for the people in outlying places; thousands of primers have been distributed; clubs and philanthropic societies have been founded for illiterates and for adults; primary night school classes and university extension courses for the masses have been on the increase.

Furthermore, all sorts of efforts have been made to double or treble the capacity of the crowded primary schools in places where there is a large demand on the part of the masses. The commonest solution is that of alternating schools: three days' work for one set, three days for another; schools with morning and afternoon change-overs or three-shifts-per-day schools.

Illiteracy is by no means the same problem in urban areas as in

the country. Rarely does it exceed 20 per cent. in the towns, whereas in the country it often reaches the 80 per cent. or 90 per cent. mark, and in some remote places 100 per cent.

But illiteracy alone does not give a complete measure of the backwardness of the people. There are things that are more serious even than ignorance: disease, miserable living conditions, the lack of a consciousness of self-respect and of human dignity. To combat these ills we have to go much farther than mere teaching to read. We have got to educate and create social services, and this is precisely what some Latin-American countries are doing.

Rural Schools

Three-fourths of the population of Latin America live in rural areas. Rural education, therefore, assumes the greatest importance in all the countries of the continent. Unfortunately the curricula for these schools have scarcely ever taken any account of local background; the people of the countryside had for a long time lost confidence in the type of school that taught children nothing that had any relation to their lives. Training colleges for rural teachers have for some years now been changing this state of things by turning out men and women imbued with a new spirit. The teachers trained in these colleges realise that before teaching a child to read and write he has to be taught to live at a higher level than is usually the case. This new type of teacher will be trained to teach a child to understand the background in which he lives and to live successfully in it. He realises too that teaching is only one part of his function, and that the great part of his energy has to be dedicated to inculcating in his pupils basic habits: hygiene habits, a feeling for orderliness, habits of industry; a generous spirit of co-operation; moral discipline and a powerful consciousness of self-respect.

The rural teacher has got to concern himself with the way in which the countryman lives his life, with his customs, the sort of house he lives in, the food he eats, the problems of his home. His mission is a crusade. Such he should consider it to be, from the very day on which he takes over the school of which he is to be in charge.

All this is very easy to put down in words, but not so easy to carry into effect. The task is, however, being grappled with all over the continent, and results none the less surprising for being as yet on a modest scale are beginning to take shape.

For the moment, school inspectors are devoting themselves to turning to good account the work already in hand. These inspectors are not the ferocious officials who used to swoop down suddenly on a school to ferret out some irregularity or other, and sent in reports which generally led up to legal proceedings, or who only considered their missions complete when they were sure that

they had intimidated the teacher in question. Inspectors nowadays have a clear mission: they are inspirers of, and collaborators in, the work of the teachers.

The Spirit of the New Primary Schools

Even though in some countries the term *revolutionary* has been applied to the new primary school we need not therefore assume that the school must be in a state of perpetual revolution. The word *progressive* is perhaps more appropriate to these schools with their new aims and new techniques. What is needed in fact is a new kind of institution in a permanent state of development, a school in which both teachers and pupils shall be constantly active, a school for observation of and experiment in educational activities, a school providing opportunities for work in which the pupils do not repeat from memory things they do not understand and which discipline neither mind nor will; we require a school which prepares its pupils, not exclusively for examinations, but first of all and above all for life.

This new primary school must serve the whole community, and not exist as did the old official schools simply for orphans or the very poor, a fact which inevitably intensified class distinctions. The necessitous pupil in the new State school finds various social amenities to help him: meals, medical services, dental clinics, free textbooks, materials, etc., and even holiday camps for the recovery of health or just simply for rest. Everything which can directly help the impecunious pupil is offered to the masses with increasing liberality by national Governments, local authorities, or private charities.

In the majority of Latin-American countries the primary school provides courses extending over five or six years and teaches the same basic subjects as in other parts of the world; it is clear, however, that no one is satisfied with the mere teaching of reading, writing, and arithmetic. Everywhere results of greater sociological import are sought for: hence the ever-increasing demands in the matter of the kind of training the teacher should receive. Unfortunately the remuneration that these public servants receive bears no relation to what is expected of them, and in this as in other fields men teachers are steadily drifting away from the primary school, and are being replaced by women with their greater spirit of self-effacement and their less ambitious demands on life.

The Problem of Secondary Education

Secondary education throughout Latin America is seeking to concern itself more closely with life. It attempts to train its pupils for citizenship and not exclusively for the university. The purely intellectual type of secondary school is no longer approved of in any of the countries.

We have before us the curricula of the majority of Latin-American countries and, in the case of all but two, we find that the school course consists of six years, four of general education and two of more or less markedly specialised studies. This similarity of set-up has made it possible to arrive at agreements between the countries concerned on mutual recognition of courses of study and examination certificates. On the question of these academic titles, we must point out that the term *bachiller* is used in various countries, not to denote a person who has completed a university course but one who has merely finished a secondary school period of study in the so-called *bachillerato* course. In certain countries they have gone so far as to award the rather grandiose title, and the relevant diploma, of *Bachiller Elemental* to those who have completed the first four years of the secondary course.

Speaking generally, the secondary curriculum in Latin America for the four-year common course takes the following form: the four great disciplines which run right through the four-year course; mathematics (arithmetic, algebra, plane and solid geometry); natural science (elementary biology, physics and chemistry, botany, zoology, physiology, and physiology and hygiene); social studies (geography, history, civics); the mother tongue, which is no longer to be merely a study of grammar and spelling but serious work on a real cultural medium which will have its place in all the other subjects. This curriculum is supplemented on the one hand by the study of foreign languages—compulsory English and French in most of the countries—and physical and social education, manual work, drawing, singing and music, which will be found in all curricula.

In the fifth and sixth years the curriculum branches out on three lines: arts, mathematics and biology, or pure science. Optional periods during the four-years common course have been made available for Latin and other subjects for those who wished to strike out early on particular lines.

The preceding outline would perhaps appear as being rather over-simplified if all the curricula were examined in detail. Such an examination would show that in some countries specialisation may start as early as the first year in the secondary course, while in others the opposite tendency is found and general education is carried on into even the fifth and sixth years which we have indicated as the years of specialisation. This is exceptional and the general tendency is as indicated in the outline given above.

We must, however, stress the fact that throughout the whole continent emphasis is being laid on the policy of extending to all children opportunities for enjoying the benefits not only of primary education but of secondary education which in the past had been reserved to the children of better-class families, white-collared workers as the Anglo-Saxon world has it. The fact is that the

secondary school now emerges as the natural step on the educational ladder from the primary school and not as an ante-room to the university. As a matter of fact entries to the secondary school are more numerous and more varied in type than ever before, extraordinarily heterogeneous from the point of view of the types of home from which pupils come, the fields of interest, the careers aimed at, the capacity of the pupils; and it is not unreasonable to suppose that not all this crowd of pupils will go on to the university.

In view of this fact Governments find themselves seriously concerned with the question of vocational guidance, and already in some official prospectuses there appear particulars of the establishment of the post of careers master, a specialist member of the teaching staff of every secondary school whose function it is to help pupils to choose the most suitable of the optional courses and to direct the lines of the pupils' studies throughout the school course.

The keenness of the desire that now exists to integrate the whole secondary curriculum and to make it a living whole is clear. We are increasingly realising that the various branches of study are not isolated parcels of knowledge to be studied independently of one another, but basic foundations of general culture, logically co-ordinated, and constituting in consequence a balanced body of school subjects required for the training of the mind.

Furthermore we ought to stress the importance that is being attributed in the progressive schools of the continent to the wider educational ideals of the schools at the secondary level. The training of character, moral discipline, the cultivation of chivalrous behaviour and clean thinking, and of conceptions of gentlemanliness and politeness as rules of life, have come as they ought into the forefront in such institutions.

Methods

In reply to the question, what methods are now being used in schools in Latin America, the answer would have to be "all in general and none in particular." In any case it is not the method that counts but the teacher who puts it into practice. As is the teacher, so is the school; this is a fundamental truth: hence the importance of the training institutions in which the new approach to education is to be imparted.

Methods have been adapted to the pursuit of new objectives. When learning by rote was the be-all and end-all it sufficed to give practice in learning by memory and to inflict punishments if things were not remembered. Now, as we have pointed out, the objectives have changed. Lessons must be alive and the pupils must take an active part in them. No longer is the dissertation method considered satisfactory, nor constant monotonous dictation on the part of the teacher followed by slavish repetition on that of the

pupil. The teacher has all the time to be bringing his knowledge up to date and the pupil has to acquire, not only information, but habits of work. Evidence of this tendency is offered by the popularity that has been found by the so-called "Laboratory" Method and "Assignments" Method, which force the teacher actually to be a pupil himself, while the pupil has to carry out investigations, find reasons for things, and train his mind to find solutions to problems. In these conditions the classroom will no longer be a lecture-room but a workshop—a veritable laboratory for the study of things and ideas.

Despite everything, these methods, as is always the case when changes and matters of real importance are in question, are meeting with active opposition, much of it from teachers themselves. Opposition arises from the most varied sources: fixed routine with its terror of anything new; laziness which runs away in advance before the effort that would seem to be going to be needed for the modification of accepted methods; scepticism which finds food for doubt in everything; pedantry which criticises everything because the pedant always knows everything better than everybody else. Fortunately there are teachers faithful to the calls of their conscience to stand up against all these forms of opposition, men and women possessed by faith, who work hard and apply their minds to their labours, who put heart and mind into what they are about, who each day aspire to be "greater than yesterday but less great than to-morrow." While others argue, these go forward with the reform of worn-out systems, quietly sowing the seeds of spiritual progress wherever their way may lie. We find ourselves increasingly in agreement on fundamentals without actually having met together to discuss them; the urgency of present needs itself drives us to agreement. For a long time we have been arguing as to whether we ought to philosophise first and then act, or vice versa. To-day we seem to be convinced that there is nothing to be gained by arguing this point and that we must do both, theorise and act, act and theorise, in turn.

As regards reforms already legislated for, it must not be supposed that all have been carried into effect or that they are even in course of being realised. Many reforms have remained on paper. Spiritual changes call for a different and more complex procedure than do material changes. There is a good deal of difference between, on the one hand, demolishing a tumble-down old house and erecting a modern edifice on the site, and on the other, attacking the bastions of routine for the purpose of opening these to spiritual renewal. A decree or a law providing for reform is in the nature of a declaration of war against what is, but afterwards has to come general mobilisation, and there has to exist the will to battle: many encounters will have to follow before victory will be achieved.

Nevertheless, reforms have been brought about without their ever having been the subject of decrees. They have emerged from the general body of the community. Oftentimes they have been nothing more than a spark from some enlightened mind or from a mind that has rebelled against things as they are, a spark that in turn became a flame. It is heartening to recognise in each of the countries of this continent the existence of a little group of ardent toilers in the field of education. Such have kept alight the torch of progress through every vicissitude.

The University

Higher education has not remained outside the movement for reform. Many are the universities of Latin America whose roots are centuries deep but which for all that have not turned their backs on the present. Such have succeeded in bringing Tradition into harmony with Reason, and to-day they rival one another in their enthusiasm for progress without being false to their traditions.

At one time, the universities possessed only Faculties of Theology, Philosophy and Letters, Law, Medicine, and perhaps Engineering. Now they are the richer for Higher Schools of Science, Agriculture, Veterinary Science, Chemistry, Pharmacy, Dentistry, Architecture, Pedagogy, Fine Arts, Physical Education, and Commercial Administration, and many of them possess institutes of scientific research, sumptuous libraries, magnificent laboratories, wireless stations, cinematograph projectors, printing presses—indeed all the vehicles of modern culture. The opportunities that the student of to-day enjoys from this technical and cultural training have been enriched by concerts, exhibitions of works of art, both local and from abroad, advanced lectures, facilities for travel, locally, farther afield in the home country, or to foreign countries.

Those who guide the destinies of the universities have for some years now been increasingly preoccupied with furnishing our young people with something more than a narrow professional training. They are concerned to inculcate in the young generation a very real civic conscience. They are not satisfied merely to ensure that the individual shall enjoy material well-being. Beyond this they seek to develop in him a spirit of co-operation as a contribution to the general well-being of the community. The acquisition of knowledge and the building of character go hand in hand in the task the universities have set themselves.

As a matter of fact the universities, like other branches of education, are not content merely to instruct; they wish to educate, too. They realise that their mission is at once to impart knowledge and to educate.

Possessed of lofty ideals the universities aspire to being not only

the brains of the nations of Latin America but the guardians of their highest spiritual values, the keepers of their conscience.

A university so inspired would merit the most generous backing of the people and a wide measure of independence. It may be said that, in general, the universities of Latin America possess intellectual freedom but are not as yet economically independent. With tuition fees almost non-existent, while endowments are the exception, university finance is dependent almost entirely on Government grants. The private universities, of which some have justifiably secured an international reputation, enjoy a high degree of financial independence, thanks to the generous support of individual citizens. Private benefactors rarely support Government-sponsored universities, judging the support of these institutions to be the concern of the Government involved.

It is a fortunate circumstance that the Governments of the greater number of the Latin-American states rival one another in their concern to bestow endowments on their universities on a grandiose scale. There are already a large number of imposing modern buildings in place of the antiquated tumble-down ruins of the past. For ten years now one of the countries of South America has possessed its university city in full working order. In what is known as the "Students' White City," and in which everything is bright and gay, there stand, in the midst of lawns and gardens and lovely avenues, the halls of residence of students and teachers, and the buildings of the various faculties with their libraries, laboratories, and workshops. There on the spot are fields for agricultural experiments, the sports stadium and the playing fields which hold so great a place in the healthy and vigorous development of young people. Everything in these surroundings is conducive to study and meditation as well as to exercise and repose. The University City is the embodiment of all our cultural aspirations.

It remains to point out that all we have said above applies equally to the education of women, but we ought to add that in many parts of the continent equality of opportunity as between men and women is of only recent date. Suffice it to say that if at one time entry to the university was on principle barred to women, and if in the interim period women exhibited a modest shyness over availing themselves of the opportunity to enter the portals of the university, they are now crowding in, a spirited throng, and in some departments they now outnumber the men.

Governments and Cultural Questions

The presidential regime of some Latin-American countries attributes to the head of the State very wide functions; and as the Constitution makes him Supreme Commander of the Army and gives him control of international relations, so also it makes him

supreme head of the educational system. This circumstance has given to those presidents who have been deeply concerned over educational problems the opportunity to bring into effect, in their short period of office of from four to six years, work of permanent importance in all the countries of Latin America. Ministers of Education, for their part, enjoy a wide field of action. Some are assisted by a General Council, others by special Councils for Primary Education, Secondary Education, Technical Education, and so on: in others the Minister has no consultative bodies at his disposal, but has advisers with high qualifications among his heads of departments. In recent years these departments have been increasing in numbers. In addition to Departments for Primary Education, Secondary Education, and the Training of Teachers, there are special departments for the education of women and girls, for Physical Education, Art, Cultural Developments, Missions, Travelling Schools; and in all these departments there may be seen, in the case of most of the countries, the blossoming forth of new departures in the service of the community.

Slowly but surely, a social revolution has been unfolding itself in these countries to the advantage of the masses, different in temper but by no means different in its implications from the French Revolution of 1789 and the Russian Revolution of 1917. The Latin-American Revolution has been achieved without arms, without war, and without the shedding of blood. The civil wars of Latin America, of which so much was heard last century, were in the main wars between political parties seeking to obtain power, in most cases without knowing for what ends. This great social revolution, on the other hand, has been brought about without violating constitutions and with the consent of all parties. The very *coups d'état* in which two or three Latin-American countries have specialised have never called these social demands in question.

The Unity of Latin America

Let us now take a look at Latin America as a whole and consider the possibility and the need for making of this continent, with the aid of education, a strong and harmonious whole, worthy of the respect of peoples outside Latin America. The thing that we must bring out at the present moment is that the continent stands more clearly than it did yesterday, as a new world, not indeed because it was the most recently discovered, but by virtue of its own special ways of life. It is a new world in its vitality, its freshness, its new blood, its fervid ideals, its clear and determined objectives, its humane achievements, its creative impulse.

It must not be imagined that there do not exist wide divergencies between the rates of progress achieved by the different republics. Local economic conditions vary widely, and in some parts the

schools exhibit a poverty of equipment and resources at times quite pitiful. Up and down the continent are to be found communities in a lamentable state of backwardness. Public feeling and interest in schools and in educational questions generally are not, of course, identical in all parts. Independence is not equally widely interpreted in educational circles in all countries. In some there is lacking the stimulus of private enterprise and the healthy competition it engenders. The Indian problem is not the same in countries such as Colombia, Venezuela, Uruguay, Argentina, and Chile as it is in Mexico, Peru, Ecuador, and Paraguay. In the latter group of countries, large groups of human beings speak a language quite different from Spanish and have never become really assimilated. In Colombia and Venezuela the Indians have almost completely merged with the white population. In Chile the Araucano is now only a racial memory. In Argentina and Uruguay, too, there may be said to be no native problem. But despite all these differences, which sometimes include widely varying ways of life within the same country, we may still lay stress on the essential similarity of the great problems facing educationists throughout the length and breadth of the continent. These problems, when all is said and done, present very similar characteristics both in their sources of origin and their implications.

To aggressive nationalisms we can exhibit a generous continental spirit, conscious of the interdependence in which we live and with the great lesson that two world wars have left us present before our eyes. There is no doubt that this continent is, as has been said so many times, full of glorious promise for humanity. In a continent so fresh and rich as our own there could indeed be forged a new destiny for the world.

All the conditions exist for our different countries' coming into the closest union: there is nothing that should divide us. Bolivar's ideal is still a living ideal. For the liberators the word America (i.e. *South* America) was the name of a country. The generation that gave the continent liberty never considered it had completed its task as soon as the country to which it belonged felt itself free, but that the destiny of each country was closely bound up with that of all the others, and that once liberty had been attained in their own area it was imperative to lose no time in coming to the aid of other peoples who were still struggling for the same ideal.

One thing is certain, we forgot that lesson and became from the spiritual point of view a mere archipelago and a continent only in the physical sense. But fortunately for us all links have begun to be forged to build together more closely all these scattered islands of the spirit, which have so great need of brotherly understanding. This question of mutual understanding is another of the problems that the schools have got to solve. The problem is not merely educational, it is cultural.

Education a Universal Question

To sum up, we desire schools which shall train human beings and not merely supply information. We desire schools within the reach of all, schools that are " functional," human, closely related to life, rich in civic outlook, and not impoverished by the short-sighted outlook of the teachers, whether at the higher or lower levels, who cannot see beyond the walls of the classroom. We want schools with a universal outlook, schools which shall sow in the hearts and minds of new generations seeds of beauty, justice, and goodness.

AGUSTÍN NIETO CABALLERO.

CHAPTER TWO

IBERO—INDIAN COUNTRIES

INTERPLAY OF INDIAN AND EUROPEAN CULTURES

The Interplay of Indigenous and European Elements in Education and Culture in the Western Hemisphere

THE study of cultural developments which began thousands of years ago in the New World throws an interesting light on the peoples who inhabit the continent to-day and on their particular way of life. This is especially true in the case of countries in which Indians and half-breeds constitute the major part of the population, as in Bolivia, Ecuador, Guatemala, Mexico, Paraguay, and Peru. These cultural developments have all the virtues and all the shortcomings that go with isolated, spontaneous growth. We feel, however, that the time has come to take a hand in directing their course, at any rate in certain of their aspects, by making use of educational measures: otherwise, there will be danger of degeneration into a hybrid or colourless culture instead of one in which valuable and original contributions both native and European may each find a place in a perfect and harmonious combination.

Before the discovery of the American continent the culture of these peoples (Mayas, Incas, Toltecas, etc.) possessed material and spiritual forms of expression of unquestioned importance, and which in certain respects have profoundly influenced not only the American continent but the whole world. Such, for instance, was the cultivation for domestic use of valuable vegetable products such as maize, quinine, cocaine, potatoes, tobacco, cocoa, rubber, and others too numerous to mention here which are now used throughout the world. Rich and varied forms of the visual arts had been evolved, and they found expression in majestic works of architecture, such, for example, as those of the Mayas, whose earliest buildings were already standing when the peoples of Europe, with the exception of Greece and Rome, were living in the most primitive conditions. The peoples of South America possessed a picturesque mythology in which the galaxy of gods included deifications of the stars, of meteorological phenomena, of geographical features, of animals, flowers, love, death, birth, war, industry—in a word, the whole world and man and his activities. This wonderful pantheon was the inspiration of the symbolic artistic themes that characterised almost every object, from the most magnificent temple to the wearing apparel of the humblest woman. The calendar was at as high a stage of progress as the European calendar could have been with

its Julian and Gregorian corrections. The legal systems possessed so many excellent features that many of their provisions are similar to, or identical with, those of the most progressive laws of our own day.

In the sixteenth century the American continent was invaded by European cultures of Iberian and Anglo-Saxon types, and to a much smaller extent by Oriental culture on the Chinese pattern. There began between these cultures and the indigenous culture of the continent a long and interesting sequence of contacts, which lasted till the early years of the nineteenth century, when the Latin-American countries attained their independence; thenceforth the influence of European culture was broadened by contributions from the cultures of France, Italy, etc.

Probably the series of inter-cultural contacts in the Latin-American countries developed along the following lines, though with slight variations. The evolution of the main indigenous cultural elements came to a standstill: such were architecture, religion, mythology, the calendar, legislation, lapidary art, gold and silver work, etc. Despite this fact, however, they exerted a powerful influence on their foreign counterparts, as may be observed, for example, in the particularly artistic character imparted to colonial-period buildings by native artisans, in provisions contained in the famous Laws of the Indies, and in the pagan-catholic religion which is still practised in thousands of country places. Among the Indians there still survive, with relatively few variations, many other minor cultural elements dating from before the coming of the white man: dwellings, vegetable foods, household utensils, systems of cultivation, agricultural and industrial implements, etc. Among the half-breed populations of those countries may be observed both the co-existence, in varying proportions, of native and European cultural elements, and the fusion of elements from both cultures. From them will evolve in time a rich and colourful Indo-Occidental culture.

One of the finest material expressions of that culture may be found in the local industries typical of Mexico, Peru, Guatemala, etc., which are an important source of income and a fine expression of the spirit of the people: ceramics, lacquer work, yarns and fabrics, gold and silver filigree, local costume, etc. But these industries may degenerate and in some cases they have degenerated, because the great demand which, on occasion, they enjoy leads those who are engaged in them to turn them over to mass production, either mechanising processes or speeding up manual techniques to a harmful extent. This problem can be solved by limiting production to its earlier proportions but raising selling prices; furthermore, mechanisation must be restricted to the preparation of raw materials, as, for example, in working up clay for pottery, in preparing fibres for weaving, etc. But honour must be paid to

manual work, for it is manual work which gives artistic expression, personality, and distinction to the finished article.

It may happen that the consumers of the products of these industries, with their doubtful tastes, exert an undesirable influence on the craftsmen by imposing on them gaudy designs and decorative schemes in place of those they had traditionally used: this has a bad effect on production, and it is therefore necessary to explain to both sides the undesirability of such practices.

In the Indian and even in the half-breed there still exist in a dormant state, but potentially capable of coming to the surface again, the mental aptitudes which were the source of the lofty cultural creations to which we have drawn attention, the only thing needful being the application of the necessary stimulus. We may mention here that twenty-five years ago we succeeded in Teotihuacan, Mexico, in bringing to life again the production of articles of jewellery and other objects made of obsidian, an industry which flourished before the days of Columbus but declined during the colonial period. To this end it sufficed to track out the forgotten deposits of the raw material and to supply simple implements for cutting and polishing it; with no other help the craftsmen of the region once more carried out the kind of work their forefathers had produced. The sale of their work is bringing them in an appreciable income.

In conclusion, another point to keep in mind would be the suggestion that among the historical studies to be introduced in the schools, and particularly in rural schools, should be included the old indigenous mythology, since it was this mythology that inspired the highest aesthetic forms of expression in those days. Some of these forms could be got going again, brought into line, of course, with the times in which we live.

The Education of Indians in Latin America

Many and differing are the definitions of the word " education " to be found in dictionaries and encyclopaedias. As, however, it would be out of place to set them out here or even to embark on a discussion of them, we make bold to put forward a definition which we believe has special relevance to the particular subject that we are about to consider—namely, the education of Indians in the American continent, with special reference to those living in Latin-American countries. The idea of education we have in mind is the sum total of the material and spiritual media by which native communities should be enabled to rise from lower levels of development to higher and better standards on the lines most suited to local conditions. This does not necessarily imply that on the lower stages of human development all aspects of human existence are abnormal or harmful, while at the higher levels everything is just as it ought to be: in fact the very opposite is sometimes the case,

as may be seen, for example, if we consider the ever-increasing human and material destructiveness of the wars in which the most civilised nations take part, while at the same time there still exist certain irreplaceable art treasures produced by primitive races and which rival those of more highly developed peoples, etc. We do believe, however, that speaking generally our definition is valid, and upon it we base the following arguments. Without being pessimistic we may express an opinion that, within the meaning of our definition, no one has, up to the present, tried out or even attempted an outline of the principles and methods for the education of communities of native peoples on the American continent, and particularly of those living in the Latin-American countries, in relation to their backwardness and their ways of life, which still belong to stages of social evolution incomparably lower than those of the peoples of European extraction who live side by side with them. This state of things is not due to lack of plans for the education of native peoples between the colonial days of Fray Pedro de Gante and Don Vasco de Quiroga and the present time; but rather to a lack of integrated scientific knowledge of their material needs and of their aims and ideas, of what we may express briefly as a knowledge of their truly distinctive character.

A limited number of studies of characteristics of certain indigenous groups has been made, and educational plans for indigenous peoples based on these studies have generally proved one-sided and have failed to achieve the desired objectives.

What is a native community?

As one example of this lack of understanding we may mention the prevailing confusion not only among the general public but also in the best academic quarters when the question of deciding which and how many of the inhabitants of the continent should be looked upon as really " Indians."

If the term " Indians " is not defined clearly at the outset we shall make a lot of blunders, and among them that of applying procedures intended for real Indian populations to non-Indian peoples; or we shall formulate general laws which may have relevance to some but not to others. Theoretically the definition of what constitutes an " Indian " could be based on a variety of considerations, e.g. biological,[1] economic, cultural, and psychological, and it could be laid down with absolute certainty that those individuals and groupings are indigenous in which all these characteristics belong

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[1] We are not referring to " racial " characteristics, because these are included, in a very small measure indeed, within the category " biological "; that is, the race of the individuals whose education is being discussed in these pages is not taken into account at all in the educational schemes outlined below, as anthropological methods do not yet make it possible to differentiate satisfactorily on strictly racial grounds between pure Indians and peoples of mixed race.

quite definitely to indigenous types, and may be considered as survivals from before the discovery of America which have come down unchanged to the present time owing to the fact that they have never come into contact with the white man, his culture or his ideas. Possibly such tribes still exist in the very remote regions of the Amazon basin, though we very much doubt it.

Leaving aside these imaginary tribes, let us now consider native communities that have been in contact, some very slightly and casually, others closely and over a long period, with foreigners and their European civilisation, passing from the lower to the higher levels of evolution and with ever-diminishing rates of biological, cultural, and psychological characteristics of an indigenous type and an increasing ratio of European cultural elements, until we come to communities living in the vicinity of large urban areas with their strong and persistent influence. In these areas the proportion of indigenous elements is so reduced and the new influences have become so great that the peoples settled there can no longer be properly regarded as indigenous. Neither are the educational curricula designed for indigenous peoples suitable or adequate for them. For such communities modern educational schemes are more suitable. Finally, there would be still less justification for considering as " Indians " people who, though biologically of indigenous extraction, had become absorbed psychologically and culturally into the most highly developed levels of human society, as happens in the case of many professional people, scientific workers, church dignitaries, administrators, artists, and others who have distinguished themselves in the Latin-American countries. These considerations make it clear that the classification of indigenous peoples is a very difficult task and the classification we are going to attempt will therefore be only a tentative one. We have to decide, not so much whether this or that section of the population is more or less " Indian," but rather to which of the educational proposals set out below they may be suited.

(*a*) In the Amazon basin, usually in forested areas, are to be found a certain number of primitive communities (the Carajas, the Bororos, the Jibaros, etc.). Such communities are much less common in other parts of the continent (the Motilones in Colombia, the Lacandones in Mexico, the Onas and Alacalufes in the extreme south of the continent, etc.). Though these peoples have had slight and scattered contacts with peoples of European origin, the isolation they so cling to and their generally nomadic lives in distant and not easily accessible regions, as well as the fact that they have spoken only native languages and dialects, have resulted in their having adopted practically nothing of the European culture of which we have been speaking. The few material and spiritual innovations from outside have embraced some metal articles, cheap ornaments, sugar cane, alcohol, an occasional superficial trace of

Christian influence on traditional paganism, and one or two other examples. Their remaining cultural elements have come down to them in the indigenous tradition. The ratio of these to the whole probably exceeds 90 per cent. These are certainly the most genuinely "Indian" of the indigenous inhabitants of the continent. It is they, too, who call for the most careful scientific investigation and well-designed educational programmes, because they have shown an alarming tendency to die out—a tendency in large measure due to their contacts with white men, few as these contacts have indeed been. As a matter of fact the processes of adaptation and natural selection that have been at work among these peoples for thousands of years in the areas where they live have endowed them with powerful biological resistance to specifically local diseases and the ill effects arising from geographical factors. They are omnivorous and their diet is a fairly balanced one, including as it does meat and fish, obtainable from hunting and fishing, as well as vegetable foods from the woods or produced by their own primitive agriculture. The water they drink and in which they generally wash is pure, for in the remote and sparsely populated regions in which they dwell there are few sources of contamination. Open-air life and sunshine invigorate their bodies. Unfortunately, the benefits cancel out when the white man comes into contact with these people, and hitherto unknown diseases are encountered. In the absence of the appropriate treatment for fighting and eradicating these diseases, there is a very high rate of mortality among the victims thus left to their fate. Drinks of high alcoholic content, too, are a serious menace to health, for the fermented drinks to which the people have been used are of a very low alcoholic content.

(*b*) Groups of people under this head are of a more highly developed type than those in section (*a*), but they have this in common that they all use indigenous languages and dialects almost exclusively. This circumstance in itself is evidence that the indigenous elements referred to above are predominant in these groups of population. They live in less distant and isolated areas and their contacts with European cultural and social influences are more frequent and sustained, or they may even be continuous.

Consideration may be given in this section to those sub-groupings of which a substantial proportion of the persons included in them, in addition to speaking an indigenous language, also speak the national language of the area, even if very imperfectly. Among these bilingual individuals, however, the ratio of native cultural elements appears to be almost as high as is the case among those who speak only an indigenous language. In Mexico, for example, each of the two groups numbers something over a million.

(*c*) Among the communities under this heading the imported language is dominant: the use of indigenous languages has dis-

appeared, and if a few individuals here and there still speak them the common bond of local language can no longer be taken as a basis for classification, which can be made only in a qualitative or quantitative assessment of the indigenous and European physical and cultural characteristics respectively to be observed among these peoples. The results of this method of classification would provide pointers to the suitability to this or that group of the educational curricula drawn up for the specifically indigenous groupings referred to above; in which cases they must be combined with the curricula intended for urban areas developed on modern lines and in which the latter should be used exclusively, in view of the small measure of indigenous elements still surviving among these communities.

Integrated Studies of Native Communities

All aspects of the life of an indigenous community or of any other population grouping are interdependent and interacting. If, therefore, in investigating them we do not consider them as a whole, or if we omit some of them, the body of knowledge so acquired will be haphazard and incomplete. This is borne out, with rare exceptions, in the thousands of studies that have been made on indigenous peoples, studies which, furthermore, hardly ever offer constructive suggestions but rather are completely theoretical and academic.

Though ethnologists have carried out numerous inquiries into the life of Indian tribes and though the strictly scientific value of these investigations is great, in reality there are few practical results that might enable one to guide the evolution and progress of the tribes. The educational programmes that could be derived from such studies remain enclosed within the realm of ethnology and, moreover, leave aside many aspects without which educational proposals would prove inadequate. To take one instance: what has been discovered regarding the ideas formed by primitives about the origin and character of diseases, and the means for curing them, may be very important and yet insufficient for the forming of educational methods which would change and modernise those ideas. Our information would be insufficient if it did not include complementary and indispensable data such as those relating to biological development, as it is affected by the influences exerted on the inhabitants by the bio-geographical environments. Such influences can be investigated only in collaboration with biologists, anthropologists, physicists, geographers, botanists, etc. Certainly, some ethnologists include in their studies information on such matters, but it is always superficial and not the work of specialists —as it should be and as, logically, one might expect it to be, since no one can now demand encyclopaedism in one individual. When attempts have been made to investigate the economic set-up and to make proposals for its improvements, the economist working

alone has been inadequate to the task, since the collaboration of other specialists had to be recruited for the investigation of certain indispensable data: agriculturists for inquiries into the conditions of the present and future possibilities of agricultural production; mineralogists, biologists, and industrial experts to stimulate production in the various small but interesting native industries already in existence, to locate raw materials not yet used in production, etc.

It is often forgotten that the proper understanding of the structure and working of a contemporary native community is closely connected with a knowledge of the development of their forerunners, whether of alien or indigenous origins. It is important to decide what elements still survive and live as dynamic forces, and what elements have disappeared, or what elements have survived in latent form with a possibility of their revival.

So far as we have proceeded in our argument it would seem that studies relating to indigenous communities should not be made by individual investigators but by teams of specialists, not only in the social sciences but in all the sciences, arts, and crafts, and who, since they work together as a team, are imbued with the same spirit, and accept the same aims, will be in a position to contribute to a full and integrated understanding of these communities. As it would not be possible to study at one and the same time all the indigenous communities throughout the continent, we shall have to select a certain number representative of the several levels of social evolution referred to in our paragraphs (*a*), (*b*), and (*c*), and inhabiting regions that may be considered typical geographical areas. It is desirable that, as will be argued later and in greater detail, young people who have had some training—preferably primary school teachers—should work as assistants to the specialists; this would qualify them later on to take part in native education along lines suggested to them by their work as investigators.

Scheme for an Integrated Investigation

We trust that governments, universities, and bodies interested in native problems will draw up satisfactory schemes for co-ordinated studies of communities of indigenous origin. As our modest contribution we set out below an outline scheme, together with a commentary on it. We shall be glad to be informed of errors and omissions, and shall welcome any corrections or modifications that may seem desirable.

Local Bio-geographical Background. Account must be taken of influences both good and bad exerted by topography, hydrography, climate, fauna, flora, minerals, etc., in the region under consideration, on the economic, cultural, and psychological conditions of the native population living there, bringing to light practical means for stimulating the good ones and for checking the bad ones.

Historical and Archaeological Factors: We are not interested in carrying out exhaustive studies of all these factors, but rather in concentrating specically on those which would merit attention for the direct contribution they would make to understanding, and advancing to the fullest possible extent, the material and intellectual progress of native peoples.

Psycho-biology. This inquiry arises not only from the classification of local biological types through somatic, physiological, and psychological conditions and the like, but also from the study of their biological evolution and the factors governing their development. It seeks, furthermore, to advance proposals for rectifying any abnormalities in their development. We must avail ourselves of data relating to the maladies produced by noxious fauna and flora, and we must devote particular attention to those which affect indigenous populations almost exclusively—maladies such as *oncocercosis, mal de pinto,* etc. It is imperative that under the heading of mental testing should be included a consideration of the full significance of these tests. This is sometimes neglected, with the result that the inquiry loses its validity. It is therefore specially important to assess the food value of the customary diet and to suggest alternative or complementary food-stuffs according to local economic possibilities, as, for example, derivatives from the soya bean, which is so rich in proteins and fats, in view of the fact that the usual foods of the Indians are in the main composed of carbohydrates.

Studies in this field must be carefully co-ordinated with investigations into cultural characteristics, which are treated later in this study, since many of them are the root cause of ill health. We may mention, among other examples, that of going barefoot or in sandals, a bad habit, since it leads to parasitic disorders such as uncinariasis, chigoes, etc., and the drinking of contaminated water instead of using it boiled or filtered has serious effects on health.

The Economic Background. The economist must rid himself of certain assumptions through which his academic training might influence his judgement, since, in general, he will have to examine communal or self-contained economics instead of the modern economy about which he has learned in the classroom. If he is to succeed it will be well that he should receive frequent reports on the work of his co-workers in this part of the inquiry, and in particular on that of the ethnologists and bio-geographers.

Cultural Characteristics. True ethnographic study is particularly important, and it must be given close attention and a broad treatment, always bearing in mind that, as was the case in the section on historical and archaeological data, a certain preference must be given to those elements which, on account of their primitiveness or for other reasons, militate more strongly against the cultural development of the native community. With such an

objective in view one could analyse and classify all those characteristics, whether indigenous survivals from before Columbus, or "colonial," or modern European-type elements, on the following lines: (1) "useful and valuable," which must be encouraged, as for instance certain democratic tendencies, artistic forms of expression, and ethical attitudes; (2) "backward," but susceptible of improvement, as is happening, for instance, in the change-over from the colonial-period wooden plough to metal ploughs; (3) "backward," which must be replaced by modern and more effective elements, as is the case with many accepted ideas relating to witches and medicine-men regarding the nature and origin of diseases and certain harmful practices that are used to cure them (there is a need to introduce medical services or to educate these empiricists); (4) "harmful," which must be eradicated in whole or in part, such as high-density alcoholic liquors, cocaine, "marihuana," etc. In co-operation with the economist we must classify manufactured articles as "local," "introduced from other parts of the country," "introduced from foreign countries," "hand-made," "machine-made."

Personality of the Local Community and Indigenous Languages and Dialects. The lack of a satisfactory knowledge of native communities is due to the one-sidedness of the methods generally applied to their study, to which we have already referred, but even the schemes for co-ordinated studies as set out in these pages would prove incomplete if we did not know just how the Indian thinks, what his needs are, what are the aspirations of his material existence and of his spiritual world. It is only thus that his personality can be understood and these needs and aspirations satisfied in a really practical manner and not artificially and fancifully.

It is a very difficult task to acquire an understanding of the personality of groupings of indigenous peoples. The psychological data contained in the psycho-biological investigation are inadequate for the purpose, seeing that for the specialist who investigates them it is quite impossible to determine all the other complementary factors which produce it. Personality can be understood only if the conclusions drawn from mental testing are considered in the light of the psychological influences exerted by tradition, by the bio-geographical background, by normal or abnormal organic functioning of the individual and the group; in short, side by side with all the factors referred to in this outline and perhaps with some others that we have omitted.

When the subjects of investigation are communities speaking only indigenous languages and dialects, the community personality cannot be correctly assessed unless the investigators, or at any rate some of those entrusted with psycho-biological and ethnographical problems, can use these media of expression, since language is the master key which makes it possible to penetrate to the innermost

recesses of the native mind. Very often the interpreter merely passes on superficial and conventional ideas, since in his mind there is a constant struggle between ideas of European origin and indigenous ideas.

Summary

In order to round off the integrated study programme outlined above, it would be well to make a balanced and topical digest of the investigations and conclusions set forth and so to arrive at a comprehensive summary report having as its object to serve as a guide and inspiration to those who will be responsible for devising detailed proposals for the scheme of integrated education, which will be dealt with below.

Programme for an Integrated Scheme of Education (Educacio Integral)

This programme must include, and forge into a nicely balanced whole as regards content and quality, *educational theory on scientific lines and constructive educational practice* adapted to the level of development at which the native communities to be educated stand at the present time. The former starts out from the teaching of the alphabet and basic or elementary knowledge treated in as concrete a manner as possible; the latter aims at making up for the gaps, both material and spiritual, that exist in the lives and backgrounds of individuals and communities so that they may develop along better lines than heretofore.

The most superficial statistical investigation shows that among communities of average or higher levels of development (they usually live in urban centres), a scientific type of education at various levels is as necessary for progress as is food for the maintenance of the functioning of the body, always keeping in mind that in this type of social background illiterate or very slightly educated persons live their lives at a very low level. Among indigenous communities, and in particular among those that speak native languages and dialects, this kind of education is not a matter of such urgency, and the objective should be limited to the imparting of the most elementary knowledge; for it is often observed that in one and the same region members of these communities who are unable to read and write merely vegetate, while living in identical or similar conditions of abnormal biological developments, lack of economic openings, conventional and antiquated ways of thought, etc., with those who can read and write. This is due to a number of causes, which include lack of means for acquiring reading matter and the traditionally hostile attitude towards this kind of education in the past by the backward community to which they belong. On the other hand it is most urgent that these people should be given the practical type of education which shall con-

tribute rapidly and in a constructive manner to the solution of the fundamental problems of their existence. Both children and adults shall receive education of the two types.

After this preliminary general survey let us now turn to specific elements in the scheme of education.

Teaching Personnel

The teaching personnel would be made up of a Director-General, trained educationists, technical specialists, and practical educators. The technical personnel helped by members of the headquarters' staff or others specially employed for the purpose, would be temporary; the others, permanent.

Firstly, the director, or directors, under whose jurisdiction would be placed those native communities selected as the first to be given this education, must be persons of recognised moral standing, clear of politics, thoroughly trained in the social sciences, and with experience of country life in regions populated by indigenous peoples. These officers should exercise constant supervision over and guidance of the educational personnel and keep a check on the progress of the work.

Secondly, trained educationists. The education of native communities is, in general, conducted by rural teachers who have resided in the locality and who themselves live at the same low level of life, both materially and culturally, as those they are to educate. It follows, therefore, that they are unfit to teach their fellows a better way of life or to help to raise their cultural level; they are not therefore fitted to impart the practical type of education we have outlined above, for in general they lack the scientific training needed. When these teachers come from urban centres, in which they have acquired some scientific knowledge, they can impart it more effectively than local teachers; but as they are unfamiliar with the native rural background they are unsuitable for raising the social level of local communities. Consequently it is proposed that educational specialists be recruited from the ranks of the trained native primary school teachers who, having taken part in the scientific investigation, would be imbued by a practical outlook. In the first instance they should be put in charge of the teaching of science and the interpretation of constructive suggestions offered by this report. For various reasons it would be desirable that these teachers should be married and that their wives should possess similar qualifications, for the presence of women teachers is of great importance for the feminine part of the community.

Thirdly, technical specialists. Their services should be used as long as necessary for carrying out the first practical application of the suggestions of the inquiry, preference being given to persons who have taken part in conducting the inquiry: doctors, veterinary surgeons, agriculturalists, industrial experts, economists, etc.

Fourthly, practical educators. Their duties should consist almost exclusively in giving instruction of the practical type by direct, concrete example. It is not a question here of individual teachers but of whole families of predominantly native origin, as regards both blood and traditions. The first and fundamental qualifying fact should be their belonging to levels of evolution considerably higher than that of the communities they are to educate.

Scientific Education

The scheme would start with the teaching of reading and writing: for the groups referred to in paragraph A, this teaching would be both in the native tongue and in the official languages of the various countries. At the same time it would be absolutely necessary to organise a small library, which, as well as giving accommodation for readers, should provide the facilities of a lending library. The books in the lending library must be printed in large, clear type, must be simply written, and if possible contain attractive illustrations; among other subjects those of a local character referred to in the summary report would be very desirable. It would be useful, too, if the chief education authorities brought out weekly publications, for distribution either free or at the lowest possible price in the form of leaflets or small pamphlets containing bright stories, folk-tales, items on games or sports. If this is not done, literacy will be but a barren skill leading nowhere. The teaching of elementary subjects would be very summary and as far as possible concrete and of immediate application. The four basic rules of arithmetic, for example, the metric system, and elementary geometry would be used in the accounts of sales and purchases kept by the pupils, in measuring of plots for cultivation, in calculating the seed that will be needed, in weighing up crops in kilos and tons, etc. In geography, relief maps or picture maps showing the geographical features of the town and locality would be made out of sand, earth, pebbles, stones, branches and foliage: later this treatment would be extended to the province and finally to the whole country. In history it is very important to exhibit in this library objects of local archaeological interest and photographs of great archaeological treasures in countries where such treasures exist, laying stress on the intelligence, the courage, the industry, and the artistic gifts of the native ancestors who had made them. In doing this the main objective is to combat the inferiority complex, from which the native communities often suffer, and to develop their personality.

Study of the elements of natural science must be based directly on the animals, plants, and minerals of the locality in preference to making the pupils read about such things: the same sort of approach should be made to the study of meteorological phenomena,

familiarising the pupils with the use of barometers, thermometers, rain-gauges, etc.

Among native communities, the influence of the mental processes, the customs, the needs and aspirations, that have come down from their ancestors is so powerful, and their resistance to modernisation so great (some of their customs being positively harmful), that the labours of heads of staff and their teachers would be less fruitful than they might be if they failed to inspire absolute confidence in the people. Bitter experience has been responsible for the Indians' believing that to-day, as was the case centuries ago, there is an attempt to snatch from them the things they look on as pleasant and of value, only to continue imposing on them the thoughts and culture of the white man which so far have done little or nothing to alleviate their sorrows and sufferings. It follows, therefore, that the most important qualifications, after those set out above, for heads, schools, and their staffs, should be: an absolute vocation of love and sacrifice in their dealings with the native peoples; respect and consideration for their persons and traditions, seeking to avoid, or with skill, patience, and tolerance to mitigate, the clashes that are inevitable when the antiquated conventional ideas of the pupils are faced with the higher intellectual standards that inspire scientific teaching.

Constructive Education

The specialists, always keeping before their minds the special nature of native mentality, should use their knowledge to ensure that the method they apply should be adapted to it.

In the first instance doctors should endeavour to give an outline of the causes of the commonest local diseases, their prevention, and the value of individual and communal hygiene. Let us take as an example water-borne diseases, which are such a widespread curse of the countryside. We must use the microscope to demonstrate to our pupils the presence of micro-organisms in contaminated water, and the absence of such bodies in pure or boiled water. As it is not everybody who likes the taste of boiled water, we must recommend the frequent use of orange leaves, mint, and other vegetable substances, to add a pleasant flavour, a practice that has for centuries proved its efficacy in Japan and other countries. Only in a few places would it be possible to set medical, clinical, and pharmaceutical services on a very modern scale, for seldom could a doctor and his household settle in places where the native vernacular is used, where the cultural background is poor and backward, and where doctor's fees are often paid in kind, in the form of grain or domestic animals. In such cases we shall have to turn to the system established in a few areas, including the region occupied by the Mosquito Indians of Nicaragua. There, on the initiative of the *Instituto Indigenista Interamericano* (Inter-American

Native Institute), which has its headquarters in Mexico, and of its associated organisation the National Indian Institution of Washington, Dr. Michel Pijoan has given a rudimentary training to the quacks and medicine-men who cure or make a show of curing the Indians of their infirmities. This work is supplemented by the supply either free or at very low cost of certain basic medicines. Similar work has been done by the Mexican Department of Health and Hygiene among local midwives. On occasion one has to allow some credit to the magic ceremonies that the quacks continue to use side by side with the new practices they have been taught, for, although they are generally harmless, they are very deeply rooted in the popular mind and in virtue of their great power of suggestion they help the patient by putting him into the mood of accepting modern treatment willingly.

It would take too long to set out in detail all the activities of other specialists, so let us take a brief general survey of some of them. Improvement in methods of production in agriculture and stock-raising, game preserves and fisheries, the introduction of new agricultural methods, effective farm implements, selection of live-stocks for breeding; modernisation of industrial techniques in use, preference being given to those concerned with small artistic industries and the introduction of new industries in cases where no use is being made of important raw materials in a particular area. The organisation and initial financial backing of co-operative societies, for credits, transport, production, marketing, and retailing, a service that will prosper among very primitive peoples in direct ratio to the degree of communal spirit and democracy which reigns in its economy. The organisation of the recreations and entertainments which are available to the Indian on a very small scale, with the intention of luring him away from drunkenness and other harmful habits—the drama, dancing, singing, wireless concerts, sports, etc., aiming all the time at preserving and stimulating existing forms of expression in such fields. In the matter of unhygienic dwellings, defective diet, uncomfortable and unsuitable furniture and household gear (and that insufficient in quantity), it is proposed to improve or extend what is there or to provide substitutes.

The labours of the specialists will be supplemented by the influence exerted by the families that we have labelled "practical educators", for the community of blood and tradition would inspire the confidence and sympathy which are required in order to get this cultural effort under way. Their number would depend on the demographic importance of the townships whose inhabitants are to be educated or, with better results, of townships newly established in the same district and in which the native community in question would live side by side with the educationist's families, who would be endowed with land, tools, and implements. Their dwellings, their food, and in certain respects their clothing (for on

no account must we denationalise the beautiful character of the native apparel of certain regions), their superior techniques in agriculture and industry and their effective implements, their hygienic habits and their knowledge of modern curative procedures. Their superior level of culture and the economic effectiveness of their labours doubtless would exceed what the backward natives had attained previously, would result in their availing themselves automatically of the progressive example set before them and in the extension and fuller satisfaction of their few and limited needs. So far as Mexico is concerned, the best "practical educators" are the thousands of families of native origin who have for years now been emigrating to the United States and have been extensively and intensively influenced by modern civilisation without, however, forgetting their traditions or losing their love of their country and especially of the parts of Mexico from which they come, a love of country which absence has only increased. Families returning home would include mainly persons engaged in agriculture, together with a small minority of artisans, mechanics, masons, bricklayers, carpenters, etc. Facilities would have to be allowed then for the transport of the tools they would bring back with them, and free of customs dues.

Countries in which conditions are different from those prevailing in Mexico can count on the services of groups of persons of native origin belonging to levels of development much higher than those of other backward groups, to whose education they can make their contribution, and who, furthermore, have not acquired certain attitudes from the outside world with which perhaps the Mexican families might have been contaminated.

Finally, we repeat that what we have set down so far is a provisional outline of integrated plans for investigation and education, but we feel certain that the actual schemes that will be drawn up eventually will be much better devised, more comprehensive, more closely tied up with the various stages of development of the various native communities to be found in the American continent, for this outline has no specific community in mind, a fact which complicates the task of interpreting it and which may even give rise to some misunderstandings.

It is for governments, for international organisations, first and foremost for UNESCO, and in the last resort for the private foundations that altruistically finance scientific investigations and humanitarian undertakings, to elaborate these projects for intensive and integrated investigations and schemes of education for the benefit of the native populations of the American continent.

M. GAMIO.

CHAPTER THREE

BRAZIL

RACIAL AMALGAMATION AND PROBLEMS

Patriarchal Society

RURAL and patriarchal society in Brazil during the colonial period, from the early sixteenth century to the beginning of the nineteenth, tended to an equilibrium, or rather to what modern sociologists call an " accommodation," between masters and slaves. The plantation house—*casa-grande*—supplemented by the slave quarters—*senzala*—was a good example of such an accommodation. It arose, to a large extent, through the fact that many Portuguese settlers came to their Brazilian adventure without white women, taking their mistresses, or even wives, from Indian tribes. In some cases these were princesses, like the Indian wife of Jeronimo de Albuquerque, a Portuguese of noble birth who came to Brazil early in the sixteenth century with his brother-in-law Duarte Coelho, feudal lord of Pernambuco.

From the end of the colonial period, mulattoes began to appear in the Brazilian social scene as an important element of differentiation. Most of the mulattoes who then became prominent were the sons of Portuguese men of the socially and eugenically best type and of African women of the most attractive kind—culturally and aesthetically. This was because beautiful African women began to compete with Indian women as mistresses or wives of those wealthy or powerful Portuguese settlers, or of their descendants born in Brazil, who were not too strict in their social prejudices.

The ever-increasing importance of cities in Brazil, since the beginning of the nineteenth century, the shrinking of some of the old, isolated plantation houses into suburban buildings, the breaking-up of the slave quarters into huts of freed blacks in the cities and of fugitive slaves in the bush (a phenomenon more widespread later, during the abolition campaign, in the 'eighties), disrupted the old equilibrium which existed when the plantation master lorded it over all other elements in Brazilian society, even over the viceroys and bishops. And the rise of large towns in Brazil began to make it easier for Brazilians of mixed blood to rise politically.

Social prestige began to develop around other elements than the plantation lords, who were generally white or quasi-white: elements derived from bourgeois Europe, whence came new habits opposed to those of that rural and patriarchal life most characteristically Brazilian. Among such were liberalism, tea, cabinet government,

beer, British shoes, wheat bread, clothes of sombre hue, a taste for the theatre instead of the church. The four-wheel carriage began to displace the horse or the Asiatic sedan chair, the walking-cane and the umbrella to take the place of the military sword of "captains" and "sergeant-majors"—the usual titles of the old rural lords. Such new symbols gradually became the emblems of authority of a new aristocracy or a new nobility: that of the university graduates and lawyers.

The new values were fully accepted mainly by the young men with academic training, who were legitimate or illegitimate sons of the plantation or sugar-mill owners, and who had returned from Coimbra, Montpellier, Paris, England, Germany, where they had gone to study the liberal arts, law, or medicine through the influence of some liberal and cosmopolitan uncle or other relation. Other university graduates were the sons of the new bourgeoisie of the cities: children or grandchildren of pedlars or small merchants. These youths, given prestige by their European education, returned from Europe to Brazil as the social equals of the sons of the oldest and most powerful families of landowners.

Like the white youth of humble origin, the mulatto boys educated in Europe proved the intellectual and social equals and superiors of the legitimate sons of the old aristocracy. This was true in part owing to a more complete acceptance of European values, and in part to the peculiar charm that the half-breed often seems to possess for the other sex. Some of them were illegitimate children of great white lords, and had the small hands and aristocratic feet of their fathers. Not a few were the illegitimate descendants not only of aristocratic lords of plantations, or princes of commerce in such important towns of colonial Brazil as Salvador (capital city of Bahia and formerly the capital of colonial Brazil) and Rio de Janeiro, but of equally aristocratic African women. For one should not forget that a considerable number of Muslim Negroes were imported into Brazil—men and women considerably more refined than most black slaves. Indeed, some of these were culturally superior to some of their European and Catholic masters. More than one foreigner was surprised to find that the leading French bookseller of the Empire's capital had among his customers Negroes, ostensibly Christian but actually Muslim, who imported expensive copies of their sacred books for secret study. Some maintained schools, and the Muslim Negroes of Bahia had mutual-aid societies, through which a number of slaves were liberated.

In the province of Minas Geraes, too, the slaves had such mutual-aid societies. The American, Ewbank, while in Brazil (1845–6), once dined with a Bahian planter, who told him that the slaves of Salvador preserved their own language, organised clubs, and nurtured revolutionary schemes which their Pernambuco brethren repeatedly attempted to carry out; also that some Bahian

slaves were able to "write Arabic fluently" and were "vastly superior to their masters." I have been fortunate in finding evidence confirming what Ewbank was told and proving that, besides the merely strong slaves good only for field work, many culturally advanced Negroes were brought to Brazil: almost certainly more than in any other American colony. The presence of culturally advanced and aesthetically attractive Negroes from areas influenced by Muslim civilisation explains why in Brazil, probably more commonly than in any other American colony, beautiful Negresses became the mistresses of wealthy and prominent Portuguese merchants in Bahia and Ouro Preto, Rio and Recife. Some of them surpassed their white or Amerindian rivals in prestige. In Minas Geraes more than one became rich, and their daughters married socially important young men, European or Brazilian white. One such was Jacintha de Siqueira, whom I found named in an interesting genealogical document in some family archives of that region. Many a Brazilian, now prominent in political or professional life, has her blood in his veins.

Negroes are now rapidly disappearing in Brazil, merging into the white stock; in some areas the tendency seems to be towards the stabilisation of mixed-bloods in a new ethnic type, similar to the Polynesian. Though this tendency is usually found among peasants and immigrants, there have been other Jacinthas in the history of aristocratic Brazilian families, though not many. Ewbank wrote, in the book already quoted on Brazil, at the beginning of the reign of Pedro II: "I have passed black ladies in silks and jewellery, with male slaves in livery behind them. To-day one rode past in her carriage, accompanied by a liveried footman and a coachman. Several have white husbands. The first doctor of the city is a coloured man; so is the President of the Province." And he describes the Viscountess of C—— as "tinged."

There has been, and still is, social distance between different groups of the population. But social distance is—more truly to-day than in the colonial age or during the Empire, when slavery was central in the social structure—the result of class consciousness, rather than of race or colour prejudice. Since the Brazilian attitude is one of large tolerance towards people who have African blood but who can pass as white, nothing is more expressive than the popular saying: "Anyone who escapes being an evident Negro is white." Sir Richard Burton observed in Imperial Brazil that "here, all men, especially free men, who are not black, are white: and often a man is officially white, but naturally almost a Negro. This is directly opposed to the system in the United States, where all men who are not unmixed white are black." Visiting Brazil half a century later Bryce included it among the countries where the distinction between the races is a distinction "of rank or class rather than of colours."

Even during colonial days, if a person was politically or socially important the fact that his or her ethnic past had direct contact with Africa was robbed of significance by present position: he or she passed for white. I have examined this Brazilian process of sociological "Aryanisation" in more than one book, in which the Brazilian solution of the problems arising from race contact is contrasted with other solutions and is explained in the light of the peculiar social and cultural experience of the Portuguese as a transition people between Europe and Africa.

Cap-and-gown Aristocracy

The rise of quasi-white or coloured lawyers and doctors educated in Europe was rapid in both social and political circles. The beginning of the reign of Dom Pedro II—1840—marks, among other alterations in the social and cultural life of Brazil, the birth of a juridical or legal aristocracy in the country, until then governed more by the common sense of old men than by the juridical science or learning of university men. It is true that with the first Emperor of Brazil, Pedro I—who embodied the traits of a plantation owner's reckless son—the tradition of the "respectable age," or the absolute prestige of the old men, had been, in part, destroyed for the Brazilian. Such a tradition had already been jeopardised by the appointment of colonial governors of scarcely more than twenty years of age, sent to Brazil by the Metropolis to irritate the powerful, but aged, landowners. But it was under Pedro II that the new vogue—that of the young lawyer or university man as the ideal administrator—was systematised.

The lawyers, university graduates, and doctors of medicine who returned from Coimbra, Paris, England, Germany and, later, those who were educated in Brazil—Olinda, São Paulo, Bahia, where the Brazilian Government established schools of law and medicine—brought to public life, with the relish of their youth, the latest English ideas and the latest French fashions. They undermined the prestige of their fathers and grandfathers and established, by contrast, their superiority over the old country gentlemen. This was done by the white as well as by the quasi-white and coloured new men: cap-and-gown aristocrats. The Emperor Dom Pedro II, a pedantic boy at the time, attracted the sympathy and support of young men returned from abroad with a European education, or educated in those new schools in Brazil. Dom Pedro II delighted in presiding, with an air of European superiority, over cabinets of elderly country gentlemen, who knew only the Latin and Portuguese Classics taught them by priests. Some of these were men of profound good sense, but without any European experience. And it was principally the new French and English culture or learning that gave one prestige.

But the rise of lawyers and academic men in Brazil did not

begin with Pedro II. While the country was still a plantation colony, with Indians, wild-eyed, looking at the priests saying holy mass, with snakes crawling around the settlements, the Jesuits had already given Brazil its first bachelors of art, and its first imitation masters of art.

During the seventeenth century, thanks to the efforts of the Jesuits and their Latin courses, Brazil had produced bachelors of arts and scholars like Gregorio de Mattos and his brother Eusebio; like Rocha Pitta and Botelho de Oliveira. Some of them, it is true, completed their studies in Europe, but it was in Bahia itself, under the old priests, that they all began the study of the humanities. From the very beginning, indeed, academic learning was a mark of distinction in Brazil. What happened in the latter part of the eighteenth century and beginning of the nineteenth was that academic learning, more than before, became the supreme social distinction and gave Brazilians of humble origin, or with African blood, the opportunity to rise socially and politically.

The lawyer, particularly, began to assert himself in the political and social life of the colony. Gonzaga, Claudio, the two Alvarengas, Basilio da Gama reflect the increasing prestige of this profession in the colonial society of the end of the eighteenth century, and mark the more open intervention of the scholar or of the cleric in Luso-Brazilian politics.

Youth and Social and Political Reform

Notwithstanding the fact that they were young and prone to sensualism of the body as well as to excesses of the mind, bachelors of arts and lawyers, educated in Europe or according to the new theories and methods, became the censors of their elders' sexual excesses, which in Brazil were a substitute, especially in the plantations, for more refined tastes or interests of an intellectual nature. When these young men turned patriots they became ardent nationalists; and some even laid down their lives in political martyrdom, like the students of a Russian novel. Some were reabsorbed again by the native environment; but the majority, once the feeling of disgust with colonial habits had become spent or attenuated, became a creative element of differentiation and of social and political reform.

The "Minas Insurrection" was a revolution of university men and liberal Catholic priests. So also were the two revolutions in Pernambuco in 1817 and 1824, and the so-called Tailors' Revolution, in Bahia. In most of those liberal movements the leaders were Brazilians who had been educated under the influence of French or English ideas, and some of the most prominent leaders were *mestizos*.

It seems that *mestizos* felt, more than others, the necessity of a better social adjustment that might offer the new aristocracy greater

responsibility in the political management of the country. Very characteristic of this was what Arruda Camara, a Brazilian revolutionary leader of 1817, had to say about race-mixture. He thought that in Brazil there should be no racial or colour discrimination. He never forgot that Brazil was a country already full of mulattoes and brown-skins or *mestizos* of African and Indian. To him, a break-away from Portugal should not be merely political, but should mean the social reconstruction of Brazilian society, with a better adjustment between masters and oppressed, between white and coloured.

But while there were graduates of European universities who reconciled their knowledge of European theories with political or social realism, others exaggerated pure theory or doctrine. They were simply theoretical or merely bookish, imagining that they were dealing not with a unique Brazil, vastly differentiated from Europe by its ethnic composition and social structure, but with a European country.

For such reformers, all that Brazil needed was to import some of the then new liberal European institutions. The realistic ones, however, thought that Brazil, stimulated by liberal Europe and by the United States, should develop her own democratic institutions or styles. One of these should be a racial democracy such as neither Europe nor the United States were then prepared to accept.

In colonial Brazil there had been a few examples of mulattoes reaching important political or military positions. But those few who had occupied such exalted posts were officially white and had won their promotions under exceptional circumstances, such as extraordinary courage in action or heroism under fire, during the Brazilian wars against the Dutch invasion. When Koster, a British merchant who travelled in Brazil in the early nineteenth century, was in Pernambuco, he asked a certain captain-major whom he knew if he was a mulatto—which he was, most clearly; instead of being answered in the affirmative he was in turn asked if it was possible for a captain-major to be a mulatto?

But such were exceptional cases. There were *mestizos* in colonial Brazil who felt that they were suffering discrimination on account of their colour or race—which helps to explain the presence of intellectual *mestizos* or mulattoes in revolutionary movements, apparently only political, but really more social than political.

Literature, Art, and Racial Equality

Even literary romanticism in Brazil had a character of its own on account of this craving for ethnic democracy or racial equality. In some cases it seems to have been less the expression of revolutionary individuals, like the European romantic writers, than that of half-breeds, feeling, like half-sexed individuals, the social, and perhaps also psychological, distance between themselves and the

pure race or the sex assertedly masculine. That is also what strikes one on looking at the works of the "Aleijadinho"—the mulatto and crippled dwarf who sculptured some of the churches of Minas, in the interior of Brazil, during the eighteenth century, and who is considered to-day a genius in his art. In him the sense of revolt went farther. It was not only social. It was anti-academic and anti-European. In this ailing mulatto, socially separated from the white ruling class not only by his colour and origin but also by the disease that slowly wasted his body, making him only the sad remnant of a man and of a male, resentment took on an expression of social revolt, the urge of an oppressed sub-race for vengeance, or unsatisfied sex. In the works of this remarkable Brazilian mulatto sculptor of the eighteenth century, the figures of the "whites," of the "masters," of the "Roman captains" which he carved for churches, appear deformed, not so much out of devotion to our Lord Jesus Christ and of religious hatred for His enemies, but rather because of the sculptor's resentful anger for being himself a mulatto and an ailing cripple; his revolt against the white rulers of the colony, one of whom he pictured or rather caricatured as a terribly ugly figure, exaggerating chiefly the nose —the outstanding point of somatic or plastic contrast between oppressor and oppressed. Further evidence of this clearly Brazilian *mestizo* sentiment during the colonial period is seen in the popular arts of Brazil. Especially in the music. Through the mulatto, Brazilian music has gained an expression of its own and not only academic distinction—according to European conventions —as it did with Gomes, the composer, who was Negroid.

Similarly, the Brazilian cuisine, so un-European in its more characteristic national dishes, is a product of these same influences. Both music and culinary art contributed to ethnic or racial democracy in Brazil, for African, and to a certain extent Indian, contributions began to be accepted by all Brazilians as Brazilian values, and not as Negro music or African or Indian art.

Among Brazilians, the mulatto type rose socially very often through the prestige of superior physical beauty or through the sexual and aesthetic attraction felt by white men for the coloured or mixed woman. It was not only a sexual victory of mixed over pure types, but also an aesthetic victory. This aspect of race amalgamation in Brazil should not be underestimated. It is important.

One could summarise the various ways through which Negroes and their descendants rose socially and politically in Brazil as follows: (1) as mistresses and, in a few cases, as wives of important sugar planters or sugar merchants, becoming, as such, rivals or social equals of Indian and white ladies; (2) through exceptional military services and remarkable acts of bravery in war against the Dutch and other invaders of colonial Portuguese America;

(3) through academic training and distinction as scholars, particularly as lawyers, in a period when there was a transference or change of power from the hands of the old planters and military leaders to a new cap-and-gown aristocracy of lawyers and intellectuals; (4) through exceptional ability and distinction as technicians, engineers, artists, sculptors, painters, musicians, poets.

What is said here of Negroes and their descendants might be said not only of descendants of Indians—for whom there was always in Brazil a sentimental partiality, as if it were a matter of pride to have in one's veins some of the blood of "noble savages" such as the "real Brazilians"—but of Jews and their descendants. A number of Brazilians with Indian blood became prominent in Brazilian life—like João Alfredo, one of the ablest Prime Ministers during the Empire—more than one Negroid Brazilian attained high position during the Monarchy. After the establishment of the Republic at least one of these became President, having married a white Brazilian lady of aristocratic family. A descendant of Jews was, under the Republic, a competent and highly respected Minister of Finance and almost became President of the Republic. The "almost" was not due to the fact that he had Jewish blood but to mere political circumstances, independent of his ethnic origin.

The Nineteenth Century

As Italian colonists began to come to Brazil in large numbers during the nineteenth century it was found that the typical Italian immigrant, just as the typical Portuguese immigrant, felt no sexual repugnance for Negro women. On the contrary; they, too, seem to have found in them some peculiar sexual and aesthetic charm. And, what is more important, these women represented considerable economic value, especially those known as "Minas." Highly prized as washerwomen, as cooks, as cake and sweet makers, as makers of rag dolls, they were capable of helping efficiently the poor immigrants in their struggling years. The Portuguese and Italian immigrants, so numerous in Brazilian towns in the nineteenth century, became great breeders of mulattoes. Even the Germans and the English, when residents in large Brazilian cities during the same period, often married coloured girls or took Negresses as their mistresses, thus contributing to race amalgamation.

The most striking characteristic of the Brazilian social environment of to-day, taken as a whole—for there are areas of almost pure German or Polish or Italian or Japanese immigration—seems to be the reciprocity between the different racial elements and cultural values, through amalgamation. The European, the Negro, and the Indian mix their values and their blood. A sort of active give and take—the one does not try to supplant the other violently.

Race Relations in Modern Brazil

Perhaps in no other country of such size as Brazil will the native of the extreme north—of Para, let us say, where the population is largely Indian, or of Bahia, where Negro blood is prominent—feel so much at home in the extreme south—where the population is predominantly white or quasi-white—or will he find so many facilities for social and political advancement. Hundreds of lawyers and medical doctors from the northern States, many of them light mulattoes or *mestizos,* have had successful political careers in Rio Grande do Sul, Paraná, and São Paulo—States with large German or Italian populations—attaining to the governorship of these States or representing them in Congress, or else becoming the heads of important hospitals, schools, and public services. Perhaps in no other country is it possible for one to rise or pass more rapidly from one class to another, or from one race to another, as in modern Brazil.

Juliano Moreira, the famous specialist in mental diseases, was the son of a Negress who sold sweets in the street. Luiz Gama was the son of a simple slave woman. The Negro Rebouças, who is said to have danced a quadrille in one of the court balls with the fair Princess Isabel, was also a descendant of Africans.

Under the monarchial regime, which lasted in Brazil from her political independence in 1822 to 1889, any Brazilian, no matter what his origin, his race, his colour, could become Prime Minister and lead the country; Negroes or mulattoes like Rebouças and Saldanha Marinho, though of humble birth, became prominent in political life. Rebouças was not only a man respected by Caucasian Brazilians for his personal virtues, his honesty, and his intelligence, but became one of the closest friends of the Emperor himself. It was Rebouças who once said that the numerous Brazilian mulattoes had special reasons to support the monarchy, since it gave them an "equality of political rights" that was not to be found in any other Republic of the continent.

The late Joaquim Nabuco, for some time Brazilian representative in London and later ambassador to Washington, who was for many years after the establishment of the Republic in Brazil a loyal and sincere Monarchist, was asked once—he had been in his youth a leading abolitionist and a champion of the cause of equality of civil rights for all Brazilians—if he thought that it would be possible to harmonise the feeling for equality, so strong among "Brazilians of mixed race," with devotion for the monarchical form of government. Nabuco—who, by the way, was not a Brazilian of mixed blood (so far as African blood is concerned) but a predominantly Caucasian one and the descendant of an old and aristocratic family of Pernambuco—at once made the point that the monarchy in Brazil had been a regime of equal political and social rights for all, the differences of race or colour being entirely, or

almost entirely, disregarded in that "crowned democracy." But what about the United States of America? In the United States of America, he pointed out, even if the Negro was a Frederick Douglas he was subject to a series of humiliating restrictions.

The fact is that Brazil developed a social democracy where there is practically no restriction against a man on account of his birth or his blood; and such a development took place under a monarchical form of government whose tradition has not lost its essential value for thoughtful and sensible Brazilians. By this one means, not that those Brazilians who are thoughtful and sensible are monarchists to-day and wish to have a throne re-established in Rio de Janeiro with a descendant of Dom Pedro II as king or emperor, but that they are sceptical about the form, the mere form of government, as something vital for the social well-being and the guarantee of individual liberty in their country.

During the Republic—established in Brazil in 1889—it was perfectly natural for Brazilians to see, a few years ago, Nilo Peçanha, a mulatto of very humble origin, follow Lauro Müller, the blue-eyed and purely "Aryan" son of a poor German colonist of Santa Catharina (Southern Brazil) as Secretary of State. Some of the most capable political leaders of Brazil since 1889 have been Negroid, though no one thinks of them as being Negroes or Africans but only as Brazilians. As I have pointed out elsewhere, Brazil has no "African minority," but Brazilians are of various origins; in some the European or Indian strain predominates, and in others the African. With the Brazilian mulatto, the quadroon, the octoroon, and with the *cafuso* these possibilities for social improvement did not permit the development of that consciousness of being a Negro which exists in the United States even in individuals of distant African blood and physical characteristics clearly acceptable to Graeco-Roman and Nordic aesthetic standards. In general the feeling of being a Negro, among us, has been restricted to the Negro who is almost pure-bred, or to the dark mulattoes of physical characteristics most removed from the above-mentioned standards and who, because of their inferior economic situation or education, have remained nearer—at times below—the condition of slaves who existed in Brazil until 1889. Thus they are more conscious of class than of race. They are more a Negro *class* than a Negro *race*. This point was appreciated by James Bryce when he visited Brazil early in the twentieth century. Some of his remarks on race amalgamation among Brazilians were adequate and penetrating and should be read by all modern students of the subject.

On the other hand one finds whites in Brazil, near-whites, and even blonds, who have gone down in the social scale instead of keeping their original position. They live in African- or Indian-like palm huts like the majority of Negroes, mulattoes, and *mestizos*; they eat with their fingers out of bowls, like the Negroes and

Indians; they go about barefooted and sleep in hammocks or beds made of coconut palm-leaves; their children go about naked; their wives give preference to red dresses like Indian and Negro women; both men and women prefer to consult the quacks and drink their beverages rather than to take the advice and medicine of doctors; others prefer the African " wizard " to the Catholic priest. All this does not seem to indicate that culture and race are inseparable.

As I have pointed out elsewhere, the experiment in ethnic and cultural bi-continentalism begun in Portugal centuries ago took a new dimension in Brazil: three races and cultures are fused under conditions which, broadly speaking, are socially democratic, though as yet productive of only a very imperfect social democracy, defective both in its economic basis and in its political forms. All imperfections admitted, however, Brazil stands to-day as a community from whose experiment in miscegenation other communities may profit. Probably in no other complex modern community are problems of race relations being solved in a more democratic or Christian way than in Portuguese America. And Brazil's experiment does not indicate that miscegenation leads to degeneration.

Professor Charles R. Stockard's conclusions—that " mongrelisation among widely different human stocks has very probably caused the degradation and even the elimination of certain groups "; that " the extinction of several ancient stocks has apparently followed very closely the extensive absorption of alien slaves "; and that " if one considers the histories of some of the South European and Asia Minor countries from a strictly biological and genetic point of view, a very definite correlation between the amalgamation of the whites and the Negroid slaves and the loss of intellectual and social power will be found "—do not obtain their best support in the Luso-Brazilian experience. It is true that Portugal has not to-day the intellectual and social power that it had four centuries ago; but this is also true of " Aryan " Holland and " Aryan " Denmark. According to Professor Stockard's theory, Brazil, where miscegenation proceeded more freely than in Portugal or Spain, should be vastly inferior in intellectual and social power, not only to Portugal, but to quasi-white South American nations like Argentina and Chile. Objective studies of Latin American national or regional variety in achievement and cultural development do not seem to confirm the inferiority of *mestizo* Brazil to its more " Aryan " neighbours. It is in Brazil and not in the more " Aryan " countries of Latin America that one finds to-day the most vigorously creative group of young architects, young painters, and young composers of Latin America and perhaps of the entire American continent; and in *mestizo* Brazil are the most creative group of medical scientists engaged in the study of the so-called tropical diseases and of problems peculiar to tropical areas. Brazil is universally known for the work of scientists like Cruz, Chagas,

Fontes, Roquette Pinto, Almeida, Silva Mello, Amaral, Vital Brazil, and Lins. The successful experiments of Brazilian investigators (some of them *mestizo*) with anti-venom serum to nullify the effects of poisonous snakes save many lives in many countries every year.

Another fact that seems to refute those who emphatically generalise on the social and intellectual effects of what they call "mongrelisation" is that for years the Brazilian areas producing the largest number of political leaders and men of literary, scientific, and artistic talent have been the areas notable for the extension and intensity of race amalgamation and cultural interpenetration: the north-east (including Bahia and Sergipe), Rio de Janeiro, Minas Geraes, and São Paulo. During the Empire, Bahia was known as the "Brazilian Virginia" because most of the Cabinet presidents came from that province. Some of the Cabinet presidents of the Brazilian Empire, though their formal behaviour was like that of members of the British Parliament, were men with Negro blood. And though the qualities of the Brazilian statesmen during the Empire period was imitative rather than creative, some of them were remarkable for their political talent as well as for their tact and ability as diplomats.

As an Empire, Brazil was a State whose stability and peace contrasted with the turbulent political life of most of the Latin American lands. Even then it was ruled by an aristocracy democratic enough to allow men with Negro blood to become its members, though it remained largely white or quasi-white in its composition. The Republican period, however, has seen the increasing rise to political power, and to intellectual, industrial, and ecclesiastical leadership, of Brazilians of African origin. As a political system the Republic established in Brazil in 1889 remained, as the Empire had been, more imitative than creative. Honesty among public men decreased; there was also a decrease in the elegance and dignity that had become characteristic of the Brazilian Parliament in the days of Dom Pedro II. On the other hand, there was an increase in efficiency in practical matters: some of the new political leaders were notable for the ability they displayed in dealing with economic and sanitary problems, which had been somewhat neglected by the Empire. And a few surrounded themselves with scientists and engineers who began to do really creative work.

It was not until the establishment of the Republic that a series of courageous projects—for harbours and wharves, waterworks, sanitation schemes, and for the paving, draining, and beautifying of cities—began to develop in Brazil, along with plans for a more efficient organisation of coffee production. Brazil fell in love with material progress. In most of these plans one can detect the dynamic impatience of the Brazilians who entered public life with the 1889 Republic: their eagerness to make their country modern,

progressive, different from Portugal, different from what it had been in colonial or monarchical days.

Of the new Republican leaders a considerable number were mixed-bloods, men of modest rather than of aristocratic origin. They seem to have made of the Republican regime an expression of their own eagerness for a new and better social status. This may explain the political importance assumed by the army in the new regime. In contrast to the navy, which took special pride in having as officers only Caucasian whites or Indo-Caucasians and sons of aristocratic or wealthy bourgeois families; and in contrast also to the clergy, which during the Empire was chiefly white and aristocratic or bourgeois, the Brazilian army started developing into a socially and ethnically democratic organisation, with a number of officers of very modest social origin and some with considerable Indian and Negro blood in their veins. These men assumed an active and dynamic part in the nation's political life. When the Brazilian plantation system began to disintegrate, a disintegration that proceeded rapidly after the abolition of slavery (one year before the founding of the Republic in 1889), the army and the Church remained the only two organised groups in the country. Of the two the army was the more liberal, progressive, and democratic; the Church, the more conservative, though seldom illiberal or violently opposed to social reform.

Not a few of the younger army officers had come under the influence of the Positivism of Comte, and the most enthusiastic of them were convinced that here they had not *a* solution, but *the* solution, of all Brazilian problems. Another group of Republican idealists—a civilian one—were just as convinced, on the basis of what political, juridical, and financial knowledge they had gained from their reading of Anglo-American authors, that a federal and democratic constitution copied from that of the United States would solve all Brazilian troubles.

Between these two groups of extreme ideologues there were Republican leaders whose method was the British one of dealing with each problem as it presented itself, rather than according to a rigid philosophical system. Among this third group of new and realistic leaders there were, as in the two others, Negroid Brazilians remarkable for their eagerness to rise to power as well as for their intellectual ability and personal charm—men like Francisco Glicerio and Nilo Peçanha—just as there were descendants of European non-Portuguese immigrants who had arrived in Brazil as peasants or artisans—men like Lauro Müller, son of a German, and Paulo Frontin, son of a Frenchman. Psychologically and sociologically they were in the same boat: eager to rise socially through a successful political career as leaders of the new regime in Brazil.

Most Anglo-Saxons who have lived among real Brazilians for a

long time have learned to forget their prejudice against Negroes and *mestizos*. Some have had to come into contact with Brazilian senators or prominent business leaders or professional men not purely white: mixed-blood and Negro, not only white and Amerindian, though the commonest mixture in São Paulo has been the white-Amerindian. This is the dominant mixture at the base of the proud old aristocracy of that State, as well as of other regions of Brazil, where it is still a matter of pride for an old family to have among its ancestors an Indian, generally idealised as a hero of the wars against the French or the Dutch, who in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries tried to conquer parts of Brazil, admired as a fighter against the Portuguese, or honoured as a princess the beautiful daughter of some powerful Indian chief. The first Cardinal of Latin America, Arcoverde, was the descendant of a Pernambuco Indian princess of the sixteenth century: a Brazilian Pocahontas. He was proud of his Amerindian blood and he was also insistent on the need, for Brazil, of a native clergy; that is, of a clergy consisting principally of men born in Brazil or integrated into Brazilian life, instead of one made up entirely of foreign priests and monks.

Such was the extent of Indianism in Brazil, not only in literature but in daily life, that, when Brazil separated from Portugal and there was widespread feeling against any Portuguese attempt at reconquest, a considerable number of distinguished Brazilian families had their family names changed to Amerindian names.

On summarising the history and the present situation of race amalgamation in Brazil one might say that democracy and aristocracy have combined in this country to give to individuals of ability or talent, regardless of their racial origin, almost equal opportunities to rise, and, at the same time, to select from individuals of different racial origins those who best embody Brazilian traditions and ideas of "men and women of quality" (or "gentlemen" and "ladies," as an Englishman could say), and to invest them with honour. This explains why Brazil, since the days of the Empire, has had coloured individuals in some of the highest positions, the diplomatic service and the navy being two of the relative exceptions to this rule.

This tendency to recognise the merit of individuals regardless of race prejudices, which, however, have existed and still exist in Brazil though in a much less violent form than in the United States, was consistently favoured by most of the Portuguese kings and statesmen during the colonial period, and afterwards by Brazilian statesmen and the Emperor Dom Pedro II. There have been "Aryanists" among them, but they have been rare.

This, in general, is the explanation of the presence not only of Indian blood—a matter of pride and not of shame in Brazil—but of African, in a society at once so democratic and so aristocratic

as the Brazilian: in some respects probably the most aristocratic society of the New World, with its monarchical traditions still cultivated in a social or sentimental way by many Brazilians, and with the survivors of the old royal family still living in Rio. It is true that African blood is present or prominent among socially influential Brazilians only in its aesthetically most attractive form. Therefore Brazilian society has been democratic through the possibility of sudden rises to high levels of persons of modest origin or with the blood of the dominated races in their veins, and aristocratic in its form or in its resemblance to the social framework of the monarchy, within which some of those very persons were ennobled with the titles of captain-general, baron, viscount, and so on. To be sure, those rises met resistance from colour and race, and particularly class prejudices on the part of most of the oldest and most deeply aristocratic groups. But they were accomplished. The predominant tendency in Brazil, so far as races are concerned, is towards their equality.

This has made a Brazilian publicist say: " Brazilian nationalism does not foster race prejudice; when it fosters it, it will cease to be Brazilian." And this rule was followed in Brazil even by the quasi-Fascist Vargas regime (1937–45). Only Communist agitators —who probably act independently of their Party—have recently stimulated among Brazilians race hatred or hostility of coloured against white. But so far, the very un-Brazilian activities of these agitators have met with little success.

Race and Education

More than sixty years ago a distinguished foreigner witnessed the graduation ceremony at one of the most important State schools of Rio de Janeiro. The Emperor, as patron of all kinds of education, was present, and the young graduates received from him—then an old man with a long, patriarchal beard—their diplomas and medals. Two aspects of the ceremony made a particularly deep impression upon the foreign visitor, who may be taken as representative of the orthodox bourgeois conventions then prevailing in Western Europe and the East of the United States. First, the variety of dress among the audience: though the students were uniformly and solemnly dressed for the ceremony, some of the ladies were in ball-dress and attended by gentlemen in full evening dress, while others were in ordinary afternoon costume. But apparently, no one felt embarrassed or out of place.

Secondly, by the variety of complexion among the same audience: a variety ranging from the "pale white" to "the blackest black of the Negroes." All were mixed together "in terms of the most perfect equality." And this was true of students as well as of their relatives and other persons present, men and women of diverse social rank and ethnic origin.

All this was even then typical of an audience at a Brazilian school ceremony. For since colonial days Brazilian schools were mixed schools, though more so in regard to the complexion of their students and even of their teachers.

Foreign travellers also noticed that Indians, browns, mulattoes, and even Negroes were not systematically kept out of schools in Brazil, simply on account of their colour or race. Some were admitted to the clergy—then so socially and intellectually important —and to theological schools, or sent to Portugal to study at Coimbra University, or to Northern Europe to study at French, German, and British schools.

It is true that there were cases of race discrimination in schools in the seventeenth century; the Jesuits were severely criticised by the King of Portugal himself on account of race discrimination against brown and Negro youths in their schools. There were fashionable schools in Brazil, where prejudices of caste more than of race caused headmasters to keep certain youths from attending classes and mixing with the socially and ethnically select. But such schools were the exception rather than the rule. The tendency in Brazil has been, since remote days, to open secondary and professional education to all intelligent youth and not only to the rich, the socially important, and the purely white, though most of the students in such schools, even to-day, come from the well-to-do part of the population and not from the poor, who are, in their majority, the black or the dark. Economic conditions rather than race prejudice seem to be the explanation for this.

With the establishment of a Republic, in 1889, the democratic character of its secondary and professional education became even more marked than before, though one should always remember that the Monarchy—or rather Dom Pedro II, who reigned here from 1840 to 1889—was always particularly sympathetic towards students of promise, no matter what their race or social condition. Dom Pedro was often present during final examinations in schools, and delighted in questioning talented or brilliant students. It is said of him that he thought that his real vocation was that of a school teacher: he may in part be responsible for the exceptional prestige attached to professors of official secondary and professional schools in Brazil. Some of the most important Brazilian statesmen during the Monarchy, the early years of the Republic, and even to-day, have been, or are, professors in the traditional Schools of Law of São Paulo and Recife as well as in the Medical Schools of Bahia and Rio or in the old official secondary schools or theological seminaries, like the Seminary of Olinda, now decadent but once one of the most influential seats of learning.

There is, and has been, very little "colour line" in any of these institutions of secondary instructions or higher learning. But snobbishness is not entirely absent in them.

Their aristocratic character derives from the fact that most of the students of law or medicine for a long time dressed to attend their classes as if they were going to a ball or to a solemn mass: in frock-coat and top hat, carrying a cane and even gloves. This made young men with evident African blood or from very modest social origin feel that, as solemnly dressed students, they had become " white " or " socially important."

The same fact explains why tailors were frequently the victims of poor students in Brazil. Visiting Recife, many years after he had graduated there in the Law School, Nilo Peçanha, who was a light mulatto and a man of modest social origin but who married a distinguished white lady of Rio de Janeiro—his native province—and reached some of the highest positions in the Brazilian administration, including the Presidency of the Republic, made it a point to visit his old tailor, to whom he was still in debt for a fine and expensive frock-coat made in his student days. He thought he owed to that tailor much of his political success, probably because his student frock-coat, symbolic, as it was, of a sort of intellectual caste or *élite,* had given him a strong sense of social security. It made him feel a member of the ruling class. I mention this concrete though apparently insignificant detail because it is characteristic of the fact that professional schools or universities, in Brazil, have been, and are, at once democratic and aristocratic in their nature, being open to individuals of various conditions and of African as well as of purely or predominantly European and Amerindian origin, on the one hand, and, on the other, giving a special social distinction or privilege to those admitted to them.

It was this social distinction or privilege that was for a long time expressed through the solemn frock-coat and top hat that law and medical students wore in Pernambuco, Bahia, and Rio. All attempts to introduce the Coimbra democratic student gown in Pernambuco failed. Law and medical students insisted on dressing as if they were important personalities and not ordinary youths. Only in the last thirty years has their attitude in this matter been modified. Their dress is to-day ordinary or plain dress, but this development has been parallel to that of the simpler way of dressing of professors, doctors, lawyers, members of Parliament, and Cabinet members.

Apparently insignificant but, indeed, sociologically significant, details of this sort show that the educational situation in Brazil, as elsewhere, is closely connected with the prevailing social conditions. Education in Brazil has been democratic to the extent that conditions in general have been democratic, both as an inheritance of the Portuguese tendency towards social and ethnic democracy and as a result of circumstances peculiar to Brazil.

It should be added, however, that more than once the Press has denounced, in recent years, cases of elegant finishing schools for

girls in Rio de Janeiro and other cities of Brazil where coloured girls have been denied a place among white or quasi-white girls. Further, more than once the Naval School at Rio has been criticised for not admitting evidently coloured youths as students or candidates to naval officers. Their race or colour is never openly given as the reason for the refusal, but such reasons as poor eyesight or some dates for commissions. Their race or colour is never openly given as prejudice are the exception, rather than the rule, among Brazilians.

I have referred to the exceptional prestige attached to professors in Brazil. It may be said that an ordinary Brazilian university professor is socially and politically more important than a professor in a United States university. This shows the importance of the fact that a number of coloured individuals have been, or are, professors at Brazilian universities, law, medical, and engineering schools, normal schools, secondary schools, theological seminaries. One such was Tobias Barreto who, somewhat ironically, introduced into nineteenth-century Brazil what is known as *Germanism,* that is, German ideas and methods in the study of law and philosophy. The introducer of English humour and other refinements into Brazilian literature was a mulatto, Machado de Assiz, who, in his old age, became a sort of patriarch of the writers of his country and the president of the Brazilian Academy of Literature. Hardly anyone thinks of them as having been Negroes or Africans or coloured: almost everybody thinks of them as Brazilians. And they thought of themselves, not as Negroes, Africans or coloured, but as Brazilians.

Another coloured Brazilian, who was also a brilliant literary man, once said, during a public speech: "We, of Latin race . . ." He was sociologically right, though biologically wrong. Brazilians, whatever their ethnic origin or situation, are fundamentally Brazilian and Latin. This is largely due to the already mentioned Portuguese inheritance of ethnically and socially democratic traditions and dispositions and, also, to the emphasis put by the Catholic Church in its schools, colleges, and churches in Brazil on the Latin cultural heritage which she, more than any other agency, brought to what is known to-day as "Latin America." For centuries Brazilians have grown and been educated under the influence of such Latinism until it has become natural to some of the coloured Brazilians to think of themselves simply as Latins. Education in Brazil, despite all its imperfections and deficiencies, has contributed powerfully to this very significant fact.

On the other hand, education in Brazil has been deeply affected by the fact that slavery was a dominant factor in Brazilian economic organisation and social life until as recent a date as 1889. As a result, the educational system of even to-day is marked by an excess of bookish or academic teaching. Many youths whose African blood shows that they descend from slaves seem to be

particularly inclined to avoid such studies as animal husbandry, scientific farming or agriculture, dentistry, mechanical engineering, and to follow the academic and bookish study of law, medicine, diplomacy, civil engineering. But this is also true of most white or quasi-white youths, possibly under the influence of an old prejudice: that of belonging to a caste to whose members it was a disgrace to use their hands in any activities even remotely connected with slave work. Dentistry and farming are two of these activities, for in colonial Brazil Negro barbers practised the art of pulling out teeth. And practically all agricultural and manual work was done then by Negro slaves.

The development of " learning by doing," of the use of laboratories in secondary and professional schools, of practical research in medicine and engineering, is a recent development. Another is the fact that youths from socially important families now become students of agriculture, animal husbandry, chemistry, mechanical engineering, dentistry. But their number is so small as to be ridiculous, both in comparison to the number of those who study law and to the national needs in regard to the improvement of agriculture and to the need for a better health service.

From what has been suggested it is clear that much remains to be done by educators in Brazil. The psychological and sociological survivals of slavery days must be destroyed. The existing educational system is, on the whole, a democratic force and not an obstacle to social and ethnic democracy in this country. Its deficiencies and defects are many and important, but one does not have to be an extreme optimist to proclaim its virtues. They exist.

GILBERTO FREYRE.

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CHAPTER FOUR

THE CARIBBEAN AREA

A CHANGING ECONOMY

I. THE Caribbean is the Mediterranean of the New World. During the four and a half centuries that have passed since its discovery, five imperial powers have striven for its mastery, and peoples from four continents have established themselves around its shores. Few areas of comparable size in the Americas possess so varied a history or exhibit more diverse social and political conditions.

The territories with which this article deals are the islands that hem in the Caribbean on the north and east. Their total area is comparatively small, being about 90,000 square miles (approximately the area of Great Britain), but the islands are strung out on a great arc 2,000 miles in length. In addition there are the two mainland colonies of British Guiana and British Honduras. This wide geographical separation makes difficult the growth of a feeling of common identity amongst the Caribbean people.

Some 15 million people live in the islands and in the two mainland territories. Of these approximately 10 million are subjects of the three independent republics of Cuba, Haiti, and Santo Domingo. The remaining 5 million live in the territories of four great powers: Britain, the United States of America, France, and Holland. The barriers which divide Spain, France, Holland, and Britain are reproduced in the West Indies, from language and religion to currency and the minute details of customs regulations. In the Caribbean there is no common land, no common language, no common tradition.

The social origins of the population are diverse. Three main streams of people have poured into the Caribbean—from Europe, from India, and from Africa, and each territory possesses in varying degree a society that is multi-racial in character. At one end of the scale is Puerto Rico, where about two-thirds of the population are white, mostly of Spanish descent; at the other end is Haiti, where there are few white people. With the exception of Puerto Rico more than 90 per cent. of the total population of the islands is black or coloured. There is no one race and no common history.

Caribbean society has been profoundly affected by sugar and slavery, the two central facts in its history, but this does not make it unique. In the preface to the first Brazilian edition of *The Masters and the Slaves,* Gilberto Freyre points out that: "The same influences deriving from the technique of production and of labour—that is to say, the one-crop system and slavery—have

combined here in this English-settled portion of North America (i.e. the Deep South of the United States) as in the Antilles and Jamaica, to produce social results similar to those that are to be observed in our country," and he goes on to refer to " a monoculture that absorbed other forms of production " and " a semi-feudal society, with a minority of whites and light-skinned mulattoes dominating, patriarchally and polygamously, from their Big House of stone and mortar." (1)

Sugar and Negro slavery meant the development of a caste structure. This rigid social structure was based on a one-crop economy that was, and is, subject to frequent violent fluctuations because of its dependence on world markets. The result has been economic insecurity and a sense of instability.

Sugar is still supreme in the Caribbean. In the phrase of Dr. Eric Williams it is the spinal cord of Caribbean economy. Before the last war sugar was responsible for 60 per cent. of all exports from the Caribbean and for 68 per cent. from the British Caribbean. The West Indies Royal Commission of 1929 found that the proportion of the population directly employed in the sugar industry was 20 per cent. in Barbados, 33 per cent. in St. Kitts, 31 per cent. in Antigua, 12 per cent. in St. Lucia, 16 per cent. in British Guiana, 10 per cent. in Trinidad, and 5 per cent. in Jamaica. (2) The proportion has increased in Jamaica, where the 1943 census showed that 13 per cent. of the total number of wage and salary earners in the island were connected with the industry. (3)

Like sugar, slavery also is still a central factor in the Caribbean. Emancipation struck the bonds from the body, but Caribbean society still bears the marks of a system whose dividing effects may be seen in race-feeling; in hidden antagonisms and resentments; in a perverted work-standard that puts a premium on indolence and display and despises manual industry; and, as Professor Simey observes, in " profound feelings of inferiority, which stand out as the most powerful single factor in moulding the personality of the individual, and in shaping the patterns of social intercourse. A society cannot be a healthy one in which so many people suffer from a constant regret that they are what they are, and do their best to give their children characteristics commonly supposed to be better than their own." (4)

The most important of all the effects of slavery, however, is the weakness in family and social organisation. This is true in spite of the strength of the kinship structure noted in Haiti, for instance, by Dr. George Simpson. (5) The figures for the British territories are revealing. The Jamaica census of 1943 showed 272 persons per thousand married as compared with 645 per thousand in Britain in 1931. (6) The corresponding illegitimacy rate in Jamaica is approximately 70 per cent., and the illegitimacy rate in the other British Caribbean colonies is in the neighbourhood of 50 to 70 per

cent. "Even after giving full weight to the existence of 'common law marriages' the position is still grave. The Chief Registrar's figures show that over the period since 1881 for which records exist, the illegitimacy rate in Jamaica has actually worsened by as much as 10 per cent. . . . Such statistics show a really serious disorder, arising from the fact that the people of these territories are without a clear pattern of human relationships which is accepted by all classes." (7) It is further to be observed that the lack of the father in the home compels the mother to work. This frequently means insufficient supervision and little, if any, schooling for the child.

The basic problems of the area may be thrown into relief by a brief comparison of the independent republics of Cuba and of Haiti. The former is the largest, most prosperous, and most powerful of the islands, with approximately 5 million people to its 44,000 square miles. It has a population density of 52 to the square mile, and a comparatively high proportion of its land is cultivable. Low as the standard of living of the Cuban peasant may be, Cuba can address itself with energy to its educational and social problems. In sharp contrast is Haiti, with over 3 million people to 10,200 square miles, with a population density of 295 to the square mile, and with only one-third of its area productive. Leyburn in his *Haitian People* points out that "Haiti's density per square mile is therefore greater than that of China or India—two world examples of over-population—and even greater than that of New York State with its enormous city areas. . . . Beside the figures given must be set those of the Government budget which is annually in the neighbourhood of $7,000,000, and of its annual imports and exports, neither of which generally exceeds $10,000,000 a year. Chicago with its population of 3 million has an annual budget of about $275,000,000 apart from state and federal services." (8)

II. Such is the background. Recent years have seen remarkable developments throughout the area. New integrating factors are at work. The radio and the aeroplane are breaking down insularity and isolation. Significant social changes are taking place. The problems and educational plans of Cuba, Haiti, and Santo Domingo will be discussed elsewhere. The observations that follow apply more particularly to the colonial territories. It should be remembered that in character and outlook Puerto Rico belongs to the independent territories, being more advanced politically, and having a more articulate and sophisticated national movement.

Between the years 1935 and 1939 there were ten outbreaks of violence in seven British West Indian territories. The sustained and widespread nature of this agitation points to a growth of political consciousness and to a demand for increased political re-

sponsibility. Political agitation has produced constitutional changes, one of the most dramatic being in Jamaica where, before the introduction of adult suffrage in 1944, more than 95 per cent. of the people were excluded from voting by property qualifications. In an unpublished paper on "The Caribbean in a Changing Economy," Dr. Dudley Huggins, of the Jamaica Department of Agriculture, has commented on the fact that the development of political consciousness and the increase in political responsibility have been accompanied by rapid development in the organisation of labour, and of governmental machinery for the regulation of industrial relations. The Report of the Royal Commission of 1938 showed that this essential machinery was almost non-existent. Since then it has been created and is functioning. Labour itself is learning how to make use of the modern techniques of labour power. In Antigua, trade unions now claim a membership of 12,000 out of a total population of 40,778. In Jamaica, trade-union membership has increased from 1,080 in 1938 to 57,700 in 1946, and the assets have risen from £150 in 1938 to £18,500 in 1947. As remarkable has been the growth of Labour as a political power. Dr. Huggins writes, "In Jamaica . . . the election was vigorously contested and it is probably right to say that no member was returned who was not regarded as pro-Labour in sympathy. In Barbados . . . in the elections in 1946, the Electors' Association secured 8 seats, Labour 16. In Trinidad all of the newly elected members have been associated with Labour advocacy. The British Guiana elections, the first after the new constitution, were held in 1947. . . . Of the 14 elected seats on the Legislative Council, Labour secured 7 and Independents 7. The Antigua Trade and Labour Union secured all the elected seats on the Legislative Council in the recent elections."

The strength of these integrating forces and their rapid development were manifested at the "Conference on Closer Union" held in Jamaica under the chairmanship of the Secretary of State for the Colonies in 1947.

While these changes were taking place in the British territories, the relationships between the Great Powers and their colonies were being profoundly modified. The Mandates system of the League of Nations helped to encourage the idea of "trusteeship" and of responsibility for the welfare and progress of dependent territories. The Popular Front Government which came into power in France in 1936, for instance, aimed at the reformation of French colonial policy, and when the French Governors-General met in Paris in that year a committee was appointed whose terms of reference included "a vast renovation of the French Colonial System." The new and more liberal attitude helped to prepare the way for the Colonial Development and Welfare Act in Britain in 1940, and for the establishment of the Caribbean Commission which has been

termed " a major experiment in American foreign policy, and a new mechanism in international colonial administration." (9) The Second World War gave stimulus and force to the new conception by making liberty a slogan of the Allied armies, by demonstrating that the Caribbean must be treated as a single unit economically and strategically in spite of all existing divisions, and by creating a new attitude towards money, since spending was for results and not for profits. The change was reflected in the constitutional reforms that were made, in the financial aid given, and in the emphasis on a regional approach to what are essentially regional problems.

III. Education in the Caribbean cannot seize present opportunities or meet the challenge of the future because it is inadequate in quantity and lacking in purpose.

Mr. S. A. Hammond, Educational Adviser to the Comptroller for Development and Welfare in the British West Indies, outlined the position clearly in his article on " Education in the British West Indies " in the *Journal of Negro Education*. He shows that in 1944 a total population of 2,881,631, with a total revenue from taxation of £13,756,444, spent the sum of £1,345,341 from public funds on education, or approximately 10 per cent. In the same year the estimated total population of school age was 624,665. Of these, 439,326 were enrolled in elementary schools, and 13,751 in secondary schools. This gives a total school enrolment of approximately 72 per cent. (10)

School enrolment does not mean school attendance or a long school life. Barbados is an honourable exception since, as the memorandum on educational policy in Barbados points out, the system of education in that island " may be said to compare more than favourably with the educational progress of other West Indian islands, and in one respect—the comprehensiveness of its elementary provision—it is probably outstanding." (11) On the other hand Jamaica, which contains about one-half of the population of the British territories, had in 1943 a total of 924,278 persons of 10 years of age and over, and of these 218,127 had never attended school. Compulsory education exists in a few areas of the island, but is not enforced. It is estimated that one child in every six receives no education of any kind, and that, by reason of irregular attendance and absorption into the wage-earning section of the family at the age of 12 or 13 years, not more than eight in every hundred complete the elementary school course.

" Similar conditions exist in many of the other Caribbean colonies. In Antigua, which is about the size of the Isle of Wight, and in which the number of children of school age is estimated at 10,500, there is an average attendance of only 5,000, this low figure

being due mainly to unsatisfactory home conditions and lack of parental control." (12)

The quality of the education given in the primary and secondary schools is usually high, because of the magnificent efforts of the teachers and of the local departments of education, but, as the figures show, there is far too little primary education. One result is that a grave threat to the future of Caribbean society lies in the untold thousands of children who are without homes, education, or employment.

Another significant fact revealed by Mr. Hammond's analysis is the extremely small number—less than 2 per cent. of the total school enrolment—receiving secondary education. (13) This limitation of educational opportunity means a high wastage of ability. It is all the more serious, and becomes a dividing social force, because educational opportunity is often gained by money rather than by ability.

The French West Indies have a total area of about 1,000 square miles and a total population of about half a million. Here primary education appears to be more adequate in quantity. Charton, in a report of UNESCO, states that in the French islands primary education has been greatly developed and he represents Guadeloupe as having a school attendance of about 89 per cent. of the children of school age. (14) In Puerto Rico, on the other hand, the problems are more difficult. Dr. Lloyd E. Blauch, in his article on "Education in the Territories and Outlying Possessions of the United States" in the *Journal of Negro Education,* gives figures showing that in Puerto Rico, during 1944–5 "only 66 per cent. of the children from 6 to 12 years of age, and only 53 per cent. of the total school population (those between the ages of 6 and 18 years) attended any public or private school. The great majority of the pupils attended school only part of the day—in 1943–4, 44 per cent. of the urban enrolment and 78 per cent. of the rural enrolment. This low record of attendance is due to the fact that there are not sufficient schools to accommodate the children. . . . The Commissioner of Education reported for 1943–4 that only 9·75 per cent. of the total tax collections in Puerto Rico were spent in elementary education." (15) He goes on to state that the general conclusion expressed by the Commissioner of Education in his report for 1943–4 was "that the Puerto Rican school system is failing to provide educational opportunity for its potential citizens." The Puerto Rican Government is attacking the problem with energy and initiative. In 1941 its education budget was 7 million dollars and in 1946–7 it was 23 million dollars, a larger *per capita* expenditure on education than in any other Caribbean territory.

Technical and vocational education have been treated as the poor relations of the education system. This is in contrast to a

situation often found in the United States in the " Deep South." Hortense Powdermaker found in the State of Mississippi a stress on vocational training which was more readily supported than the academic school work because it seemed safer and its value was more apparent. (16) In the West Indies there was too great a swing away from technical and vocational education. Yet the facilities for further academic education remained inadequate, except in Puerto Rico and in Barbados, where centres of higher education have been in existence. Rapid progress is now being made in establishing a University College of the West Indies, the capital funds being provided by the British Government.

The tale of inadequacy extends to adult education, in spite of the valuable pioneer work done by the Church. Generally it is true to say that if the child has been neglected the adult has been forgotten.

Lacking technical education, Caribbean society has grown up with its hands untrained. Lacking adequate facilities for higher education it has grown up without a cerebral centre. It has kept its eyes averted from its origins and circumstances and has fixed them in the ends of the earth.

Puerto Rico has made a valuable contribution to the development of education in the Caribbean in its second-unit schools, but it remains true that in general the curriculum of the schools throughout the area is not sufficiently closely related to the life of the community. Thus, in the French West Indies, where the policy has been one of assimilation and where " the establishment and the extension of the French primary school constitute one of the elements and one of the consequences of this political assimilation, it recently appeared to be necessary to direct the primary school system more towards meeting the needs of the country and fitting into its economy." (17) The same necessity exists in the Dutch West Indies and in the British West Indies. In 1943 a Committee, under the chairmanship of Dr. I. L. Kandel, was appointed to inquire into secondary education in Jamaica. It reported that a system of education had been borrowed from abroad without such modifications as were needed to give it meaning in its new setting. " In a country in which it is difficult to distinguish between the people of the town and the people of the country the chief result of secondary education is to help boys and girls to turn their backs on its agricultural life. . . . Jamaica is kept as far removed from the interest and attention of Jamaican boys and girls as it is indeed from the interest and attention of boys and girls for whom the examination syllabus was originally prepared." (18)

The result may be seen in this account of a visit by a Jamaican artist to an exhibition of the work of some rural primary schools early in the 1930s:

" Years ago I remember judging a large collection of drawings and

paintings, not one single work of which portrayed the features or the characteristics of a Jamaican face.

" Even worse, there was one little study or sketch of a Jamaican market scene, and believe it or not, the market women under their scarlet bandanas had yellow hair, pink faces, and even blue eyes . . . we had become deaf and blind to the land and people that were Jamaica."

These problems are grave. When the economic resources of the areas are considered they may even appear to be insoluble. No time can be lost, however, in attempting to find a solution, since another Jamaican is born every half an hour and another Puerto Rican every ten minutes.

IV. To-morrow is not without hope. Dynamic forces are at work in the Caribbean. Attitudes are changing. There are signs of a changing attitude in education, and there are in progress experiments modest in scale but charged with potency. This final section refers to some of these significant developments.

There is growing recognition of the fact that economic development and educational reform are bound together. In an area where there is widespread ignorance and widespread distress the two immediate needs are food and education. For the first time in Caribbean history, planned development is being undertaken—in Puerto Rico by the Puerto Rican Government and in the British West Indies with the help of the Comptroller for Development and Welfare. This planning involves assistance in the international field. As the Comptroller's report says: " The British West Indian region produces barely 2 per cent. of the world's total supply of sugar—yet this industry is responsible for fully half of its agricultural wealth. The Colonies are thus faced with a basic dilemma—the way out from which, it now seems clear, lies in the field of international economic relations. In this field itself the outlook is still uncertain. On the one hand, the forthcoming Conference on International Trade and Employment proposes to deal with the question of international commodity agreements as part of a general programme of freeing trade from restrictions; on the other hand, the drift of opinion crystallising in such bodies as the Food and Agriculture Organisation of the United States is towards raising the returns to primary producers and stabilising prices, paying special attention to the position of regions closely committed to the production of a single commodity. Meanwhile, externally, the future of the West Indian sugar industry appears as a side issue in the reconstruction of world trade; internally it must remain the major economic problem of the area for a generation." (19)

It involves also the immediate development of the resources of the area and it is a hopeful sign that in this planning there is active

participation by the people themselves. For the first time in Caribbean history the regional aspects of economic development can be considered because of the creation of the Caribbean Commission. The British and United States Governments are giving substantial financial aid to the West Indies and to Puerto Rico respectively. The subsidies are not inconsistent with the growth of political responsibility if the objectives are clear and if the methods permit both parties to become partners in a great programme of social engineering.

The international, regional, and local aspects of planning for economic development are, therefore, receiving attention, and this itself becomes effective political education in proportion as the peoples concerned partake in it. An increase in the national income, however, does not by itself lead to educational reform. Trevelyan has pointed out that "in 1899 the amount of public money spent per head on secondary education was only three farthings in England, as compared with one shilling and a penny three farthings in Switzerland." (20) Social awareness is essential, and there is good ground for hope in the fact that the Caribbean people themselves are becoming increasingly aware of the need for more education, and, even more important, of the need for the rethinking of educational policy. Thus Dr. Jaime Benitez, Chancellor of the University of Puerto Rico, has emphasised that "the key educational problem in Puerto Rico is not that we need more schools—which we do; or more teachers—which we do; or that our students should be willing and able to stay longer with us—which they should. I believe that it is far more important to give the whole educational system a sense and purpose in terms of the realities and potentialities of our life." (21)

This involves the deliberate use of education as a powerful social force to bridge the divisions in Caribbean society, to encourage the feeling of community, to break down false attitudes, and to equip children to become good individuals, good citizens, good partners in human relationships. It involves the recasting of the curriculum in primary and post-primary education and in the institutions for teacher-training. It involves the use of new methods and techniques.

Two illustrations will indicate what can be done.

The attitude towards agriculture and the land is being changed by education, by using the occupational club as a means of giving vocational training, by improving the agricultural extension services for adults, and by demonstrating that results come from putting brains into the land. "It will take time to reach the desired levels of efficiency in agriculture in the West Indies, but marked changes are already taking place in the general outlook. . . . There is, in fact, a growing concern among all classes about the soil and its wastage."

The second illustration is drawn from "Deep South," where

Powdermaker notes how, in some of the Negro schools, the study of Negro achievement increased the student's self-respect and gave him a respect for his race beyond anything his parents or grandparents ever had. (22) In the same way the study of Caribbean history may exercise a liberating influence by setting slavery in its setting as an economic system that was contemporaneous with serfdom in Europe and with child-enslavement in Britain; by telling the vivid story of the settlement of the Caribbean and by recognising the contribution made by the coloured peoples to its development; above all, by giving a sense of the past and by helping to build a tradition of achievement.

Further reason for hope lies in the general desire for more education. The Education Officer for Grenada, describing an experiment in adult education in that island, writes that "numbers became the first problem." The same result has attended recent attempts to provide facilities for adult education in Trinidad, in British Honduras, and in Jamaica.

Much more than response has, indeed, been forthcoming. There have been constructive attempts at relating the school more closely to problems of living and to the work of the community in the second-unit school of Puerto Rico, in the Practical Training Centres in Jamaica, and in the Grand Roy School in Grenada. There have been important experiments in adult education, and invaluable pioneer work has been done by organisations like Jamaica Welfare Limited, which has aimed at assisting rural communities to meet economic needs and to strengthen social organisation. One of the latest efforts of this organisation illustrates the line of approach. A project in mass education was undertaken, and the subject "Better Nutrition" was chosen because it involves so many related aspects of rural life, and is itself so vital among Jamaica's pressing problems. Agriculture and the right use of land, the home, and the care of children and health as an aspect of correct living, are all embraced in some measure in the variety of topics that at once arise when food is treated as a serious matter. The practical work of the campaign has been based on a systematic attempt to train the required local leaders and to rely on them to build up the community spirit which is essential for success.

The aims were to stimulate a community to take action under its own leadership to improve conditions; to instruct a community by devising a programme of adult education closely linked to daily life, easily understood, easily communicated; and to undertake through individual and group action the projects which form an essential part of the educational programme. A method of organisation was sought which would engender the dynamic, which would spread the services of trained officers as widely as possible, and which would develop and use voluntary leadership. The campaign

showed that theory by itself was largely a waste of time, but that theory became effective when rooted in practical activities like the making of compost heaps; that voluntary leadership was available and could be increased in effectiveness rapidly through carefully planned training programmes based on " study and action "; that interest in literacy developed when villagers saw that it was related to their daily needs.

These experiments in education " at the grass roots " and the growing demand for more and better education have themselves been stimulated and strengthened by the valuable work of the British Council and of the Carnegie and Rockefeller Foundations. It will be further strengthened by the University College of the West Indies, which admits its first students in October 1948. The establishment of the University will lead to the lifting of cultural standards, to the encouragement of objective thinking, and to teaching the lesson that one of the first duties of the educated is to lift the standards of life and of thought in the community. By providing a focal point for contact with other lands the University should also help to break down the superstition that Caribbean problems are unique when, in fact, the society of the area bears many resemblances to regions like the " Deep South," and when the economic problems are repeated in many parts of the world. This will lead to the fuller use of the results of research done elsewhere, the widening of intellectual horizons, and a contribution to the economic development of the area.

The creation of the University College, and the work of the Caribbean Commission, the British Council, the Carnegie Foundation, and the Rockefeller Foundation all exemplify the type of international co-operation that is helping the Caribbean people to solve their problems. The proposal for a UNESCO project in Fundamental Education in Haiti is to be welcomed as another example of international co-operation that will have significant results for the whole area.

These are signs of promise. Promise can become reality only if there is the widest possible expansion of compulsory primary education with the stretching of limited resources by bold experiments in method, the development of higher education, and the use of adult education as a democratic method of lifting community standards by stimulating interest in the arts and sciences and in their practical application to everyday life, and by finding methods of releasing the creative energies of the community for actively seeking its own betterment. Schools and fundamental education of this type are not a luxury. They are a means of survival. The words penned by Trevelyan in his *English Social History* with reference to the last war are relevant: " If we win this war it will have been won in the primary and secondary schools."

PHILIP M. SHERLOCK.

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CHAPTER FIVE

HAITI

THE QUEST FOR AN EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM

Problems of Education, Problems of Government

WHAT at the present time are the problems which the people of Haiti are facing? They are both numerous and complex, some being similar to those with which the great modern States have to deal, others belonging more specifically to those groups of countries which are usually designated as less advanced and less developed. We will attempt a short description.

The problem of over-population is acute. In an area of 28,000 square kilometres there exists a population estimated at the present time at 4,000,000, giving an average density of 143 inhabitants to the square kilometre, the highest density in the Western Hemisphere after that of Puerto Rico. The question appears more acute when it is realised that only 60 per cent. of this area is capable of cultivation on account of mountains and desert, and that of this 60 per cent. only 60 per cent. is properly cultivated owing to the land-tenure system and to the destructive exploitation of the land due to the Haitian agricultural system. The land can therefore no longer support those who work on it and, apart from a margin of subsistence which might be obtained by a more intensive and more highly skilled cultivation of the soil, other means of livelihood must be found. This situation gives way to the migration from the rural districts to the urban areas.

This summary makes it plain that in Haiti the average subsistence level is extremely low, the worker on the land suffers from malnutrition, he has scarcely one proper meal a day and that meal does not always contain the necessary elements for replacing what has been lost by illness and physical effort. He lives in a miserable hovel, ill-ventilated, ill-lit, of rudimentary form. His furniture, if it exists, is no more than two or three worn chairs, an old table, mats or a straw mattress laid on bars fixed to four posts, together with a few kitchen utensils. He wears just enough clothes to hide his nakedness, trousers and shirt; he does not wear shoes except on special occasions—to go to church on Sunday, to get married, or bury his dead. The children are unable to attend school regularly or do not attend it at all for lack of clothes. The Haitian agricultural worker has few recreations, and those few of little value. Cock fights, dances, prayers for the dead, Voodoo ceremonies,[1]

[1] A primitive religion.

games of chance or mere idleness occupy his leisure hours.

Underfed, ill-lodged, insufficiently clothed, exhausting his strength and wasting his money in unhealthy recreations, the Haitian also suffers from certain endemic diseases such as malaria, yaws, intestinal worms or ankylostomiasis. These diseases, due to bad sanitary conditions or lack of personal hygiene, play their part in weakening his system and affect his output more than one might think: from this arises the reputation for laziness attributed to him by the town-dwellers, which is seen to be unjustified when he is compared to the workers of neighbouring countries.

The effects of these diseases, together with the listlessness characteristic of inhabitants of the tropics and the poor pay of agricultural workers, perpetuate the bad conditions of agriculture.

For the most part the Haitian uses the hoe and the machete to bring ground into cultivation. He does just sufficient work to feed himself and his family. He likes easy crops. Coffee does not need much care; some plantations actually date from the colonial period; the only work to be done is the gathering of the berries when they ripen.

Before the work of selection by the experts of the Technical Service for Agriculture the indigenous cotton plant grew wild and developed into great trees which regularly yielded their pods. Cocoa and sugar-cane grow well when planted in suitable soils, the cane needing fairly frequent irrigation, which is easily managed in the plains. Before the export programme started about 1936 the banana served as a shelter for the coffee bushes and the fruit was simply considered a by-product. Crops such as the sweet potato, yams, and manioc need no work except when they are planted and harvested.

The rainfall favours the growth and fruiting of crops when the planting is done at the right season, which the worker knows by tradition. He does not use pruning, dressing, grafting, or seed selection. The only form of rotation of crops he knows is to let the land rest for a certain time while farther on he clears another acre, usually on a mountain side or a river bank; a practice which causes soil erosion, the destruction of forests, the drying up of springs, and frequent floods.

Usually there is no digging, the cultivator is content to scratch the earth with a hoe; fertilisers are not used systematically, but animal manure gets spread because he raises a few head of cattle.

Is this situation the cause or the effect of the state of ignorance and illiteracy in which 75 per cent. of the population and 90 per cent. of the rural population live, or do cause and consequences form links of a chain which, to be broken, must have one of those links smashed?

In the following section we shall describe the educative influences which have acted on Haiti in general and which, by turns, have en-

couraged or retarded its normal development. In the meantime let us only say that the rural population is sunk in ignorance and illiteracy, lacks ideals and aspirations in harmony with the needs and tendencies of the modern world in which we live, and is content to vegetate, content with birth, growth, reproduction, and death. This situation continues because the *élite* has not always understood its duty towards the uneducated population. By "*élite*" is meant the 5 per cent. to 10 per cent. of enlightened elements in the country. This *élite* has replaced the French colonists driven out of Santo Domingo (Haiti) by the Wars of Independence. It is composed of the descendants of generals, officers, and soldiers of the Haitian army, of the offspring of foreign merchants and professional men and Haitian women, with occasional additions from peasant families.

The *élite* itself is divided by all kinds of prejudices: those of birth, class, colour, fortune, education, professions or trade, sex, religion, and even places of residence. It is composed of clans or groups always in conflict, those who are out of office trying to bring down those who are in and taking advantage of economic difficulties and moral confusion to seize the key positions in the State. This causes the lack of stability in the Governments set up, the lack of properly conceived planning, and the lack of continuity in the work undertaken by successive Governments means that the consideration of fundamental problems is constantly in the melting-pot. Furthermore, since Haiti proudly declared herself a *black republic,* she has been always kept in the background in the concert of nations. She has had to wait more than sixty years after her independence for official recognition by the United States and permission to send a diplomatic representative to Washington.

To-day, a member of UNO, and of most of the specialised agencies connected with it, there is a hope that an efficient system of international co-operation would be built by means of which a country like Haiti might find assistance in the solving of her pressing problems.

Development of Education in Haiti

Three important influences have been at work in the development of educational ideas.

First, that of England, above all in the Northern Kingdom, where King Christopher, a great admirer of the English, appealed to the British and Foreign Schools Society to open Lancastrian schools in 1812. President Petion, Christopher's adversary, made little response to the advances of the Society. Nevertheless in 1816 it opened a Lancastrian school at Port-au-Prince. Pierre André, quoted by Pressoir,[1] writes: "How happy I am to be able to say

[1] Dr. Pressoir: *Historique de l'Enseignment en Haiti* (Lecture of April 9th, 1933).

that the zealous and estimable T. Bosworth is the first to leave England and establish in the Republic this school whose system enables a master, with so little expense, to teach 1,200 to read, write, and cipher in the short space of eighteen months."

Boyer, the successor of Petion and Christopher, despite his hostility to English influence, realised the economic advantages of the method and opened schools of this type in a number of towns. "All the heads were Haitians, and the teaching was given in French even in the schools in the Spanish parts. Apparently the great financial difficulties caused by the treaty with France in 1825 weighed heavily on these unhappy schools." [1]

As a result of the co-operation of the British and Foreign Schools Society, English teachers were able to train the first Haitians for the work.[2] The English therefore brought to Haiti the philanthropic conception of primary education organised for the people by the State and by members of the privileged classes.

At present little remains of English influence apart from this conception, which also comes from the French Revolution of 1848 and the continuation of the monitorial system by some teachers of crowded classes. Where English influence persists it is in the schools of certain Protestant missions.

The second and deepest influence is that of France. During the colonial period many half-castes, children of African slaves and French colonists and of certain black generals of the colonial army, those of Toussaint-Louverture for example, were sent to France for education. This gave Haiti a number of highly educated men such as Petion, Beauvais, Inginac. Also, the use of a rudimentary system of private education for the domestic slaves of colonists allowed men such as the great Toussaint-Louverture himself to learn reading and writing at the age of 50.

With the proclamation of the liberation of slaves in 1793, Sonthonax, one of the civil commissioners from France, had schools opened on the northern plantations.

After independence, "*lycées*" were created after the French model to educate the *élite* of the nation, and French teachers were engaged for this purpose.

But it was chiefly under the Government of Geffrard that French clerical influence was strengthened by the nearly simultaneous arrival between 1864 and 1875 [2] of various French teaching orders which opened schools for both boys and girls. Public and private primary schools and high primary schools were opened in the principal towns and in some smaller towns and villages. Private secondary schools for boys were also founded at Port-au-Prince by

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[1] Dr. Pressoir: *Historique de l'Enseignment en Haiti* (Lecture of April 9th, 1933).

[2] See Pressoir.

these Catholic congregations, secondary education for girls being only a very recent development in these schools.

French influence was also exercised indirectly by scholarships granted by the State to young men of ability to enable them to finish their studies in a university centre: certain families have continued the excellent habit, inherited from French colonists, of sending their children to France for their education. Since language and manners are common to the Haitian *élite* and to France, cultural relations have developed continuously.

French influence is also seen in the equivalence of studies established between the two countries; this has caused Haitian educationists to adopt (practically in their entirety) the French programmes of work and to use textbooks prepared by French authors for French children. It was a true statement to say that Haiti was an intellectual province of France.

To resume, the French have brought to Haiti:

(1) Primary education conducted by religious orders, which has naturally influenced lay education.

(2) The system of secondary and higher education with its *lycées,* private schools, and establishments of university rank.

(3) The "*école normale primaire*" (training college for primary teachers)—the only one for girls has for thirty years had a French woman as head.

(4) The literature, language, mode of thought, and expression characteristic of the Latin mind.

The third influence on Haitian education is that of North America. Originating in the American occupation of the country, which lasted from 1915 to 1934, it is evident in the following measures:

(1) The creation of the Technical Service for Agriculture and for Agricultural Training and the organisation by this Service of sixty farm schools, eight technical colleges, and the Central School of Agriculture for the training of rural economists, agricultural officials, teachers in the farm schools, lecturers in the technical colleges, and heads of technical departments in the Agricultural Service.

(2) The opening of a military school for the training of officers for the army and the police.

(3) The granting of bursaries to students and teachers for further study in medicine, chemical and agronomic sciences, teaching, the sanitary and hydraulic service, administration, etc.

(4) The constitution of the Joint Commission which functioned from 1943 to 1946 to deal with the preparation of primary school teachers, the teaching of manual arts, and also created the Art Centre at Port-au-Prince, encouraged the teaching of English in schools above the primary level, and granted scholarships to young teachers.

(5) The establishment of a school of nursing and the installation of laboratories in the Faculty of Medicine.

To American influence Haiti owes basic ideas which, at the present time, are causing a ferment and dividing the *élite* into opposing camps—those who wish to perpetuate the French system and those who wish to see a complete remodelling of the different systems of education, in conformity with the principle of developing a primary education designed to meet the needs of the environment. To this end all local resources, both material and spiritual, would be used to enrich the teachings—the local language and folk-lore, i.e. songs, dances and music—true appreciation of the contribution made by African culture without forgetting the needs of the modern world. In the same way secondary studies should be brought more into line with the needs of the environment by training technicians of all types and not merely scholars and men of letters, while the university should deal with Haitian problems without abandoning study for its own sake. Competent agriculturists and artisans should also be trained and capable teachers who would bridge the existing gulf between the *élite* and the mass of the people and who would play their part in the democratisation of Haitian society.

Other influences from abroad may also be noticed in the shape of the openings of a domestic science school for primary teachers by the " Filles de Marie " (Belgian Sisterhood) for the Government, together with some primary schools where attention is largely devoted to manual work. Then the Salesian Fathers (Italian) run a technical school for boys on behalf of the Government, while Adventist Missions have created private primary and technical schools at their own expense. Laubach's method of teaching reading and writing of the local language to illiterate adults has also been recently introduced, and has given rise to a Government campaign against illiteracy.

Present Organisation of Education and Desirable Modifications

Does this organisation correspond to the country's needs?

The law of August 13th, 1947, defines the powers of the Directorate-General of National Education, and the law of August 29th, 1947, that of the Directorate-General of Adult Education, which is to organise a campaign throughout Haiti for the extinction of illiteracy.

There are three divisions—urban education, rural education, and administration. While urban education deals with public and private primary and secondary schools, primary training colleges, technical schools and reformatories, rural education includes only the supervision and inspection of primary schools in rural areas and in certain small towns. Administration deals with statistics, finance, supplies, school buildings, and personnel. Physical educa-

tion is directly under the Director-General of Education,[1] while adult education is a direct function of the Minister.

Taking into account the pressing needs of the country, we may say that there are not enough schools of any type, nor of trained teachers, institutions, and not enough or sufficiently well-organised centres of adult education. University education is not sufficiently direct to the solution of the Haitian problems. Proper buildings and teaching material are lacking, and the social services for scholars and students are not properly developed.

To deal with these matters a realistic plan is necessary which can be applied as far as financial resources permit. In my opinion, the plan should include the following important points:

Unification of Urban and Rural Education. The law of August 18th, 1947, explicitly states: "considering that the State, in any free society, should dispense, without restriction, the same education to all classes of society," and decrees in Article 2: "The General Directorate of National Education, according to the resources of the State, assures to all citizens of all social classes and without any restrictions, all degrees of education." The law should go farther, and not perpetuate the distinction existing since 1931 between urban and rural education. The distinction was made owing to the desire to start a system of rural schools which would cater for the needs of a rural population.

If the principle is now recognised that the school should reflect its environment, that in its scheme of work, methods, and activities it should utilise the spiritual and material resources of this environment to enrich its teaching and give it a solid basis, it is unnecessary to establish an administrative distinction between town schools and those in the country, by the sea or in a mining area. The distinction will be made by teachers and inspectors in the interpretation and application of the scheme of work and in the choice of activities. This unification would reduce the costs of administration and inspection.

Development of Primary Education. At present, despite the law on compulsory attendance, half the school population of the towns and five-sixths in the country cannot attend public primary schools because there are not enough. Means must be found to extend each year the benefits of primary education so that in ten or twenty years all children between 6 and 14 years of age will be able to attend school. Special taxation for national education or direct participation by the different "communes" and even rural sections in the establishment and maintenance of their schools should be seriously considered.

Primary education would still extend officially from 6 to 12 years

[1] This office has recently been abolished. The Under-Secretary of State for National Education or the Minister will probably deal with the co-ordination of educational services.

of age. But in rural districts two types of school should be established: (1) local schools for the first three years, and (2) a central school to which pupils would go on from the first type for the last three years. While the first type would have one or two teachers, the central schools could have three to six or even more.

Pre-school Education. Modern psychology has shown the importance of the pre-school period, and educationists have recognised the necessity of bringing the child up in a favourable atmosphere during this period when his plasticity offers an ideal ground for the preservation of first impressions. An ignorant and illiterate family is incapable of giving the child ideas in harmony with a continually evolving society, since primitive education consists fundamentally of perpetuating out-dated modes of life and ancestral customs. In Haiti this is particularly striking with the two societies, the one primitive and preserving African ways of life, the other developed and living according to the norms of Western civilisation. The situation is tragic for the country child who goes to a primary school of European type where he receives ideas diametrically opposed to those of his family. This situation needs urgent measures: nursery schools or pre-school centres for children under 6 and educational centres for adults, together with a programme aimed at improving the material conditions of life of the peasant family.

Pre-school education already exists in the towns for families in easy circumstances who wish to get rid of their children so as to attend to business and social obligations. Experimental classes for very young children also exist attached to primary practice schools. Apart from this, children under 6, when allowed to attend school, have no special attention paid them and are lost in the crowd of older children.

As a provisional measure infant classes could be attached to all public primary schools with a two-years scheme of occupations for children from 4 to 6.

Development of Professional, Technical, and Agricultural Education. Technical schools are insufficient in number and generally situated in towns; even when fully organised, they will be able to receive only a limited number of pupils. Haitian artisans such as carpenters, joiners, cabinet-makers, shoemakers, tailors, blacksmiths, masons, mechanics are often without the technical knowledge necessary for the mastery of their craft and the basic elements which could help them to raise themselves professionally. It is of the utmost urgency that technical institutes should be started in both towns and country after a review of Haitian requirements. An inquiry of this kind was carried out at Port-au-Prince, and others are required periodically to study the changing needs of different callings. Courses for further training for adults already at work are also badly needed.

Technical schools should also aim at introducing new industries,

for, if the country is to develop on sound economic lines, new occupations should be found for others than land workers, and even for these during the "dead seasons" during drought or between harvests.

The technical and agricultural schools should be of three types, with two- to four-year courses; the first for children leaving the primary schools for such industries as basket-making, weaving, domestic science, and agriculture; the second for children who have completed the first stage of secondary education for agriculture, secretarial work, shoemaking, dressmaking, and building; and finally a higher technical school for candidates who have passed the *baccalauréat* to train as agriculturists, engineers, wireless experts, electricians, motor mechanics, precision mechanics.

Development of Secondary Education. The existing secondary schools are situated in the towns, and offer courses lasting six years culminating in the *classe de rhétorique* or seven years for the *classe de philosophie.* This type of education has as its aim the preparation of the pupil for higher education and the liberal callings, and is open to only a very small number of children who have completed their primary school course. To avoid giving children who do not finish the secondary course the feeling of being failures, and also to fulfil the demands of commerce, industry, and agriculture, we should return to the programme of Dantès Bellegarde (former Minister of Education). This recognised two cycles of study, the first lasting three years and the second three or four years.

Secondary schools with only the first would be established in both country and town, and would replace the present higher primary schools. Attendance would be compulsory from 6 to 15 years of age, first in the primary school and then in the lower type of secondary school or in a technical school.

Secondary schools with higher studies would still give a further four years' education, with various combinations of arts and science subjects.

To satisfy the ever greater demands of the university and other places of higher education, and to raise the general level of education and culture, two years' study after the *baccalauréat* would be added. The pupils would specialise in science, mathematics, languages, literature, social studies, or art. This would obviate the necessity of the University Entrance Examinations, and facilitate the exchange of students between Haiti and foreign countries.

Organisation and Development of the University. At present there exist faculties of medicine and law, a polytechnic school, schools of theology, agriculture, dentistry, a college for intending secondary teachers, a military academy, and an ethnological institute, most being State institutions or subsidised by the State. The university is therefore not yet complete.

The Faculty of Letters is in process of formation, with the help of the Institut Français of Port-au-Prince. It will be necessary to add, when possible, faculties or schools for social sciences, psychology, administration and statistics, political economy, linguistics, journalism, and diplomacy and international affairs. Side by side with studies and research of universal character pursued for their own sake, the university ought also to investigate things Haitian and the special problems of the country, to help the public to understand them and to create an atmosphere favourable to the rapid elimination of anomalies existing in Haitian society and in its relations with the modern world.

Organisation of Social Services in Relation to Education. To the Education Administration should be attached a section of social services to deal with the needs of pupils and students by the general adoption of sanitary and medical services, the increase in number and efficiency of school canteens, distribution of milk and other foods, transport of pupils living at a distance, grants to large or necessitous families, the organisation of recreation centres and of boarding schools for orphan or deserted children or those who live in remote regions, together with the installation of public parks and playgrounds for children.

Creation of Special Schools. Abnormal children are generally found in the same classes as normal. Most spend several years there without benefit. The creation of psychological laboratories controlled by the Faculty of Psychology in the university would be of immense help in the study of these cases and in the preparation of a plan of action. Special classes or schools in a pleasant environment and provided with all facilities ought to be established for these children and placed in the charge of teachers specially trained.

Reformatories now receive deserted or necessitous children as well as delinquents; these two categories ought to be separated. The reformatories should seek to re-educate their inmates, to follow them up, and if necessary teach a trade or profession. Only children who have committed grave offences should be admitted on the sentence of a special children's court. Other measures, such as the supervision of the child at home or temporarily in the care of another family, or his provisional confinement in a house of observation, should be taken with a view to his rehabilitation. The ultimate aim should be his return home, or where this is impossible he should be helped to become a useful and honest member of society.

Professional Guidance. The schools and their social services, together with the university Faculties of Psychology, Sociology, and Statistics, should collaborate in the record of each pupil, dealing with his health, scholastic achievement, aptitudes, character, ambitions, those of his parents—everything which can help the child in his choice of a trade or profession. Similarly, a study of the trades and professions should be made.

Adult Education. Educational centres should be established institutions for adults, with special courses in all types of existing education and with rural institutes, run in collaboration with other Government services.

A wide use of the cinema, radio, Press, posters, and audio-visual media in general would be made in co-operation with the Government Bureau of Information.

Training of Primary, Secondary, and University Teachers, Social Workers, and Youth Leaders. The programme sketched above cannot be realised without proper training of all teachers and social workers. At present there exist a training college for primary teachers of each sex and a college for the education of secondary teachers. In the Ministry there should be a division, of comprehensive character, responsible for the training of all types of teachers and workers described above as well as for the initial course of future university professors before they complete their studies abroad. These different courses of training institutions would not be rigidly separated; techniques and facilities developed in one or another would benefit all pedagogic training.

Curricula and Methods of Teaching. In this report little emphasis has been laid on curriculum-content or the use of suitable methods. It has been taken for granted that the aim of this education is to help the child to understand his environment, adapt himself to it, work for his own development and the progress of his milieu, giving due importance to the conditions in Haiti and the demands of the ever changing modern world, to co-operate in this work with his fellow-countrymen, and to play his part in all national or international enterprises in company with the members of other nations and lands.

To attain these ends various means should be used: active methods of teaching in accordance with John Dewey's famous " Learning by doing," local resources should be utilised and local needs and desired objectives taken into account in the preparation of teaching material, while an ever larger place should be given to matter dealing with the manners and customs of other nations and of international undertakings. In the planning of curricula, the help of teachers should be enlisted and account taken of parents' wishes. If necessary, foreign educationists and experts should be called in to organise certain institutions and the teaching of certain techniques or branches of learning.

The Problem of Bi-lingualism and the Teaching of French. In Haiti the official language is French. Nevertheless, 80 per cent. of the population speak and understand only Creole, a *patois* largely formed of French words but having its own syntax and morphology. An increasingly large place should be given to Creole in the primary schools and in the educational centres for illiterates.

The first three years of the rural schools and the same type of

school established in the outskirts of the towns would gain by conducting their work in Creole at the outset; French would be introduced gradually as the children's knowledge was widened through the medium of the mother tongue.

Educational Finance, Administration, and Policy. How can such a magnificent programme be carried out in a country as poor as Haiti? If we admit that it is necessary to educate the citizens of a democratic country, and if we recognise that the education of the people is intimately bound up with the moral, social, and economic progress of the country, we should not hesitate to make sacrifices and to take all necessary measures to develop the educational system.

In Haiti that means that 50 per cent. of the total budget should be allocated to national education, public health, agriculture, and public works connected with these three services. They are the three things essential for the country. The remaining 50 per cent. of revenue would amply suffice for the Ministers of police, justice, religion, foreign relations, finance, commerce, and national economy. A detailed analysis of the last-named departments would show that their charges would be reduced if the people were educated, healthy, and capable of developing its agriculture and industry.

A vast campaign by means of cinema, radio, and Press should be organised in favour of popular education, and local and national committees of education should be set up, composd not only of educationists but also of people from every walk of life.

The economic state of the landworkers should be improved by the introduction of better technical methods, the development of small rural industries, the formation of marketing, credit, and production co-operatives, and simultaneously the local contribution to the establishment and upkeep of educational institutions should be increased. These institutions should be in harmony with local resources, while local material should be used in the construction and equipment of school buildings. Technical and financial help should be obtained from the relevant department of UNO, from private and inter-governmental organisations, and philanthropic foundations devoted to education in Haiti. The UNESCO project in the Valley of Marbial is an example. Educated Haitians should be encouraged to emigrate to other countries where their contribution would be appreciated, especially African territories and parts of Latin America.

E. GABRIEL.

SECTION V

AFRICA

Introduction

AFRICA is the last continent where the European Powers still wield undisputed control. With the exception of the north-eastern corner, where two indigenous nations have recently become independent—Egypt and Abyssinia—the whole continent is divided as colonial possessions between five European countries—Great Britain, France, Belgium, Spain, and Portugal. The problems of Africa, therefore, are largely the problems of European Governments, and the natives have little influence on the educational policy. If we exclude the Arabs and Moors of North Africa and the Abyssinian tribes of the north-east, the rest of the continent is inhabited by what are generally called Negro tribes. These tribes, however, are not a homogeneous biological race; they vary in colour from yellow to black, in height from pigmies to exceptionally tall groups, in their cephalic index from broad-headed to long-headed, and so on. In their socio-economic structure they again represent various stages, from most primitive to highly organised societies with cultural traditions and even an historical past. Their numerous languages belong to agglutinative or classificatory linguistic branches which are capable of development in the same way as the isolating Chinese or agglutinative Turkish. The latest scientific investigations, psychological, linguistic, and socio-economic, have clearly shown that there is among them no inherent inability of acquiring a higher culture. Given optimum conditions the Africans may prove as capable as other races. The problem facing the European administrations is whether to choose a short cut of wholesale assimilation to the European way of life, or the long way of gradually building up an indigenous culture. Both alternatives bristle with difficulties. In the case of assimilation, these involve language, religion, family life, economic and social changes. Even with small groups of the same colour and similar culture, as the Jews, the policy of assimilation has not always been an unqualified success. In America the assimilation of Indians is only partially successful in Mexico and very doubtful in Peru and Bolivia. When millions of Africans are concerned the difficulty is still greater. On the other hand, with multiplicity of local dialects and great variation of religious beliefs and tribal customs, it is questionable whether an indigenous culture would be able to grow beyond the limits of small groups. In the

following articles we see how the European Powers are sincerely endeavouring to solve this problem. The Belgians and the French have chosen the way of assimilation, the British the way of indigenous growth. African nationalism is not yet born, and whilst it is absent both European policies may succeed. There are, however, some signs that national movements may spread to Africa as well, and then all the plans of European educators would have to be recast anew.

EDITORS.

CHAPTER ONE

· AFRICA

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC BACKGROUND

THOUGH in the First World War military operations took place in East and West Africa, and colonial troops participated to some extent in activities outside Africa, the influence of the war on the general life of the people, and upon educational activity in particular, was not marked. Work that had been carried on by German missions, or by organisations mainly composed of German-speaking people, passed under the direction of non-German agencies. In the mandated territories the post-war governing Powers replaced German by their own language for official purposes, and in three instances—Togoland, Cameroons, and Ruanda—territory came under dual control, with the consequence that people found their homelands divided. In some cases, different groups of the same community came under the control of authorities pursuing different ideals and policies. With the exception of Tanganyika, the effect on the educational services was not particularly serious. Ex-Servicemen who returned from overseas activities made scarcely any contribution to education in either a formal or an informal manner.

General Influence of the War, 1939–45

The Second World War exerted a much more definite influence on education in the colonial territories. Despite temporary local setbacks due to military activities, and reduction of the number of educational workers in key positions, the over-all effect of the Second World War was to provide a stimulus both to the dominant authority and to the people themselves. The degree of stimulus varied considerably, and to some extent reflected the political outlook of the governed, and the governing, elements.

Before entering upon a territorial analysis of war-time and post-war developments, some general features call for comment. All the colonial Powers recognised the need for gaining the sympathetic support of the colonial peoples and the need for positive action to counteract enemy propaganda. This resulted in the use of broadcasting and the printed word, the picture and the cartoon. This development—particularly in the use of the spoken and printed word—gave a general stimulus to the use of the vernacular, which in its turn contributed to a strengthening of national feeling. Coupled with the use of broadcasting and the Press, in most territories the

film made its own special contribution, quickly showing its potential as an educative factor.

The manner in which the war progressed led to two developments of considerable importance. The first was a direct result of the need to increase the flow of raw materials from Africa, replacing the supplies cut off by enemy territorial successes in the Far East. This process of stepping-up production called for trained Africans in far greater numbers than were previously available. It also required education of an informal character for the masses of Africans drawn into mines, plantations, road schemes, and for peasants, who had been persuaded to grow new crops, or increase and improve production of old crops. The second development arose from the manpower needs of the armies and the high degree of technicalisation which they underwent. It was quickly found necessary not only to attract educated Africans, but to provide a minimum education involving literacy for the ordinary troops. This developed into what was virtually a mass-education movement of high significance.

When a considerable proportion of these men took part in campaigns in Burma and had their bases in India and Ceylon, they came under another educational influence of equal importance, in so far as national development was concerned, namely contact with politically-minded Asiatics reaching out towards political independence. Within Africa itself the movement of troops across political frontiers led to fresh concepts of the African in relation to his fellow-men, black and white, not leading—as might be expected—to a growth of pan-Africanism or to anti-white feeling, but contributing to a strengthened national feeling.

One other general factor, the full potential influence of which has not yet been revealed, was the effect produced when Africans found white men engaged in manual activities in mechanised units, and even more significantly in industrial and semi-industrial occupations having little immediate connection with military activities. The African found that the white man could and did do apparently menial tasks, during which he had to use and soil his hands, and that he worked harder, longer, and more efficiently at such tasks than could the African—an experience which did much to counteract the established ideas of the educated man being essentially a non-manual worker.

While it is possible to recognise clearly certain general effects of the Second World War on African education, in so far as the African himself is concerned, it is less easy to define the general effects on the white man in relation to African education. The war produced a general recognition of the fact that an increased tempo of development and application of new techniques was necessary and urgent. This recognition was shown sometimes willingly, sometimes unwillingly, political and economic factors, which had

a much more intimate effect on the lives of the peoples of the colonial Powers, continuing to obscure the educational picture. The establishment of UNESCO and of the Trusteeship Council, whilst exercising no immediate and significant influence on education in Africa, is likely to modify the attitude of colonial Powers and may stimulate development. Two other general influences on white concern for education in Africa should be taken into account. First, United States interest, and secondly the more vigorous development of educational ideas among the Christian missions. The application of the Atlantic Charter to Africa is a matter of concern among an influential element of the citizens of the U.S.A. which is likely to exert considerable pressure for educational development in Africa. The Christian missions, particularly through the International Missionary Council, the Agricultural Missions Foundation, and the Madras Conference, have experienced a sense of the completeness of education which is bound to influence educational thought and activity in Africa.

On viewing the different territories more closely it is convenient to group them under their respective colonial Powers because, though in some cases this results in bringing together areas which are distinct geographically and ethnically, and which are at different levels of educational development, the educational aims and methods are controlled by a common policy. In doing so, British Colonial Africa lends itself as a specially suitable starting-point, showing the greatest variety of features, and having in many instances provided some stimulus to educational activity in other territories, presenting, in some respects, a more completely developed educational pattern. In all essentials British Colonial Africa exemplifies the action and interaction of economic and social changes on educational practice.

British Tropical Africa

Educational policy in British African territories was developed in the years between the wars through the work of the Advisory Committee on Native Education in Tropical Africa established in 1923, whose work was carried on by the Advisory Committee on Education in the Colonies, organised in 1929 in order to extend the operations of the advisory body beyond Africa. By 1939 the main outlines of policy had been clearly established. Two aspects of educational development were, however, still inadequate; namely, the general extension of adult education and provision of higher education facilities. Despite the tremendous demands made upon all elements of the community, the Imperial Government pressed forward with the formulation of policy, and a Sub-Committee of the Advisory Committee was appointed in 1941, with terms of reference " To consider the best approach to the problem of mass

literacy and adult education, other than literacy, in the more backward dependencies, taking into account the emphasis which the Advisory Committee has laid in past years upon community education; and to make recommendations." The findings of the Sub-Committee were published in 1944, under the title *Mass Education in African Society*. The Sub-Committee had examined the problem in terms of the British Government's policy for the welfare and development of the people of the colonial empire, which is to secure " the improvement of the health and living conditions of the people; the improvement of their well-being in the economic sphere; the development of political institutions and political power until the day arrives when the people can become effectively self-governing." Summarising the problem, " Means must be found, and found quickly, whereby the people as a community can understand and appreciate the forces which have changed and are changing their lives so radically." The extension of schooling for children, with the attainment of universal child education within a relatively short time, the spread of literacy with a far-reaching development of literature and libraries, the planning of mass education as a movement within the community, and the co-ordination of welfare and mass-education plans, were among the chief objectives defined in the report.

With the publication of the Reports of the Commission on Higher Education in the Colonies in 1945, the enunciation of a policy covering all phases of education was completed. In recommending the establishment, as soon as possible, of universities in those areas not served by an existing university, the report stated that the immediate objective was to be the organising of " men and women who have the standards of public service and capacity for leadership, which the progress of self-government demands, and to assist in satisfying the need for persons with the professional qualifications required for the economic and social development of the colonies." The unitary type of university was preferred to that based on a system of federation. The establishment of an Inter-University Council for Higher Education in the Colonies, to secure the active interest and co-operation of the home universities together with autonomy of constitution and an interim period of special relationship with the University of London, were among the more important recommendations.

The completion of the process of enunciating a comprehensive educational policy would have been of little value to people unable to afford the financial burden of providing universal education. Even the boosting of territorial incomes, on account of war demands for raw materials, and the establishment of war bases and communication lines, represented only a temporary raising of income, and then not to a level adequate for the promotion of the ambitious programmes of social service. Fortunately, war needs brought about

a recognition of the potential value of the dependent territories, which called for a rate of development requiring very different concepts of financial administration than had previously been practised. The provision of external capital funds was limited to the earning services, and such funds, for the most part, had to be sought in the open money-market. In the post-1939 period this economic policy had restricted development, and had made provision and expansion of education increasingly inadequate to needs. The first major practical step in recognition of the weakness of the financial policy was taken in 1940, with the passing of the Colonial Welfare and Development Act. The Act, and the succeeding supplementary Acts, are based upon the conception that full development of the backward territories is, to a considerable extent, dependent upon an improved condition in the health and the intellectual and technical equipment of the people, and that, whatever potential natural resources may be available to the people in a particular area, the standard of health and knowledge of the people is a major factor, limiting development. To break the vicious circle, it was decided that a certain degree of priming of the pump was necessary. The Colonial Welfare and Development Act made provision for financing schemes for over-all development and for drafting comprehensive schemes for the social and economic improvement of dependent territories. So far as education is concerned, the Act has resulted in its being recognised as an invisible asset of great capital value. In drafting ten-year plans for educational development, various colonial Governments were at pains to emphasise the capital nature of the funds made available by the Imperial Government and drew attention to the fact that successful promotion of the educational programme depended upon a parallel economic and commercial development if local funds, adequate to meet the growing demands of recurrent expenditure, were to be available.

In some areas, grave doubts were felt as to whether economic development could take place sufficiently rapidly to ensure the increase of income necessary to guarantee the upkeep of the social services. Doubts in this respect are likely to be met, to a very considerable extent at least, by the recognition of the facts that "The economics of Western Europe and Tropical Africa are so closely interlocked, in mutual trade, in the supply of capital and in currency systems, that their problems of overseas balance are essentially one. The further development of African resources is of the same crucial importance to the rehabilitation and strengthening of Western Europe, as the restoration of European productive powers is to the future progress and prosperity of Africa. Each needs and is needed by the other." (Sir Stafford Cripps, *Address to Conference of African Governors, 1947.*) Recognition of these facts has already led to the establishment of the East African Groundnuts

Scheme, a pilot venture in agricultural industrialisation in Africa, and the establishment of the Colonial Development Corporation to finance productive projects likely to increase the wealth of the colonies themselves and stimulate the supply of products of which Britain and the world at large stand in need. In both cases, full recognition is accorded to the fact that education and the social services generally are vital factors in development, as well as to the further point that development of the natural resources is in part a State responsibility.

Before examining some of the more important growing-points in educational activity it will be well to consider the development of methods of co-operation between governments and the voluntary agencies, the latter being mainly Christian missions and their local Churches. " Boards of Education " and " Provincial Education Committees " have been established to provide advisory bodies, responsible for relating the direction of central organisation to local opinion. Despite this development, even in the case of the Native Administration schools, and schools under the direction of autonomous Churches, the interpretation of local needs and opinions has still remained in all essentials the prerogative of the non-Native workers, Government and mission, except in Uganda, where an education system had been developed jointly by missions and Native chiefs, and to a lesser extent in the West African colonies, where native opinion has already made itself felt. The need for devolving responsibility for education upon the people themselves was increasingly being realised in the years between the wars, and grew considerably during the war years. The resuscitation of the Provincial education committees, the inclusion of Native representation on governing bodies of institutions, and in some cases the growth of a professional spirit, evinced by the establishment of unions of teachers, has outlined the probable direction in which local responsibility is likely to grow. In Nigeria and the Gold Coast, Native authorities have, in some instances, expressed a definite desire to exercise complete responsibility for local development of education in their representation of a strong element of local initiative and in their provision of a pool of professional workers possessing a freedom of expression not always felt by the mission or Government employees. Thus, whilst in the immediate future the decisions of executive officers are not likely to be seriously challenged, it must be recognised that, where the non-official element has the majority in the legislative body of a territory, education is likely to be one of the first social services for which complete responsibility will be asked.

Growing-points: Relevant Economic and Social Factors

A serious criticism of the educational work in British African territories was made by the Phelps-Stokes Commission in 1925.

It concerned the missionaries' indifference to the economic value of agriculture in the establishment of Native welfare, and the consequent ignoring of the rural viewpoint in planning the curriculum. Attempts at developing a rural bias, and the establishment of an agricultural vocational element in education, were at first hesitant and to some extent vague in character. Recently greater and more systematic efforts have been made to rectify this weakness, and a number of vigorous experiments have been started. Probably the most comprehensive effort in this direction is that begun in 1938 by the Anglican diocese on the Niger. The condition of agriculture was reflected in the price of palm-oil, the main cash-crop product of the area, which cost ninepence a five-gallon tin compared with ten shillings a tin, the previous war-time price. The first objective was to show that the main occupation of the rural community—agriculture—held out hopes of improvement and of a good life. The approach was made initially not to the illiterate and semi-literate, directly involved in cultivation, but to the teacher-clergy elements of the community, who were able to appreciate the facts put before them. The approach was made in a systematic manner from two angles, and the initial activities were carried on at the diocesan training college, Awka. On the one hand, there was an appeal to the African's traditional love of the land in terms of the Christian faith. Secondly, emphasis was laid upon the handicap placed on the primary source of livelihood, by the flow of educated and semi-educated people to the towns, leaving illiterate farmers to compete in the world markets against educated farmers of other lands, who are thus capable of using the most efficient and intensive methods of production, to the serious detriment of African prospects. No attempt was made to produce expert farmers from these clergy, catechists, and teachers. The aim was to create an attitude of mind towards the land which, if felt sincerely by them, would be reflected in their teaching and leadership in the villages.

This attempt at a philosophical approach coincided with a systematic drive, on the part of the central Government, to establish a genuine rural influence in the curriculum of primary schools through the development of rural science and school farms. Suspicions, however, arose in the minds of many parents, who interpreted Government emphasis upon "farming" in schools as an attempt to deprive their children of opportunities for town employment. The practical demonstrations provided by school farms, such as demonstration palm-oil plots, reparation of locally eroded school-compounds, together with the leadership provided by clergy, catechists, and teachers, helped to correct these suspicions and it became possible for the diocesan scheme to develop into a corporate regional effort directed by the three major Protestant missions in South-East Nigeria and supported by financial aid and advice from the Government. The scheme is based upon a

large rural demonstration centre, providing vocational training in agriculture, forestry, and the ancillary trades for boys and girls, a model village for training family units in home and farm craft, church, school, market and co-operative store management. Not only is this a contribution to the general well-being of the African community, but, even more important, it is a demonstration of the development of educational activity integrated into the general life of the community, catering for all age-groups and providing general and vocational education, through formal and informal agencies. A scheme such as this represents a blending of ideas and practical activities developed out of years of experience.

Of a different nature, but equally significant, is the work which has been carried out in the West Suk district of Kenya, amongst a semi-pastoral people whose primitive cultivation methods provided only a precarious existence, though it was rapidly destroying hill-forestation and causing the drying-up of streams. This added to the intensification of drought conditions, already seriously reflected in the emaciated condition of the stock. A small school of twenty-five boys, under the direction of an African teacher, was opened at Kacheliba in 1929. A year later the school was moved to Kapengurier, a place in the hills, where the number of pupils quickly dwindled to eight. The decision to give the curriculum an agricultural trend was taken, as a result of a series of tours of the district by a European agricultural education officer, who quickly realised the backward and conservative condition of the people, as well as the serious damage being done to the land. The initial aim was to provide an elementary literary education, together with a practical agricultural education, including emphasis upon irrigation, cultivation methods, and the introduction of new crops. A group of fifty boys, mainly sons of chiefs, were divided into two classes, (*a*) those who could read and write, (*b*) those who were completely illiterate, and formed the first class of the new school. Good yields from the school gardens, and the successful introduction of potatoes as a crop and article of diet, did much to overcome the handicaps which had been the result of the initial venture. It was obvious, however, that the school would be unlikely to make any serious contribution to the betterment of the community as a whole. With the approval of the District Commissioner, a scheme for providing each location with its own agricultural demonstration plot and seed-distributing centre was placed before the local Native Council, with three specific aims in view: the introduction of new crops to the district, the teaching of better methods of cultivation, with special attention to soil conservation, and the establishment of a seed-distributing centre. One chief offered to give the scheme a trial. The products of the first plot, including new foods after seed reservation, were distributed out to the people for sampling, the preparation and cooking of

the new foods having been demonstrated to them. As a result, other chiefs expressed a desire for demonstration crops in their locations. The establishment of additional plots depended upon the local council providing money to pay ex-schoolboys to look after the plots. The development of the school and of the demonstration plot went on systematically, the school expanding its activities to mixed-farm techniques and related crafts. The demonstration plots increased in number, and widened to include soil conservation, the recovery of over-grazed land, and the development of drought-resisting fodder plants. Many pupils found employment as demonstrators and soil-conservation scouts, and an increasing number are now developing their own mixed farms on land formerly used merely for communal grazing.

These examples of development described above demonstrate the manner in which one may relate formal education to the environment and the character of the particular society so as to establish a new balance between literacy, education, and, what is in all essentials, vocational education.

The Um Gerr experiment in rural-community development in the Sudan represents an advancement in education with emphasis upon the development of local initiative. It demonstrates the manner in which education in Africa is being given an increasingly wider interpretation than that which we have been familiar with in Western industrial countries. Um Gerr is an irrigated cotton- and dura-growing scheme of about ten thousand acres, involving about twelve thousand people living in four villages. The irrigation scheme is only a few years old, and most of the people have, until recently, lived a semi-nomadic life, depending for their livelihood on their cattle, a rain crop, and a flood crop. The usual departmental services have begun functioning. Medical and mosquito services are at work, a boys' and a girls' school have been opened, and village councils have been started. But it has been realised that real progress depends on the development of a spirit of self-help and the consistent use of local initiative, in order that future plans will lie with the community as a corporate body and not—as it largely is at present—with the enthusiastic official. The scheme was begun in 1944. Two adjustments were necessary for the beginning of rural development in this backward community. The leading villagers should have some technical knowledge of health and of new agricultural processes so that they would have a better understanding of the changes that are occurring in their lives and of the possibilities of improvement. The other great need was that there should be at least some opportunity for them to take over responsibility and to display initiative.

Two main kinds of courses were run—the technical, which were organised by the different departments concerned, and the general (mainly civics) which were organised by the Adult Education Officer.

A month's course in pubic health training was held in February 1944 for seven selected villagers, each of whom now acts as a *Murshid* (adviser) in his own area, encouraging people to take more effective health precautions. More recently a refresher course has been given to the same men. The *Murshidin* are also a channel for other enlightened ideas. A number of agricultural sheikhs were given instruction by members of the agricultural staff. Two women received midwifery training at the Midwifery School, Khartoum, and six youths served a building apprenticeship with a " foreign " builder. Further apprenticeships in carpentry and other crafts are now in the process of development. Four basic courses in civics were held, each of a three-weeks duration, and attended by twenty villagers. The courses were concerned with the development of appreciation of each other's work, consideration of social and domestic problems, arising from the changes taking place in the way of life, the understanding of the policies and regulations of central and local government, as they affect the daily life of people, and the study of ways in which the discussion of new ideas and their practical application might be stimulated amongst the villagers. The basic courses are being followed up with refresher courses. More recently exploratory work has been going on amongst the women, through visits and regular fortnightly women's meetings in the villages: in some as many as half the women attend. They bring work with them, and time is mainly spent in health talks and the learning of sewing.

The " Alternative Livelihood Board," which controls the experiment, is advised by the " White Nile Schemes Committee." District officials of the departments concerned, together with the *Nazir* of the local administration, form this committee. The local Adult Education Officer acts as its agent and keeps contact between the village councils.

Six years is but a short time to hope for concrete results in such a long-term and somewhat diffuse educational experiment, but there are already signs of a new " awareness " of outlook and of a wider understanding of the nature of the local problems of the community. Self-help projects are being carried out, some with little outside pressure.

Each of these projects, in its way, represents a practical exposition of the validity of educational principles enunciated in the 1925 memorandum on the Policy of Native Education, and particularly of the emphasis laid upon the expansion and reinterpretation of the principles combined in the 1935 memorandum on the " Education of African Communities." The Anchau sleeping-sickness control experiment and the Daudawa land-settlement schemes in Northern Nigeria, the Oyo Farm School and the Ididep Vocational School in Southern Nigeria, Bunsu Plantation, Achimota, and the Central Government school at Tamale, in the Gold

Coast, are similar examples demonstrating the process of integration of education into communal life, with due regard to recognition of the rural basis of African life. The East African Groundnuts Scheme, involving extensive application of industrial techniques to crop production, and the resettlement of people in new districts, widely separated from their original homes or involving mixed communities, is producing new centres of educational activity needing the comprehensive approach exhibited by the sample experiments described. Whilst new needs will not necessarily be met by an exact repetition of one or other of the experiments, the latter can be drawn upon as sound guides to what will have to be done if the new communities are to satisfy the technical demands made upon them, and at the same time develop into self-reliant democratic communities.

The establishment of new communities which will result from the Groundnuts Scheme will raise the question of the advisability or otherwise of the introduction of compulsory education. War-time developments in Northern Rhodesia, where compulsory education was established in five urban areas and in a rural area, indicate the possibilities in this direction. On economic grounds, compulsory education in dependent African territories has been regarded as so completely impossible, except in special and limited areas, that it has been considered an ideal for the distant future. The ultimate reason for the introduction of compulsory education in the Broken Hill industrial area in Northern Rhodesia was the presence of large numbers of urchins roaming the streets and compounds or finding casual employment, frequently of an unsatisfactory character, accompanied by child labour and delinquency, child marriage, and temporary sexual unions. Long-term economic reasons, as well as the growing social conscience of the community, in part influenced by events in England, served to provide the leverage necessary to promulgate the necessary regulations in November 1942. Teachers expounded the intention and purpose of the regulations to the African population, the initial drive being confined to children between the apparent ages of 12 and 16 years, residing within three miles of scheduled schools. Compulsion resulted in the registration of 2,500 children instead of the estimated 1,500. To meet this result of under-estimation, a shift scheme of classes, games, and scouting was devised to cope with the large sub-standard groups, and the African education officers' "building team" was doubled. Sites were provided by the mining company, and capital was provided in part from the Colonial Welfare and Development Fund. Apprentices, "learners," and schoolboys gave valuable labour assistance, and received training in building. Missions co-operating in the scheme were provided with full building equipment, and salary grants. Under the "Mine Amalgamated Schools" each mission manages

its own elementary section and transfers pupils to the inter-denominational Government-managed middle school. Each closely associated group of schools has an "African Schools Committee" responsible for guiding internal and social affairs, and for promotion tests. The governing body is the local education committee for the Broken Hill compulsory education area, the education officer exercising executive responsibility. Linked with the establishment of compulsory schooling is the development under the direction of the teachers of the Pathfinder Scout and Cub, and the Wayfarer Guide movements, school football leagues, bands, concerts, and rural holiday campaigns.

Under the stimulus of the Broken Hill experiment, many Native authorities have passed limited compulsory attendance orders and are now asking for approval of full compulsion in those rural areas which already have adequate school provision. The experiment has demonstrated clearly that compulsory education in an African urban area tends to discourage migration of children and stimulates educational interest in both rural and urban communities. Furthermore, it has demonstrated that where African opinion is favourable and African staff are ready to accept responsibility, compulsory education in an urban area is no longer to be regarded as either a formidable or a costly measure.

Equally significant is the success of the compulsory education scheme among the pastoral Ila people of Nanwala in Northern Rhodesia. The law was applied to all children within reach of a school and it requires four years' attendance. The response has been, in every way, successful and is providing considerable stimulus to the growth of general interest in education. Apart from the pilot character of the Northern Rhodesian compulsory education experiments, providing as they do valuable data for authorities contemplating the application of compulsion, they raise the question of the validity of official reluctance to exercise compulsion and of the economic arguments used.

Technical Education

It has already been said that colonial economic policy, prior to the passage of the Colonial Welfare and Development Act, had exercised a severely restrictive influence upon the progress of education. No branch suffered more in this respect than did technical education. Its almost complete restriction to the minimum needs of road and rail transport and, in West Africa, to lagoon marine services, and the use of so-called cheap-labour techniques, created little demand for native technicians. Such training as was provided was essentially of a limited "apprentice" character within the technical departments, or of a casual fetch-and-carry character. In the nineteen-thirties Achimota, Higher College, Yaba (Nigeria),

and Makerere College (Uganda) provided advanced courses of a technical nature, but the intake of students was limited to departmental needs and, except for the possibilities of independent business in some of the large townships for surveyors, there was no incentive to a free-lance engineering career. The war revealed the paucity of resources in this field, and produced within the machinery of military organisation means for filling the immediate military needs and, incidentally, created the beginnings of a pool of technical workers without which the extensive plans for post-war development must remain blueprints. Workers still satisfied with the subsistence mode of life, and possessing land and family rights in village communities, exhibit little sense of pride and craftsmanship; nor do they appreciate the necessity for punctuality or for substantial effort. The trained craftsman, dependent upon his wage earnings and lacking a satisfactory general education, displays a tendency to accept a social status inferior to that of clerks and storekeepers, which leads to the more unsatisfactory features of urban life covered by the term " detribalisation."

Under the conditions of planned economy and development which have arisen during the war and during the immediate post-war period, technical education is receiving, for the first time in British Colonial Africa, over-all and adequate consideration. This is well illustrated by the reorganisation now taking place in Nigeria. A separate technical branch of the Education Department has been formed, which is responsible for the modification of the Higher College, Yaba, into a technical institute, offering a range of courses similar to an English technical college, eventually providing facilities for 250 boarding students, and 1,000 to 1,500 day and part-time students. Three trade centres are being developed at Yaba, Kaduna, and Enugu, to provide five-year courses in trades such as carpentry, cabinet-making, joinery, and other building trades; mechanical and motor-fitting, sheet-metal working, and electrical work. The minimum qualification is complete " primary education," and general education is continued throughout the course. Handicraft-training centres for school children represents a third phase of responsibility. In order that it shall be related to the home environment, provision has been made for officers to investigate the possibilities of the development of village industries, and to supervise the teaching of the necessary crafts in an instructors' training centre. Perhaps, more than in any other branch, the direction in which technical education is moving illustrates the extent to which economic and social factors are changing the character of African society, and calling for rapid and extensive educational development.

Adult Education

The limitation of facilities for the provision of higher education in British tropical Africa has had a result which the policy had not intended, namely, the production of an *élite,* small in number, powerful in political character. This *élite* has tended to live for itself: it has displayed lack of appreciation of the values of the way of life of the mass of the people, and has developed in some respects a sense of grievance towards the ruling authority. But the nature of educational provision has also created a fairly considerable marginal group of men and women whose education has ended at a level which excluded them from the social circle of the *élite* and yet gives them social ambitions. One finds what is to all intents and purposes a voluntary system of extension work, varying from individual attempts at running evening classes for semi-literate youths, to semi-official evening classes at the post-School Certificate level with European assistance. Rightly or wrongly the *élite* has tended to an Anglicised or Europeanised mode of life, which has put a social premium on the material aspects of Western civilisation. The mode of entry necessitates a personal cash economy such as is enjoyed only in the higher levels of paid employment, and demanding a book education with standard paper qualification. At its worst, it has resulted in the exploitation of an educational need and in the employment of cramming methods. On the other hand, it has begun to develop into an important auxiliary agent in general education. In 1947 the Oxford University Delegacy for Extra-Mural Studies undertook a pilot venture into this educational field by organising classes in " Economic History and Problems " at Accra, Cape Coast, Kumasi, and Sekondi. Fears had been entertained that after the initial enthusiasm there would be little stability of membership, and that the refusal to award certificates or diplomas would act as a deterrent to attendance. These fears proved unfounded, and the results were such that, despite certain weaknesses, it was urged at a conference that extra-mural studies should be continued. The hope was expressed that the Oxford Delegacy would for some years to come sponsor the courses. The experience gained pointed to the range of subjects relevant to the interests of the local communities and to the possibilities of a wider network of centres.

Official interest in mass literacy development, expressed in the memorandum of " Mass Education in African Society," is to a very considerable extent political in origin, and to a certain degree the response of the African, too, is political. In some areas it has been recognised as an important contribution towards political independence, in other cases it has been suspect as a move on the part of official authority to provide a cheap alternative to a proper education system and as a sop to African aspirations. But the social changes brought about by migration established quite clearly in the minds of a large number of illiterate adults

the need for a knowledge of reading and writing, if only for the sake of keeping contact with kinsfolk and friends. The written-word basis of the Christian faith gave missionaries a special interest in the development of literacy amongst adults. This, coupled with the widened concept of the nature of Christian witness and the pressure for more rapid progress in the establishment of local Churches on an independent basis, contributed to missionary effort in mass-literacy techniques. In Sierra Leone in 1942 among the Mende people, and in Northern Rhodesia in 1943 at Mindolo amongst women in an unofficial African Women's Institute, the first African experiments were carried out in mass-literacy techniques. The Sierra Leone scheme was based upon methods worked out by Dr. Laubach, an American missionary in the Philippines, the Mindolo scheme upon methods worked out locally and later modified in the light of the Laubach techniques. The success of these experiments, and immediate Government response and practical encouragement by financial aid to these pioneer efforts, marked the beginning of an educational development likely to make great growth in a short period of time.

Higher Education

If rapid social and economic progress is to be made, there will be a need for a large number of Africans with high educational qualifications. The realisation of this fact has given impetus to the provision of higher education facilities visualised in the Higher Education reports, and it has resulted in the granting of university college status to Gordon College, Khartoum, in steps being taken to raise Makerere College, Uganda, to similar status, and in the establishment of university colleges in Nigeria and the Gold Coast. The extent to which the medical schools at Khartoum and Lagos have already developed reflects one of Africa's most serious needs, namely the organisation of medical services, in order to cope with the diverse and insidious tropical diseases, which account for widespread physical deficiencies. An additional incentive to university development has arisen outside Africa, particularly in the field of the application of research to industrial development. Increased facilities for the admission of Africans to British universities were provided prior to 1939 by an increasing number of scholarships, Government, mission, and commercial. The war changed all this. New demands and the accumulated lag of the war years made it evident that university facilities in Britain would for many years to come be inadequate to meet the requirements of home students. Despite the difficulties thus created the British universities have opened their doors more widely to African students. In addition, they have provided social welfare training facilities for colonial students at the London School of Economics as well as consider-

ably extended facilities for colonial students in the Colonial Department of the University of London Institute of Education.

Education of Women

The status of women in African society has been a considerable drawback to the development of education for women and girls. The war served to break down the barrier of reaction in one respect, by creating the opportunity for women to enter the clerical services, as typists or telephone operators. But these opportunities were few, and limited almost entirely to African women of Anglicised families. A more constructive influence has been that exerted by the need for educated men to find wives capable of sharing their outlook and responsibilities, a need made the more patent by the advantages enjoyed by men fortunate enough to have wives who have been trained in marriage-training centres. In the actual profession of education the role of women has been limited by the comparative lack of facilities for training and by the social control exercised through the marriage pattern of Native society. Almost without exception, the training of teachers involves heavy, if not complete, subsidy by Government and voluntary agency, which carries with it bond agreement of service for a period of years. Native practice calls for early marriage on the part of the woman and seriously limits the possible length of professional service. A further factor limiting immediate and extensive development is the social opinion which objects to a single woman living on her own. Thus women are often deprived of the opportunity of working outside areas which, generally speaking, carry the maximum proportion of women teachers and, in fact, makes it almost impossible to supply women teachers where the need is greatest. There are signs of change in some areas: more freedom of action, acceptance of later age-levels for marriage, and the return of women to their professional duties after marriage.

These changes are reflected to some extent in the content of education for women and girls. In the marriage-training centres, adult classes, and women's guilds, organised in a variety of ways by missionaries, attention has always been paid to homecraft, cookery, and nursing. In the majority of schools, girls have been in a minority and, with few exceptions, have had no special provision made for them. They have had to take what was provided for the boys and have lapsed into inactivity when the time-table involved instruction or activity regarded as the peculiar prerogative of the male. The establishment of domestic-science centres is one answer to this situation, but a full and satisfactory relation between the education of women and girls and their natural interests, as well as to their needs in the community, is not likely to come about until the free and extensive development of the teaching profession

as a career for women makes it possible to provide adequate teaching staff for all girls attending school.

In one sphere of vocational education, social needs have given great stimulus to the provision of opportunity for women, namely in the nursing and welfare aspects of the medical profession. It is now appreciated that improved public health takes its place in association with improved nutrition, education, and agricultural practice, as an element in a coherent policy of social welfare, which will constitute the fundamental responsibility of colonial government. The achievement of these medico-social aims is impossible unless the mass are able to do things for themselves. Recognition of this idea is obvious in the Rushcliffe Committee Report on the "Training of Nurses for the Colonies" (1945) which recommends the training of nurses and of midwives, recruited in the colonies to a standard which would render colonial certificates acceptable for State registration to the General Nursing Council of England and Wales. In addition to raising the qualification requirements for existing local training, the establishment of nurse-training centres, along lines suggested in the Rushcliffe Report, are in progress and machinery has been created to provide for systematic admission of African probationers to English training hospitals.

An attempt has been made in the foregoing paragraphs to illustrate the interplay which has been and is taking place between education and some of the more obvious forces at work in African society to-day. African society exhibits a fluidity of social structure with every variety of complexity, from the simplest pattern of individual relationship in an isolated unit of a pastoral community, to one of the greatest complexity, in which an individual must adjust himself to a series of relations, including such elements as the traditional family unit, the industrial unit of a mine or works, the trade union, a political movement of a national or international character, a new religious organisation, and the like.

The establishment and maintenance of stability, for the individual and the community as a whole, lies in obtaining control over the new elements entering society, and this is recognised at all levels as being essentially a matter of knowledge, which calls for education. The variety of ways in which organised education is being developed reflects the diversity of social and economic factors undergoing change and is a measure of the extent to which educational agencies recognise and are meeting the changing conditions. What should stand out in any survey of educational activity in British tropical Africa is not a fixed pattern of practice, but a variety of adjustments of clearly established principles, all pointing to political and economic independence, to varying local factors.

The changing character of the responsibilities of the Colonial Service call for new methods of training, which were well described by Sir Alan Burns at the 1947 Summer School for Colonial Civil Ser-

vants at Oxford in these words: " Our function in the future will become increasingly different from what it was in the past. Our role must, in fact, change from an executive to an advisory one; and with the acceleration of Africanisation in the Services of the African Colonies, there will be little room for the official who does not regard the training of African staff as his primary responsibility. Nor must this training be confined to the Civil Service alone. It is our duty to educate the whole population, and this duty is by no means confined to the members of the education department. Education is not given only in schools and colleges. The mass of the people must be taught new and healthier ways of living, improved methods of agriculture and other work, and a greater sense of public responsibility. . . . As I see the Colonial Service in the future, it must consist in each area of a team of men, professional and administrative, working together in close collaboration with one another . . . and above all . . . with the local people, with the local chiefs and Native authorities, and get their advice and help." The training provided for carrying out the new functions provides instruction designed to supplement a candidate's general education and previous experience, a course in languages and social studies on a regional basis, a post-probationary course of study following the first tour of service, and, for all whose work can benefit by further training, study-leave and opportunities for " sabbatical leave." By deliberately fostering this new concept of the responsibility of the civil servant as an adviser co-operating with the people rather than as an executive officer directing the people, an impetus is given to the adjustment of educational activities to local needs which has long been regarded as essential, though only rarely attained.

French, Belgian, and Portuguese Colonial Education: Some General Influences

Economic and social changes, similar to those influencing educational development in British tropical Africa, are to be found in varying degrees in French, Belgian, and Portuguese territories, as is demonstrated in the case studies of the Belgian Congo and French Equatorial Africa which follow. The differences in emphasis and technique observed when comparing practice under the different colonial Powers reflect differences of political aim and intention. An important point is the variation in experience undergone in the metropolitan territory of each of the main colonial Powers. Both France and Belgium suffered invasion and temporary subjection of the homeland, and in both cases this unhappy experience had repercussions upon the life of the African territories. Taking the less complicated Belgian situation first, it may be said that the economic conditions of the Congo, stimulated by war needs for primary agricultural and mineral products, together with the de-

pendence of the central Government in exile on the colonial territory for its financial support, gave a sense of independence to the colonial territory which it had not previously experienced. The circumstances of war also served to bring about more intimate contact between the Congo and the colonial territories of other colonial Powers, particularly with those of Britain. The general effect of all this was to introduce a political element into the feeling of responsibility for the Natives, which had previously been looked upon as almost entirely a matter of material and social well-being. Belgian sensitivity to outside opinion represented another factor in the general situation stirred up by the war, and particularly by the Atlantic Charter. The general philosophy which these factors served to emphasise is summed up in a phrase coined by Monsieur Pierre Ryckmanns, when Governor-General of the Congo-Belge, " Dominer pour Servir." The effect was an extension of educational facilities with a maintenance of the traditional emphasis upon the technical and vocational needs of the territory. This was most notably exhibited in the extension of educational facilities leading to qualification for service in the health and medical departments. The most important element of change affecting education in the Congo is in the attitude of the Government to Protestant missions. Previously, educational grants-in-aid had been limited to "national" missions, a term which excluded virtually all Protestant missionary societies and limited their educational efforts to their own financial resources. After the re-establishment of an independent Government in Belgium itself, new legislation was drafted for development programmes in the Congo-Belge. The new law included the important principle of equality of recognition for all missionary bodies, for the purpose of grants-in-aid for educational purposes. The wide extension of schooling which will follow will not only provide greater opportunity for the development of the dependent peoples, but will make an important contribution to the counteraction of the serious population problem from which the Congo suffers owing to the drop in the birth-rate, a process which, if continued for any length of time, is likely to stop general development. It is likely to be fully counteracted only when the realisation of new opportunity can exercise a positive psychological influence on the will to live of the communities at present undergoing this process of diminution.

Social and economic conditions in France d'Outre-Mer were affected by the fact that the metropolitan lands underwent subjection during the war, whilst an important bloc remained free and entered into close relationship with the chief combatant members of the United Nations, particularly with Great Britain. This bifurcation and partial isolation led to much rethinking on both sides of the temporary political power, and resulted in the modifications of outlook summed up by M. Eboué in a memorandum dated November

8th, 1941, and which largely dominated opinion at the Brazzaville Conference. In respect of the rural populations, Eboué moved very close to Lugard and Lyautey, not actually advocating indirect rule, but departing from traditional French policy of all-out assimilation by talking of genuine living societies, whose deep-rooted feelings should be taken into account. In his attitude to the more advanced sections of the population Eboué showed a new outlook. He saw this section of the community divorced from the customs and traditions of the mass of their own people, but not assimilated, nor even allied to European society, and yet needing a basic social status which they lacked at present. This, Eboué advocated, would be provided, not by hastening self-government, which would be likely to exclude the influence of traditional authority, but by giving opportunity for exercising responsibility. The practical effects of the policy have, so far, been slight. The main educational effort has been one of rehabilitation of machinery, but the extension of educational facilities at the higher levels and the establishment of additional centres for the study of colonial problems in the metropolitan universities and research institutions indicate the lines along which things are moving.

Despite close treaty, commercial, and historical links of long standing between Britain and Portugal, the African territories of the latter have in an educational sense shown least adjustment to the changing social and economic conditions. The reason for the comparatively static character of education in Portuguese territories is the highly centralised nature of the Portuguese colonial administration, and the complete integration of administrative machinery with that of the metropolitan country as well as the reproduction of educational facilities parallel with, and integrating at the higher stage with, those available in Portugal itself, with little modification to meet the needs of the population at their particular level of development.

Throughout tropical Africa the possibilities and needs for economic development serve to emphasise the importance of developing rapidly educational facilities all round, so that the people may be equipped physically and mentally to play the part required of them in the application of scientific techniques to the natural resources and to the eradication of serious physical handicaps. The social modifications going on call for adjustment of political responsibility between the governing Powers and the dependent peoples. In varying degrees, in different territories, the training of the people, in order that they may successfully adjust themselves to the social revolution, is recognised as a primary responsibility, and at all levels projects are being pursued in an attempt to find satisfactory solutions to the problems arising. In British territories educational practice is very largely influenced by the concept of the early attainment of political independence. In French

territories the underlying philosophy is one of political unity modified by emphasis upon the plural nature of African society. In Belgian territory the material well-being of the dependent peoples, as the main responsibility of the governing Power, is the chief guiding motive. These different tendencies influence the detail of educational opportunity and adjustment of method and content to local need.

There remains to be noted one further factor likely to influence Africa in the near future, namely the integration of educational effort likely to accrue from the regular exchange of views which has become a feature of post-war practice between Britain, France, and Belgium. Such exchange of experience, if taken to the actual practice, will be of considerable value.

Doubts arise in the minds of many about the adequacy of the plans for extension of facilities at present provided, and they are felt particularly strongly by some of the educated Africans. The constructive influence such men exert in the next few years, both by direct voluntary participation and by influencing official action at the political level, will do much to determine the measure of success reached. Many educational experiments, particularly those having reference to the progress of more backward elements in the African community, need time for development. Others, such as the attempt to attain general literacy and the training of African technical specialists, call for the most urgent and vigorous action, if they are to be carried out quickly enough to make their contribution to the stabilisation of society which is one of Africa's great needs.

Language Problems

The way in which European ideas found their way into Africa at first made the influence of language on education a simple one. Isolated individual contact by the European missionary made the problem one of reducing into writing the language met with at the point of contact, and teaching in that language. But the extreme fluidity of tribal frontiers at the moment of diffuse European entry carried with it seeds of difficulty now bearing much in the way of thorny fruit. In some cases the language reduced to writing has proved to be that of a language group of very limited range; in other cases a dialectical form of language was used which now meets with the disapproval of the main body of the people using the language. Even more complicated is the situation where different missions, entering the same language area, produced different written forms of the same vernacular. Such difficulties were further complicated by the fact that, in most cases, the initial reduction of the language to writing was carried out by workers with no linguistic or phonetic training. The arbitrary establishment of political boundaries at

the partition of Africa, with little regard for and, in most cases, complete ignorance of the natural ethnical boundaries, added another handicap to the language problem. A natural tribal unit, divided between two different European Powers, found its language being treated in an entirely different manner, on opposite sides of the political frontier.

In French and, to a lesser degree, in Portuguese and Belgian territories the adoption of a language policy, which gave complete (as in French) or almost complete official recognition to the use of the mother tongue of the colonial Power as the language of administration and instruction, the early difficulties did not appear over-prominent. In British tropical Africa, where policy encouraged the use of the vernacular for administration at the lower levels and regarded it as the main instrument for instruction in the initial stages of education, the difficulties soon made themselves visible. But even in British territories the difficulties were at first minimised by the limited provision of education and the geographic limitations on missionary activity.

The first major contribution to an attempted solution of the difficulties was made in the form of an attempt to produce orthographical uniformity by the introduction of a new orthography known as the International African Orthography, which offered an opportunity for obtaining general phonetic accuracy in the written forms of the African languages. Whilst receiving general acceptance in principle, in practice the advocates of the new orthography found difficulties in the way of getting acceptance for the new orthography in many areas. The objections arose in part from economic circumstances, particularly the problem of providing the capital funds necessary for the introduction of the new orthography in language areas possessing key literature, such as Bibles, prayer books, hymnals, and primers, as well as other school texts in considerable numbers printed in the old orthographies. In some areas strong opposition came from the Africans, who suspected political motives behind the proposed change and, also, to whom the existing orthography possessed a sanctity linked with the Bible. In a few instances the new orthography was accepted immediately, to the general advantage of education and literature, but in many cases it resulted in a hold-up in literacy production because commercial interests refrained from committing themselves to capital expenditure for the production of books in the vernacular, where orthographical difficulties had not been entirely resolved.

Until the late 'thirties African interest in vernacular languages was of a perfunctory character. The academic character of education and the absolute necessity of gaining fluency in the language of the ruling Power led to the increasing use of the European language as the medium of instruction at lower grades in the school system. This development was encouraged by the

general attitude amongst educated and semi-educated Africans of seeing nothing good in their own ways of life and everything good in Western ways, by the lack of reading matter beyond the small range of religious texts produced almost entirely on local presses in small quantities, and by the production on a large scale of textbooks in " English for Africans." This last factor made an appeal not only to the individual on grounds of economy, appearance, and the implication of a short new method to success, but also to the teachers as a professional body, by offering a speedier and surer means of obtaining academic success for their pupils.

Four factors have served in recent years to redress the balance in favour of the vernaculars. The first, but least clear-cut influence, has been the resurgence of national feeling, stimulated in various ways by the war. The sense of national pride and the diminished faith in the superiority of Western ways of life and thought have given the vernacular a new status in the eyes of many educated Africans. More clearly defined, but exerting a comparatively small influence, is the recognition of a number of African languages as acceptable subjects of study for School Certificate and university-entry requirements. The third factor is the influence exerted by the International African Institute on the interest in the vernaculars by its organisation of literary competitions in the vernacular and by its sponsorship of publication of some of the more valuable contributions. But the most influential factor has been the call for mass education and literacy stimulated, as has already been pointed out, by official action of Government and of voluntary agencies as well as by the clear-cut needs of the people arising from modern dispersal of family units.

Ideas on the place of language in education now appear to be moving in a reasonably uniform pattern: the establishment of the vernaculars as the initial medium of instruction, with the introduction of a major European language as a subject and, at the higher stages, as the medium of instruction, the vernacular continuing to be studied as a special subject. This clarification of general policy, whilst appearing to offer a satisfactory compromise to political aspiration, national sentiment, and educational principle, brings into sharpened focus some of the more detailed problems.

In East Africa and in parts of the Belgian Congo, the existence of Swahili as a trade language and inter-tribal means of communication has given a trilingual character to the language problem. Administratively, the convenience of Swahili has tended to outweigh the less tangible but more deep-rooted value of the tribal vernacular. The scales were further weighted in favour of Swahili by war experience. Native troops from East, West, and Central Africa quickly found Swahili a means of contact which represented a common denominator of Africanisation, easily related to particu-

lar vernaculars. Against this one finds an increased emphasis upon the vernacular for ordinary purposes of communication among tribes within the Swahili-speaking area. To a lesser extent this trilingual problem is to be found in other areas, too. If, as appears likely, mass-literacy campaigns take place initially in the vernacular, the use of the African Orthography, and the establishment of the grammar and syntax in a standardised form, appear to be essential if, in the progressive extension of the language, fluency is to be attained and psychological difficulties avoided.

Within any particular language area, the eradication of controversy from language development will call for separate treatment of orthography and the unification of dialects, with detailed and extensive explanation of the implications of each separate step. The concept of fluidity of language must be emphasised in opposition to "fixed," "classic" concepts which so easily arise and appeal so strongly to conservative elements in the community. The relationships and similarities between dialectical and language units need to be stressed, as opposed to the drawing of attention to the comparatively small body of differences to be found within the larger language unit.

It is probable that some of the linguistic difficulties will be modified, thanks to the influence exerted by the local vernacular Press. New words and phrases coined in various ways to meet new needs will gain currency in the Press before they enter the vocabulary of the school. In another way, the local vernacular Press is likely to play an important part in contributing to the solution of the problem presented by the existence of small language units. Natural absorption through usage is not likely to lead to serious social difficulties, and this process will most certainly be encouraged by the diffusion of the more widespread languages through the Press, and to a lesser extent through broadcasting.

An outside factor which must be noted is the attempt to carry out a complete language survey under the auspices of the International African Institute. Many of the existing difficulties in respect of language problems in Africa arise from ignorance concerning distribution, structure, and usage. The completion of the survey and the subsequent publication of the material will be of the greatest value to all involved in the problems of adjusting language needs in education to the needs of the people.

In British tropical Africa the development of a new respect for the vernacular is likely to be stimulated by the stress laid upon the need for the colonial civil servant acquiring a working knowledge of the vernacular of the people with whom he works. Dr. R. L. Turner (Director of the School of Oriental and African Studies, London), in the light of his own experience in the Western Provinces, Nigeria, pointed out the value of "a competent knowledge of the language of the people as an important element in the effective discharge of

a district officer's functions." General experience, on the part of Africans, of finding that European civil servants can talk fluently and directly with them in their own language would give a new dignity to its usage and give it educational value in the eyes of the Africans.

It would be difficult and, probably, unnecessary to attempt to grade the various influences impinging upon educational development in Africa. Satisfactory resolution of the language problems, with their consequent psychological benefits in terms of fluency and stable social reactions to the relative merits of the vernacular, trade language, *lingua franca,* and in some cases even of dialect, would certainly result in a general raising of educational standards. Universal literacy, extended facilities for higher education, balanced rural education programmes, technical and vocational education facilities, compulsory education, all represent opportunities calling for the adjustment of existing practice to the changing conditions of African society. Within the more limited sphere of organised education, two serious limitations on educational development call for urgent attention. One is the organisation and pursuit of systematic investigation into problems of primary education, the other, the efficient and widespread diffusion of the results of investigation to all actively concerned. Until these developments take place, educational policy in Africa will continue to be based " less on demonstrable facts than on philosophical presuppositions and subjective personal experience." To recognise this does not necessarily lead to condemnation of the policy involved, but it does admit the fact that the tools of education have not been applied to the testing of the results obtained. The next great step may well be the development of objective tests of educational value, thereby introducing a further measure of scientific control in educational activity.

L. J. LEWIS.

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WESTON TRAINING COLLEGE

CHAPTER TWO

WEST AFRICA

LEARNING A EUROPEAN LANGUAGE

THE two and a half to three million speakers of the Akan languages form a compact group of tribes on the Guinea Coast of West Africa. Since for the last three or four hundred years their social and religious customs and organisation seem to have been stable and, until recently, the tribes have been comparatively free from foreign influence, the resources of the language should be a fair index of its speakers' mental needs. This seems to be borne out by experience.

Akan is rich in nouns denoting particular objects: there are five different unrelated words for *baskets* of different kinds; there is a word for the *dew* on the grass that is an indication of weather conditions, and a different word for the *dew* that wets the cloth of the farmer walking along the narrow path to his cassava patch. It is, however, deficient in nouns denoting classes: there is no word for all kinds of *baskets* in general, or for *dew* in general. It is not so rich in nouns depicting qualities, even sensible qualities: for instance, one word is used to denote several *dark colours*.

In qualities less accessible to the senses its poverty becomes more marked: there are words for the emotions that are obvious through expression or behaviour—*shame, anger, envy,* for instance; but often no distinction is made between *wonder* and *bewilderment,* between *love* and *lust.* When qualities are entirely divorced from the world of sense, when ideas become purely general, or abstract, the vocabulary is very deficient. There is no distinction, for instance, between the words for a *ball of kenkey* and for the material, *kenkey,* or between the words for *wood,* for *tree,* and for the material, *timber.* There is a word for *bodily beauty,* but it cannot properly be used for the abstract idea of *beauty*: there are two words which, attached to the verbs *to eat,* say, or *to sleep,* give the meaning of *meal-time* and *eating-place,* of *bed-time* and *sleeping-place*; but these two words never denote the abstract ideas of *time* and *place.* Nor are there distinct words for *cause* and *reason.*

So far as nouns go, then, Akan provides a vocabulary suitable to a practical, extroverted people, interested chiefly in sensible objects as they affect them, but not given, as the deficiency in class words shows, to scientific—still less, as the deficiency in abstract words shows, to philosophical—thought.

To a large extent this is a true picture of the Akan people. They live very much in the present; continuity is given by the life of the

tribe and the cult of ancestor-worship. Their life is chiefly one of the senses (though, in contrast to Europeans, sight is to them by no means the most important), and it is into contact with a world permeated by arbitrary spirits that can help or harm them that their senses bring them. They believe, therefore, in an irrational world of witchcraft, rather than the logical world of science; their task is to propitiate wayward spirits, rather than to try to understand the meaning of a life that, for the individual, has none.

This conclusion is supported by a study of other parts of speech. The verbs, like the nouns, tend to have a narrow range of meaning: *can,* in the sense of *know how to,* requires one verb; in the sense of *be physically able,* another; the scope of the English *to be* needs at least three Akan verbs to cover it: one for existence, another for identity, and a third for classification; and one Northern tribe is said to have a verb which means, specifically, *to advance on the enemy with the head bent in order not to see their ferocious grimaces.* Further, although it may be no more than coincidence, the fact that the verb used to place its subject in a certain class is the same in form as the verb *to act* is at least consistent with a preoccupation with the sensible world; the fact that the verb used to express existence is the same in form as part of the verb *to live* does not conflict with an animistic mode of thought.

Lack of confidence in the order in the physical world is reflected in the fact that the formula for the conjunction *when* is seldom used with a future event, but is replaced by the formula for the conjunction *if*; and preoccupation with practical results to the exclusion of psychological analysis by the fact that, though a word may be added to a conditional clause to show that it is thought that the condition is unlikely to be fulfilled, no special sequences of tenses are used, with the result that the written language at least can convey none of the nuances of probability and finality and of tone and feeling in which English is so rich. Indeed, the same verb has to cover both *ought* and *must,* while it is usual to employ the same formula for the four ideas: *May I go? Can I go? Shall I go? Must I go?*

This charge of lack of ability to express tone and feeling is certainly true of the written language. But Akan is a spoken language, incomplete without the gestures, the facial expression, and the stress, pitch, and tone of the voice. Pitch, indeed, is used for purposes of accidence, but as extra words, not stress, are used for emphasis, all the resources of the voice, except pitch, are available and are used to give emotional colour.

Further, allowance must be made for allusions to tribal lore. In the remoter parts of the country conversation is an evocative chain of references to tradition, traditional formulae, and partial quotations from proverbs. It is the associations from these sources that inlay the simple structure of the language with emotional colour,

rather as it was associations drawn from the Bible that coloured Bunyan's plain prose. Nevertheless it remains true that the language in itself is deficient in the power to express tone and feeling.

Consideration of Akan prepositions and of the use of verbs to express relationships carries the analysis farther. The basis of thought is the seeing of relationships; complexity of thought is limited for ordinary people by the ability of their language to express complex relationships. In this respect, also, Akan is deficient. The kinds of relationships that it can easily express are those that are simple, of narrow scope, or of practical significance. There is no easy way of distinguishing position in space, for instance, by the nature of the surroundings, as English does by the prepositions *in*, *inside*, *among*, *between*; or the way in which the surroundings are thought of, as English does by *in London*, *at Cromer*. Similarly for time, one preposition is usually employed to cover the distinctions that English makes by *at* night, *by* night, *in* the night, *during* the night. It is often difficult to distinguish multiple relationships like motion *into* from simpler relationships like motion *within*, or motion *out of* from motion *from*.

In all these instances the Akan speaker's interest seems to be centred on the resulting, final relationship, the practical last term. The same kind of attitude is reflected by the fact that Akan has only one formula for the two relationships distinguished in English by "*Have* you *ever* seen a play?" and "*Have* you seen a play *before*?"

Such a language is unsuitable for the expression of long trains of thought; and it is not surprising to find that for adjectival clauses use is made of a construction intermediate between the disconnected sentence and the true relative clause; the clause is a complete, independent sentence, but it is linked to the main sentence by an uninflected monosyllable which gives notice that the clause is being used to qualify a word in the main sentence. For multilateral trains of thought Akan is still less suitable.

This brief review shows that Akan is a characteristic example of a language at an early stage of development, and that, on the whole, it meets the actual needs of those whose native tongue it is. Whether it could meet their potential needs—whether the language is deficient because its speakers' thought is limited, or their thought is limited because the language is deficient—is a matter which would require more exhaustive investigation. The fact, however, that Akan speakers make good doctors and lawyers and university lecturers, and that they have produced mathematicians of a high standard, suggests that for some of them, at any rate, the language is no true index of the people's potentialities.

The question is of importance in considering the effect of teaching English to Akan speakers. Up to the present those who have been taught by English-speaking teachers have been an intelligent

minority, living in an English-flavoured environment, who, for the most part, have had little difficulty with the finer distinctions and more subtle analysis that the full use of English calls for. In their case the result has been the releasing of intellectual powers. Verbalism and verbosity there have been, but only when the resources of English have been made available faster than their power to use them has expanded. At the other extreme are the mass of the people who have picked up some English from others little better instructed than themselves. In their case "learning English" has been the acquiring of a new series of noises to replace the Akan words in Akan constructions and modes of thought.

The important question is what the result will be of teaching real English to the Akan speaker of average intelligence in his native environment. Experience in other countries suggests that the chief danger is that the discovery, without the mastery, of the scope of experience and thought that English comprises may lead its learners to despise and reject their native language, history, and environment without fully admitting them to the new. That is the worst that may happen; the best is a repetition of what has already happened with the intelligent minority—the release of potential intellectual powers, with the consequent benefit to the individual, the Akan language itself, and the whole Akan-speaking people.

The course events actually take will be the result of several factors: the potential intelligence of the taught; the success of the teachers both in timing the introduction to their pupils of the resources of English for varying degrees of precision, for abstraction, generalisation, psychological analysis, and the expressing of complex and multiple relationships to match their unfolding intellectual powers, and in fostering the interest in science, in the intangible, and in philosophy which will lead to the joint employment of powers of intellect and resources of language; and the effect of the total environment. Here the material factors are important: poverty, malnutrition, ill health, lack of easy transportation, of good books and theatres and films, or of alternative forms of work or recreation, may have an adverse effect. But more important is the spiritual factor: until the Akan speaker feels assured that he has a responsible and respected place in his own country, and that his ability will be valued and used by his community, it is only in exceptional cases that the learning of English and the realisation of his potential intellectual powers will be pushed to the utmost limit.

P. P. BROWN.

CHAPTER THREE

SOMALILAND

EDUCATIONAL DEVELOPMENT

EDUCATION in the Somaliland Protectorate is a very recent development. It is a very poor country: the reasons for its backwardness were partly financial, but the main obstacle was the unwillingness of the Somalis themselves to support any form of progress. Facilities were offered to them as long ago as 1923, yet in 1937 there were still no Government schools and the annual expenditure on education, paid in grants-in-aid to Koran Schools, was under £500.

The Somalis are a nomadic race of camel owners: there are half a dozen towns, which have grown up round the headquarters of the districts. Before the war a handful of Somalis had been educated in the Sudan or in Aden, where there is a large Somali colony: others had picked up a smattering of English as stokers and deck hands in the mercantile marine. The traders could write and speak coastal Arabic; a large number of priests knew the *Koran*; a larger number pretended to know it, but were more seriously engaged in safeguarding their own position by preventing the least vestige of learning from reaching the illiterate masses.

This, then, was the situation in 1938 when a Director of Education was first appointed to the Protectorate. There seemed to be a demand for a school in Berbera and it was hoped that the other districts would follow the lead of the capital. Very little progress was in fact made outside Berbera before the Italian occupation of the country in 1940–41 brought this first experiment to an end. The opening of the Berbera school was the signal for an outburst of fanatical Muslim zeal, and in the course of a visit to Burao the Director and his Somali headmasters were stoned, fortunately escaping serious injury. The *casus belli* was the proposal to write Somali in English characters: this was regarded as an affront to Mohammedanism—the Government were plotting to turn the Somali children into Christians.

On the departure of the Italians in 1941, a new invasion of Allied forces, largely East African, took place. The Somalis look down on the East African: it was something of a challenge to the young men and the elders to find that the " Swahilis " were capable clerks, telegraphists, and dressers. It appears to have been during this period that the townspeople at any rate suffered a change of heart, and a party grew up which demanded schools and was prepared to support them. As was to be expected, this party consisted

in the first place of merchants and the families of Government servants, though the classes which support it have since widened considerably. Three elementary schools were opened in 1943 under the supervision of Mr. Mahmoud Ahmed who had worked steadily for progress in education for the previous eighteen years. In December 1943 the present Director of Education was appointed and a new and, it is to be hoped, more successful chapter in the history of the Protectorate schools may be said to have begun. It should be stressed that at this time the country was under a Military Government answerable to the War Office—the Colonial Office occupied the position of residuary legatee, to whom all important projects must be referred. This set-up was still in operation in December 1947. In war-time, when staff and material were in short supply, this arrangement had manifest advantages, and it is doubtful whether a start could have been made so quickly at that time under a civil administration. It is less apparent that the Army is a suitable instrument for governing colonial territories in peacetime.

Be that as it may, once a start had been made, progress was rapid, and after four years there are about 550 boys in Government schools (450 in Standards I to III in elementary schools: 100 in Standards IV to VII in a primary school). There are also about 600 boys in thirty-one grant-aided Koran schools (Sub-standards and Standard I). Three English courses for adults have been completed, and a course for Elementary teachers is now at the end of its first term. Six boys have been awarded scholarships to secondary schools in the Sudan, and six more have been sent to the Institute of Education at Bakht-er-Ruda, after completing the primary school syllabus.

The difficulties which faced the infant department were great, but proved not insuperable. There was a shortage of staff, of equipment, and of buildings: the department owned at this time three large hen-coops, for the old school at Berbera was in use as a D.C.'s office. However, the secretariat buildings at Sheikh, the pre-war summer station disused since the capital was moved to Hargeisa, were occupied and a start was made in June 1944 with a course for teachers. Eventually, one boarding primary school and six elementary schools were completed in three years.

There were at this time six trained teachers in the country, who had returned from Bakht-er-Ruda during the war years. A number of men capable of teaching junior Arabic subjects were unearthed, given a short course, and posted to the district schools. A great deal of credit is due to the young men from Bakht-er-Ruda who took charge of these schools intelligently and enthusiastically, and to Mr. Mahmoud Ahmed, now promoted to Inspector of Schools and awarded the M.B.E., for his advice and encouragement to the teachers under his care.

It would have clearly been injudicious to reopen the controversy about written Somali at this stage, and an Arabic medium was introduced into the junior schools, thus calming religious feeling. The Sudan elementary schools' syllabuses were used. Owing to the shortage of senior staff it was clearly necessary to teach English as early as possible, in order that the bulk of the work in the primary stage could be taught by English officers. Experiments were carried out with Basic English, which seemed the easiest in the early stages for teachers who had themselves small knowledge of English. A large number of additions and variations were introduced locally, and it was decided that the first year in the primary school (Standard IV) should be utilised for the change-over from an Arabic to an English medium, Arabic being afterwards retained as a school subject. The Marion Richardson handwriting system proved an unqualified success.

Much of this procedure was unorthodox but surprisingly successful. The programme was also expensive: the use of officers as class teachers owing to the shortage of staff raised the cost per pupil considerably: more than this, owing to the nomadic habits of the people and the lack of large centres it was necessary to provide boarding schools for all boys beyond Standard III. The gross cost of each primary pupil is about £33, and the net cost £22. The primary school syllabus now contains the subjects normally taught in schools of this standard: the Arabic and Mathematics syllabuses are based on those of the Sudan intermediate schools, the rest are of local manufacture. A most successful venture was the establishment at a very early stage of a technical wing to the primary school: there is a grave shortage of artisans in the country, and the training of masons and carpenters, with experience of building construction and technical drawing, will provide a long-felt want.

There were other questions, beyond those of a purely educational kind, to be settled. It was necessary to tread warily in order to avoid offending religious susceptibilities, and an influential Sheikh was persuaded to become Religious Adviser and Instructor to the Education Department: this appointment has paid handsomely, as he can repay the " wadads " in their own coin. It was, of course, necessary to decide as far as possible what the ultimate object of education was to be for the Somali. There was no doubt that, for many years to come, there would be vacancies in all branches of the Junior Civil Service, but it was thought that the mass-production of clerks should, if possible, be avoided. It was decided to introduce both a short-term and a long-term policy. For the immediate assistance of Government departments, a start was made with courses for adults, at which young men, mostly illiterate, were taught enough English and arithmetic to enable them to act as storekeepers, record-keepers, time-keepers, veterinary and agricultural scouts, office messengers, etc., for all of which posts it had

previously been impossible to find a literate Somali. Some of the best of these men, especially those with a previous knowledge of Arabic, are now on the teaching staff and, in spite of the brevity of their academic education, are doing exceedingly well. As a result of the long-term policy, it is hoped to bring more immediate benefits to the people themselves. Eventually the primary stage is to have four streams—literary, technical, commercial, and agricultural—and though, no doubt, the majority of the first stream will go into Government service as teachers, dressers, policemen, and, of course, clerks, it is hoped that the products of the other three streams will go to leaven the ignorance of the country as a whole. Secondary education will be provided in the Protectorate as soon as it is educationally and economically sound to do so; meanwhile, Somali boys will attend secondary schools in the Sudan and elsewhere. Apart from those who are attending schools in the Sudan, only a handful of the less-gifted pupils have so far left school, and it is as yet too early to comment on the results of this policy, or to say how soon it will be possible to appoint Somalis in any numbers to the higher and more responsible Government posts.

Character training has not been forgotten. The prefect system has been introduced, and a system of committees to deal with various aspects of school affairs. These bodies have a good deal of authority, and under close supervision seem likely to prove successful. Enough has already been seen of the young Somali to suggest that occasional individuals have powers of administration and organisation considerably in advance of their East African neighbours. (The writer has served for ten years in East Africa.) The progress of the Somalis is somewhat obstructed by their vanity, aggravated in this case by the prevailing low standard of education, which often leads the Somali to think highly of his attainments on the most slender grounds. This tendency will take patient and possibly firm treatment to eradicate. It appeared at first that the pupils were of the opinion that the mere act of sitting at a school desk would cause learning to descend like manna from heaven: this impression has on the whole been successfully counteracted.

The question of the education of women and girls in a Muslim country is complicated, although the nomadic Somalis do not observe *purdah*. Some progress has been made in this direction, and it is now likely that the women will not lag too far behind their menfolk. Two small Koran schools for girls were opened in 1946, more to test the direction and strength of possible opposition than for any positive educational results that might be achieved. The subject was discussed at a meeting of the Protectorate Advisory Council in January 1947, and the members expressed themselves definitely, though not unanimously, in favour of Government education for girls. A small experimental school has therefore been

opened, at the request of the parents, for seven girls. They learn the Koran, Arabic, arithmetic, and oral English, but the emphasis is on domestic subjects, sewing, knitting, dress-making, and laundry. It is hoped that these girls will form the nucleus of the girls' school projected under the Colonial Development and Welfare programme, for which £35,000 has been set aside for the period 1949–55. It is proposed that in the first place all girls should be encouraged after they have left school to return home and marry, in the hope that they will improve the squalid conditions in which the bulk of the Somalis live. A small training establishment will later be opened for teachers and nurses, but that is likely to be a secondary consideration.

In spite of the fact that the whole interior of the country was given up to the mercies of the Mad Mullah for almost twenty years, and that the Protectorate was afterwards, for some months, abandoned to the Italians, the Somalis have proved themselves astonishingly loyal. They are, however, an excitable people, though their outbursts are more often inter-tribal than anti-Government. The tribal system is well-developed and complex, but unfortunately the majority of the tribal leaders have little authority and, in a country where only a good year raises the population entirely above starvation level, tribal feuds and disagreement, especially over wells, are of frequent occurrence. The lack of strong tribal authority is one of the chief difficulties which faces the Administration and, though the emergence of an educated class will be of assistance, it will doubtless be many years before the more conservative elements of the population overcome their prejudice against young men armed with degrees and diplomas. This inter-tribal feeling has prevented the emergence so far of any very strong national movement: a number of societies have been formed with this object in view, but have not so far been notably successful; indeed, the alliances and enmities between them change with bewildering rapidity.

The time is not yet ripe for any mass education project, and the proposed development programme provides for an extension of facilities on the present lines. Elementary schools are to be completed in the eight centres, and the course is to be extended from three years to four when the staff situation permits. A second boarding primary school is to be built and, later, day primary schools in the larger towns when the demand is sufficient. Secondary education is to be provided in Somaliland by about 1952; provision for teacher training, commercial courses, agricultural courses, girls' school (as already noted), and a day technical school in the capital, complete the programme. The estimated cost of this plan is £120,000.

It may thus be said that a satisfactory start has been made, if somewhat tardily, and that prospects for the future are good. In the more remote districts there is still a good deal of feeling against

education; but in the towns and among the more liberal-minded nomads, the desire for education is strong, and it seems unlikely that even the proposed introduction of a small tuition fee in the district schools will cause a serious set-back. As, however, the Somalis are nothing if not unpredictable, it is not easy to prophesy uninterrupted prosperity for the Education Department in the future.

C. R. V. Bell.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE GOLD COAST

EDUCATIONAL PROBLEMS

EDUCATIONAL problems in the Gold Coast may be grouped under two headings—those relating to the social and economic background of the country, and those arising from the administration and organisation.

Social and Economic Background

Internal Relationships

The problem of the relationship between the European, the intelligentsia, and the chief and people has seldom become a dominant issue in the Gold Coast. A number of historical factors have been responsible for the comparative harmony existing within this three-cornered relationship. Four of them may be mentioned. First, the work of the Rev. Philip Quaque, the African chaplain to the British garrison in Cape Coast Castle (1765–1816). Educated in England under the auspices of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, he ministered to both white and black in Cape Coast. There he laid the foundation of organised school education in 1765 with mulatto children as his pupils and an assortment of primers, spelling-books, testaments, and ciphering-books as his equipment. Secondly the representatives of the Crown gradually altered the political relations between Government and people, from Protector and Protected to Government and Crown Colony, more by the extension of a judicial system alongside a strong evangelical Church, particularly under the Rev. T. B. Freeman (1839–57), afterwards a Civil Commandant, than by violence and conquest. Moreover, arbitration was the approved method of administering justice; and the Wesleyan organisation always encouraged local enterprise. The two institutions could therefore be accepted without friction. When Sir Benjamin Pine introduced the municipal council in 1858 as one step in his scheme of government by representation and discussion, he defended it against Colonial Office criticism by saying that he was "persuaded that the analogies between the two conditions of society (i.e. British and Gold Coast), so widely different in most respects, are nevertheless strong enough in *this* to justify the measure." It was his hope that the three elements in the society, the European, the growing class of African traders and merchants, and the chiefs, "will be drawn perhaps together through it." Thirdly, there have risen from time to time African leaders—Joseph Smith, J. Mensah Sarbah, Casely Hayford,

and, recently, Nana Sir Ofori Atta, to mention a few—who on the whole have had faith in negotiation, and if necessary representation to the Secretary of State for Colonies, as a means of solving political problems. Lastly, the Gold Coast has been fortunate in the statesmanship of some of its Governors—Mr. George Maclean and Sir Benjamin Pine in the nineteenth century, and Sir Gordon Guggisberg and Sir Alan Burns in the twentieth—who carried out a policy based on the principle that " the best way to govern a people is to teach them to govern themselves " (Sir Benjamin Pine, 1858).

A geographical fact must be added. The Gold Coast has been regarded as unsuitable for white settlement. This at once frees the triangular pattern of all the complications characterising white settlements among large African populations elsewhere. Consequently the educated Africans are relatively tolerant though suspicious of the expressed good intentions of the European administrator on the one hand, and of the close liaison between the Central Government and the chiefs and their council on the other.

Official dispatches begin to refer to the self-interest of the educated people and of their bad influence on the illiterate chiefs, in the 1850s, principally in connection with two events: first, the agreed imposition of a poll-tax in 1852, but the subsequent universal refusal on the part of the people to continue paying the tax chiefly on the grounds that the revenue therefrom had been badly administered; secondly, the destoolment of the Chief of Cape Coast by the people, which the Government refused to ratify without the opportunity of arbitration, a right which would not be conceded to the Governor. Discussion of these two events marks the first cleavage between the European administrators and the African community. From time to time disagreement between the European majority and an African minority in the Legislative Council has led to a sense of frustration and widened the breach. Further, the intelligentsia have been critical of the system of indirect rule through the Native Administration. The chiefs, on the other hand, have been afraid of losing their authority for which the traditional procedure demanded by the intelligentsia does not make adequate provision in the new cash economy; they have also been afraid that the intelligentsia might steal a march on them. But, as Martin Wight states in confirmation of the observation of the Elliot Commission on Higher Education in West Africa, " No division between sections of the African community can ever be so deep as the division separating Africans as a whole from their European rulers." The Bradley Committee on Higher Education over-simplifies the problem when it writes of " . . . the strength in the Gold Coast of the traditional friendship and goodwill not only between the African and the European, but between the chief and the educated commoner."

There are signs of growing co-operation within this relationship. Recent modifications in the governmental machinery have fostered this co-operation. The Executive Council, with whose assistance the Governor administers the country, has as members not only six Government officials, but also three appointed members who are at present all Africans and elected representatives to the Legislative Council. A new constitution, granting the Gold Coast an elected majority in the Legislature, came into operation in March 1946. In December of that year a Northern Territories Territorial Council was formed. Two of its functions are to advise the Chief Commissioner, and, later, to elect representatives to the Legislative Council. The provincial councils of chiefs are welcoming the educated classes into their counsels and have elected some of them as their representatives to the Legislative Council. Some of the educated people have in turn abandoned their aloofness and critical attitude. They realise that these local authorities are the "popular" and perhaps the surest way of meeting the "popular" demand for education and other facilities necessary for the development of the country.

The policy of Africanisation initiated by Sir Gordon Guggisberg in the 1920s has lately been more vigorously pursued. This has meant an increasing number of Africans in senior Government posts, and the opportunity for African opinion to influence the direction of affairs. In 1946 the staff of the Education Department was strengthened by the appointment of several Africans as assistant education officers; they were either young graduates with teaching experience, or teachers of outstanding merit who had undergone a special course of training. There is an extensive training scheme behind the policy. During 1946, fifty-five students proceeded to the United Kingdom for higher studies under Government scholarship programmes for strengthening the staffs of the education and other Government departments, and for reinforcing the staffs of institutions under the management of the Churches. Under a Native Administration scholarship scheme, four out of six awards were made for higher studies in public administration in the United Kingdom.

Language

Another disturbing feature of Gold Coast society is its language problem. The large number of languages, and the absence of one written form of the more widely-spoken ones, complicate the provision of vernacular books for school education and for teaching adults to read and write.

For example, the secondary school curriculum includes a limited selection of four vernaculars: Fante, Twi, Ga, and Ewe. Though the first two are dialects of one language, yet lack of understanding of the principles of language development and of orthography, to-

gether with too rigid association of symbol with sound, has led to a divergence in spelling. At the moment there is discussion within the Twi dialect group, as to whether there should or should not be two written forms, one in Asante-Twi and the other in Aquapim-Twi.

Further, with the spread of educational facilities and of the knowledge that the foundation of a child's education is best laid in the vernacular, and with the clamour for mass education, there is a demand from the progressive elements in two more language groups, the Nzima and the Adangme, to have written forms of their languages. On the one hand, a relatively small number of people speaking a separate language cannot build an extensive literature. On the other hand, progress of children in infant classes, or of illiterate adults learning to read, is hampered by the imposition of the language of a neighbouring larger group.

The two aspects of the problem were investigated by Professor Ida Ward of the School of Oriental and African Studies in 1943–4. She recommended that there should be free development within the limits of certain general principles which would make unification possible where necessary; and she strongly advised further research.

A third aspect is contingent upon the necessity to use English as the common language in education, politics, and Church. The African who passes through the schools is by force of circumstances educated into two linguistic surroundings. He must try to adapt himself to both of them, the vernacular essentially agglutinative in formation, English inflexional in character, each expressive of different thought-processes and therefore of different social behaviour. Take one extreme example of the African leader, the nominated or elected member of the municipal or Legislative Council, where the business is conducted in the common foreign language, English. He must frequently make thoughtful selection from his experiences of two linguistic worlds, and achieve harmony within his own thoughts; then endeavour to present them to others whose reactions derive from one world and who understand the language corresponding to that world only. He stands in danger of presenting the appearance of two different personalities to one or both of the linguistic groups. He cannot therefore be too careful as he transfers from one mode of thought and expression to the other.

This may be the psychological explanation of the suspicion with which the people tend on the whole to regard the African politician who has the confidence of the European administrator and is accepted by him as an understanding and co-operative leader of the people. The example is selective, but in a modified form it represents a crucial aspect of the three-cornered relationship.

Again, in conferences on controversial subjects the group whose mother tongue is the medium of discussion starts with an advantage

over the group who laboriously acquired this medium as a second language and is constantly under the influence of the thought-forms of its native language. The European or African who is at home in English and a vernacular, who is able to manipulate either as a native of each linguistic group, who is truly bilingual, is rare. The fact needs to be appreciated with all its implications. Then one would begin to understand the complaining African who, though belonging to the majority group, comes away from a committee with a sense of frustration. Although the majority of a committee may be African, it is not necessarily African in sympathy, if the chairman and the secretary are English, and the medium of discussion is English. Proportional representation is not of itself an index to the degree of freedom of expression and self-government; equally important are the media of debate or discussion, and what is more, the linguistic composition of the body of people who take part in the preliminary consultations, and handle the business at meetings. The recent practice of Government consultation with representatives of African opinion before important legislation is officially introduced has more than a courtesy and utilitarian value. It helps the African participants in later discussion over a serious psychological hurdle.

More, however, could be done to remove some of the linguistic difficulties mentioned above. For example, all planning and discussion at the grass-roots could be done in the vernacular. This would mean that the business of all local councils, municipal as well as native authorities, of all vernacular literature committees, Church or Government, of some primary school staff meetings and similar bodies, would be conducted in the vernacular. Any difficulties that might be envisaged would be more than counterbalanced by:

(*a*) the specific point and encouragement the step will give to the teaching of the vernaculars beyond the junior grade;

(*b*) the fact that the published proceedings in the vernacular would reach a wider public and stimulate wider interest; and

(*c*) the assurance that African opinion had unhampered expression from the lowest levels to the top.

The foregoing discussion raises the whole question of the adaptation of education to local environment. The Edinburgh Conference in 1910, the Phelps-Stokes Education Commission (1920–2), the Guggisberg Committee (1920), the Elliot Commission on Higher Education in West Africa (1944), have each in turn stressed the need for adaptation. The Colonial Office Memoranda of 1925 and 1935 laid stress on the same point. Writing of the School Certificate Examination which controls the secondary school course in West Africa, the Elliot Commission said: "... in spite of modifications made by the Cambridge Syndicate for local requirements, the examination remains one devised for pupils with a totally

different environment and background. . . ." It is doubtful whether education can be adapted to local conditions through a foreign tongue; whether a teacher can cultivate responsiveness to local stimuli if he prepares his work, and teaches, in a foreign medium. There is the need for joint research by a European and an African specialist into the whole problem of the teaching of the vernacular and English, and the textbooks necessary in each medium.

Economy

The Gold Coast is to a great extent dependent on small peasant farmers growing cocoa for export. For the five-year period before the 1939–45 war, the average production was roughly a quarter of a million tons a year. The annual cash income received therefrom by the agricultural community ran into millions of pounds.

Food cultivation, fishing, and animal husbandry, chiefly in the Northern Territories, are undertaken for purposes of internal trade and home consumption. Unfortunately, the attractions of the export trade in cocoa are so great that farmers in some areas do not grow enough food for their local needs.

In one or two districts a number of Africans are engaged in the production of diamonds; otherwise all mining is carried out by European companies. The products are all exported. There is also a small export trade in timber and copra.

In connection with external trade and Government administration there have grown up several centres with relatively large concentrations of population. The most important of them, historically and educationally, are Accra, the capital (75,000), and Cape Coast (20,000) in the Colony, and Kumasi in Ashanti (45,000). The figures are estimated populations for 1938. It is estimated that by mid-1946 the population of Accra had grown to 120,000. At these large centres are found on the whole the products of the schools, employed in the European commercial houses and the civil service, or, to a lesser degree, engaged in some form of private enterprise of trade.

The allocations from revenue for education in the year 1945–6 were as follows:

Achimota College	£
(i) Annual endowment	54,000
(ii) Maintenance of forest country demonstration scheme	2,539
(iii) Engineering Scholarships .	248
The rest of the country .	406,892
TOTAL .	£463,679

Direct taxation was introduced in 1944. The annual revenue rose from £4,700,000 in 1943–4 to £7,200,000 in 1945–6. The latter figure includes £1,692,000 from direct taxation, £142,000 from the Colonial and Welfare Development Fund, and no less than £3,331,000 from customs and excise.

Other sources of income for education and general welfare are Christian mission contributions, native authorities stool treasuries, special local effort, and the universal fees; all except the first are of local origin and ultimately depend on the cocoa industry which is the basis of economic life.

The single export crop is too insecure a foundation for the country's economy, and is a cause for much concern. Effort is being made to develop a number of secondary industries. A recent appointment of a Secretary for Rural Development is intended to co-ordinate the work of the various departments concerned with development in rural areas, in particular the Departments of Agriculture, Animal Health, Forestry, Co-operation, and Fisheries.

More serious is the spread since 1936 of the swollen-shoot disease of cocoa. The West African Cocoa Research Institute established in 1944 is working in conjunction with the Department of Agriculture to deal with the situation. By the use of the Press, radio, and cinema; by the carrying out of extensive surveys; and by a general campaign aimed at persuading farmers to cut out infected trees, and later by a Government order making it obligatory for owners and occupiers of cocoa farms to destroy infected trees by stumping, and to inspect all trees at regular intervals, the disease is being gradually controlled. The magnitude of the task is seen in the fact that by the end of 1946 at least 100,000 acres of infected cocoa remained to be dealt with in the eastern half of the Colony alone.

Literacy

The urgency of the swollen-shoot disease campaign is one facet of a complex situation which has thrown into relief the appallingly low standard of literacy. It may be inferred from the 1946 annual report that " the issuing of literature in a simple form translated into two languages " was not effective as propaganda. Few can read. It was estimated in 1944 that of a total child population of 614,000 in the whole country except the Northern Territories, the average number attending school was 94,130 (15·3 per cent.); the figures for the Northern Territories were 178,000 and 1,550 respectively (0·87 per cent.) The total population is reckoned to have risen from 3,960,000 to between 4 and 4½ millions. While there has been a corresponding increase in the child population and the number of children at school, there is no reason to suppose that there has been more than a slight increase in the average percentage of children attending school.

From the foregoing it will be realised that, unless a special cam-

paign is initiated, the prospect of a high standard of literacy will remain remote in spite of the lessons in reading and writing which the Churches have always given in their Sunday schools, and in spite of a number of experiments in mass education. It is to be hoped that the appointment of a Mass Education Officer in 1947 and the expected visit of Dr. Frank C. Laubach will provide a stimulus for such a campaign.

Administration and Organisation

Provision of School Education

A Board of Education formed under the Education Ordinances of 1882 and 1887 is vested with the general administration. It consists of the Governor as president, the Director of Education, and other nominated members. The two Ordinances were based on the English Education Act of 1870 and subsequent educational codes. The first Ordinance provided for the formation of local boards which "never took tangible form." The second included rules and regulations copied almost verbatim from the English Educational Code of 1885. It remained the principal legislation behind education until 1920; the rules and regulations were amended from time to time, but never radically to free them from the heavy hand of English practice.

Like its English counterpart, the Board was never very effective except for a brief period during the Guggisberg administration, before and after the Phelps-Stokes Commission (1920–2). It has now become more like a Select Committee of the Legislative Council, responsible for preparing educational business for that body. It meets once a year, usually at the same time as the Estimates Meeting of the Legislative Council.

Until 1942 the central administration of education devolved upon the Director of Education, assisted by a department. A Central Advisory Committee on Education established in that year "to advise the Director on all matters educational" has very largely taken over the functions of the Board of Education. Through its wide representation it has established a close organised contact between the Education Department and "those capable of presenting the views of a steadily growing part of the community which is desirous of making a practical contribution to the extension of facilities for education."

On the circumference of the administrative system are the educational units and the native authorities. Educational units are Churches engaged in educational work. Three principal units are the English Church Mission, the Methodist Church, and the Scottish Mission, who together with the Salvation Army and the African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church were estimated in 1944

to be in charge of 64 per cent. of the country's education. The fourth, the Roman Catholic Church, was responsible for 14 per cent. Thus Government, native administrations, and others provided for about 22 per cent. of the school population.

The Churches are no longer able to afford the money to continue the expansion of their educational work at the former rate. There is, however, in the Gold Coast traditional understanding between the Government and the missions; and Government grants-in-aid have increased from the first allocation of £100, proposed to be shared between the Wesleyan and the Basel Missions in 1857, to £214,447 out of a total of £286,226 spent on education in 1943–4, excluding £54,000 allocation to Achimota. Within the limited resources of the country, the Government is giving increasing financial aid to the educational units and encouraging them to advance in response to the call of the whole country for more educational facilities.

There are two views among the Protestant Churches on the implications. Is the Church to seize the present opportunity by every means in its power, remembering that Missions have largely controlled education, that Government desires it to advance, and that by so doing it shall bring the younger generation under direct Christian influence for the period of their education? Or should the Church, in recognition of its main function of evangelisation and of the fact that education must ultimately remain the responsibility of the whole community and not only of the Church, call a halt; should it concentrate on the development of existing commitments in order to bring into existence that quality and standard of education which it desires for the emulation of Government and native authorities?

The Roman Catholic view is unequivocal. "Education belongs pre-eminently to the Church and it is her inalienable right and duty to watch over the entire education of her children not merely in regard to religious instruction, but in regard to every other branch of learning." In a country where there are different religious beliefs, it is necessary for the Government to leave free scope to the initiative of the family and the Church, and to provide the necessary financial assistance.

With the dilemma of the Protestant Churches and the forthrightness of the Roman Catholic, the economical use of their limited resources has not been possible. At the highest levels of discussion and in response to the policy of the Director to avoid wasteful duplication, there is a certain amount of understanding and co-operation. At the congregational level, however, rivalry is open and unashamed. Fees have been undercut; pupils have been attracted from one school to another; the authority of one Church has been undermined by another; it cannot be claimed that "union" schemes between the Methodist Church and the Scottish

Mission are popular with their congregations. In general, education is regarded as the handmaid of the Church; and fear of the spread of either the Roman Catholic or the Protestant witness is as noticeable a motive behind development as the desire to meet the existing need. This is perhaps the most disquieting feature of the unco-ordinated expansion of recent times.

This does not lessen in any way the debt of gratitude owed by the country to the Church for the valuable work it is doing through its Government-assisted schools; these schools have increased in the last few years to 521 in the Colony and Ashanti. It manages seven of the eight four-year post-primary training colleges from which the schools are staffed, as well as three two-year post-primary ones designed to staff the numerous non-assisted schools under its management. Five out of the seven Government-assisted secondary schools are, and seven proposed new ones (three of them already started) will be, under its management. The sphere of friction is among over 2,000 non-assisted schools, which have largely sprung up through local enterprise, often without the knowledge of responsible representatives of the Church. Five hundred such schools sprang up in 1946.

Native Authorities

Most recent in the field, and sponsoring a growing number of " bush " schools, are the native authorities. They consist mainly of chiefs assisted in their spheres of authority by councils of elders and sub-chiefs. They are an attempt to reconstitute traditional local government, and they recall the district councils instituted in 1857 by Governor Sir Benjamin Pine to advise, among other matters, on the administration of the poll-tax revenue. They have been taking an increasing share in the provision of education. The native authorities of the entire country have steadily increased their expenditure on education from 7·8 per cent. of their revenue in 1942–3 to 11·2 per cent. in 1945–6. It was reported early in 1947 that the year's vote for educational purposes by the native authorities of Ashanti was £51,000 out of an estimated total revenue of £222,000; and that the Northern Territories increased its vote from 12·69 per cent. of the previous year to 14 per cent. of the estimated revenue.

The problem of the native authorities is lack of experience in the management of schools, and lack of teachers of reasonable standard of education and training.

Fourteen district education committees, the first of which was established in 1942, are an organised system of giving advice and guidance to the native authorities. They consist of representatives of the principal educational units, the native authorities, the Education Department, and the Political Department. Their most useful work has been in advising native authorities on finance and expan-

sion of schools. Among the early successes of the first district education committee was the initiation of union schemes between several pairs of small Methodist and Scottish Mission schools, and standardisation of fees.

"Designation of schools" is a new policy introduced by the Director on the grounds that the new agreed higher salaries for teachers meant that funds would be available for the development at first of a limited number of schools. It is expected that native authorities will select from 30 to 40 per cent. of their schools as "designated" for prior development. In the first two years or so, Government will give them some help, if they have difficulty in meeting increased salaries. For such purposes Government has allowed for an annual recurrent supplementary grant of £25,000 in its estimates since 1944.

Organisation

As already mentioned, the influence of English educational practice is still felt. Except for the native languages and crafts, the curriculum hardly differs from that of corresponding grades in the United Kingdom. Syllabuses and emphasis are, however, becoming more and more original. The native authorities are pressing for an agricultural and industrial bias in education; and a number of experiments, notably in the teaching of indigenous arts and crafts, have been carried out.

The Gold Coast has undertaken to finance out of its own revenue a University College under the aegis of the University of London and the Inter-University Council, there to develop further, and build on, the present work in the post-secondary classes at Achimota College. The significant feature of the proposed courses is the provision for the training of teachers of post-intermediate and graduate standard to be based on the results of local research. It is to be hoped that the course will seek to answer the question: In what way can education in the Gold Coast be suited to the special conditions of the country in the modern world?

F. L. BARTELS.

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CHAPTER FIVE

THE BELGIAN CONGO

EUROPEAN EDUCATION AND TRIBAL COMMUNITIES

THE war naturally affected the overseas territories of European nations in many different ways. Some came under military occupation by the enemy, while others, such as the Congo, remained free themselves, though the mother country was occupied. From some points of view one might well call the Congo a favoured territory, nevertheless this fact should not make us overlook the great strain put upon the Belgian authorities through the attempt to ensure progress while doing their utmost to contribute richly to the war effort of the Allied nations.

The Congo, separated from the occupied mother country, ruled by a Government in exile, administered through local authorities, always concerned with the urgent needs of war, might well have experienced stagnation or even retrogression. But the enterprises of civilisation, among which educational effort ranks high, were fully maintained. While it is true that the number of official primary, secondary, and technical schools suffered, between 1939 and 1944, a decrease of one unit in each category, with respective losses of 690 pupils, 25 pupils, and 4 pupils, the number of subsidised schools for Natives, and of their students, grew in the following proportions: [1]

Schools	*Number of Schools*		*Number of Pupils*	
	1939	1944	1939	1944
1st degree	4,446	5,020	195,401	243,918
2nd degree	640	839	47,980	65,840
6th preparatory	—	44	—	1,630
Normal	34	37	2,038	2,154
Secondary	6	11	331	624
Technical	3	8	181	366
Domestic science	17	26	473	728

To these statistics should be added the free schools of the national missions, not subsidised by the Government and numbering altogether about 10,000, without counting the many nursery and preparatory schools run by religious missions, or their schools adopted by the State. Nor does this include the schools of the foreign missions, of which there are 199 central primary schools

[1] See *Parliamentary Reports on the Administration of the Belgian Congo from 1939 till 1944*—Session of 1946–7, Brussels, 1947.

and 8,994 branch schools with populations of 46,827 and 246,426 students respectively, nor the schools run by colonial companies, where their specialised workers and administrative staff are trained. Attention must, however, be paid to the fact that the war slowed down considerably the realisation of educational schemes of the pre-war period, and that their adjustment was delayed for five years by the interruption of relations with the mother country. Owing to irregular holidays and relief, the teachers suffered from exhaustion, especially in the rural areas. This, of course, did not improve the educational standards of the schools.

The experience of war stimulated the Natives to demand wider educational opportunities in the large centres. The immediate profits reaped by participating in the economic effort of the Belgian Congo had, however, an unfavourable influence on the regularity of school attendance in the more remote areas.

The authorities will not have to introduce innovations in order to satisfy the appetite for knowledge now displayed by the Natives. It will suffice to consolidate what already exists, to improve the quality of the school personnel, and to see to it that the teachers are fairly remunerated. As the Congo has not been the scene of military operations, the school organisation has suffered no material damage through the war.

The thirst for knowledge shown by the Natives is not a consequence of war, which at most may have strengthened it and given it a particular direction. The Congo shares in world evolution. Before the war, especially near towns, the taste for learning was already on the increase, not from a pure interest in the things of the mind, but for wholly pragmatic and utilitarian reasons—school meant evasion to the Native, who often frequented it to avoid agricultural labour, which is, in his eyes, a task for women, and because of a desire for lucrative jobs. It cannot be denied that the war hastened the growth of such ideas, and consequently we must expect a considerable development in technical schooling. It would, however, be dangerous to let this branch of the educational system become too important and thus risk a disturbance of the existing balance between professions and trades.

Since there was little contact with foreign peoples or occupying Powers, no new educational problems or needs were created by such factors. The return to Native life of the coloured soldiers who had been with the Allied forces gave rise to some anxiety as to their ready readaptation. They have, however, settled down with greater ease than was expected. The demobilisation measures were wisely planned and carried out, and should there have been negative reactions, the school world would have been the last to feel them.

It would be unwise to underestimate the difficulties of the problems met with at every grade of education. At the primary stage, the qualitative improvement of the nursery and primary

schools; at the technical stage, the demand for intensified schooling and specialisation. At the secondary stage, the creation of the complete cycle of studies, or more exactly, of two parallel cycles of studies, lasting six years; the first one subdivided into two phases (three years of general education, followed by three years of specialisation), the other one equivalent to the humanities in Europe. At the higher stage, in the future, university education of the European kind will have to be provided. This last stage, ardently desired by the Natives, can be reached only when the secondary school has proved itself capable of supplying the future higher schools with a regular and sufficient reserve of recruits. On this point, opinions vary greatly and it will be necessary to follow a realistic and courageous policy and not to soothe the Natives with illusions which could never be realised.

The growth of loyalty to the country and of good citizenship gives rise to no particular problems where rural schools are concerned. The question could, however, be asked whether the educated class of the towns, a conglomeration of individuals with divergent traditions, occupations, and aspirations, are developing national feelings and a desire for emancipation. The effect of this would be felt on the secondary and, eventually, on the higher grade of education.

The nationalist question does not yet arise, nor will it do so, except in isolated cases: the Congolese nation does not exist. A Native who emancipates himself thinks first of all of his own welfare. The geography of the Congo itself is an obstacle to the formation of large groups, and thus would tend to the growth of a strictly localised or regionalised nationalism. Moreover, the Natives seek, as a matter of course, both as individuals and as members of groups, the protection of authority. According to them, the authority of white men is still the best assurance of moral or material advantage. When, in time, educational policy has to take this national problem into consideration, it will probably have to be thought out on regional lines. Already, the sons of Native chiefs, whose education is a matter of high concern to the authorities, are educated near their dwelling-places. It is felt that the instruction given to them should not estrange them from the community to which they belong and which they will be called upon to rule.

The restoration of honesty, which has in some cases given way during the war, will be one of the biggest tasks of the future schools. Before 1939 the population of the villages was stable, or oscillated only moderately: war destroyed that relative balance. The villages are depopulated, the urban and industrial centres overpopulated. Indeed, town-dwellers have been made familiar with the scourges common to large cities, the most disquieting being laxity and prostitution, and the present generation will continue to carry in some of its members the marks of the sacrifices imposed between

1939 and 1945. We must, however, bear in mind that the worst cases are the most obvious and attract most attention. The industrious, conscientious, honest mass remains unseen and unheard. But anyhow, it is the younger generation which must be taken in hand, in order to erase the few sad moral consequences of war. As the initial formation of the mind takes place at a very tender age, wise educators are of the opinion that it will be necessary to intensify the moral care given to young children from 3 to 5 years of age who, being too young to receive instruction, are most sensitive to example.

Race, Religion, and Language

The indigenous religions consist chiefly of rites and practices and are almost free from dogmatic or ideological content. They represent a tradition, they are in no way in opposition or hostility to one another; they show no tendency to spread, and thus present to the educational administrator no problem beyond that of respecting a basic principle, namely, that every element of Native life which is not incompatible with the dignity of man should remain untouched and unhurt.

The large number of dialects creates confusion. In addition, they are almost always insufficient for the expression of intellectual or scientific notions, although it can hardly be said that they put difficulties in the path of the organisation of education. The vernacular, in places where its school use is inevitable, serves only for the very first initiation. Afterwards one of the four most popular languages, the *linguae francae* used in the Belgian Congo, becomes the vehicle. The languages of Belgium are taught and used only at the more advanced stage of studies, except in certain schools of a private kind, such as those belonging to the big commercial companies, where they come into use sooner. The result is that education is for the most part bilingual or even multilingual—considering however, that bilingualism is more apparent than real, owing to the resemblances between the Congolese dialects. The extreme confusion in the linguistic situation in the Belgian Congo therefore influences only, and strictly locally, the popular elementary school.

The linguistic situation, like the religious and racial ones, consequently does not present any fundamental problem to the educationist, save in some inevitable and isolated instances, and it causes no friction or conflict. The necessity for separate schools, based on the principle of race, religion, or language, is not felt in the Belgian Congo.

There exists, however, one thorny question, which the school organisers will have to face in view of future social complications: that of the education of mulattoes. Discerning people are almost unanimous in their opinion that mulattoes should not be confined in a closed caste. The great diversity in the origin and the future

prospects of mulatto children gives rise to an unlimited number of educational problems, the chief characteristics of which are here schematically outlined. Extreme solutions, such as the indiscriminating reception of all mulattoes in white society, or their unconditional relegation to indigenous society, have no serious defenders. As the social and intellectual standard of the white parent is the principal gauge of the future possibilities of these children, this standard seems to be the best criterion to determine the kind of education to be given them. If the European father wishes to give his mulatto child a European education and instruction, there is no problem whatever. If the mulatto child is meant to stay in the Congo, the most prudent measure seems to be to prepare it, according to its prospects and its individual social standard, to enter either European or Native society, and to make it attend the corresponding school from the beginning. Social rivalry, of professional and economic origin, between mulattoes and Europeans of the lower grade should be avoided. There are some private schools for mulatto children, such as those of Kabinda and Lusambo, and after having attended these the children can go over to the European school. No legal or other limitations hinder the education of mulattoes. Religious authorities, well qualified by their extensive experience and their constant concern for the welfare of the Congo population to give pertinent advice on the matter, are of opinion that generally the mulatto child, meant to stay in the Congo, will have better chances of attaining the maximum of its possibilities in life if it follows the cycle of Native education. The situation is more difficult for mulatto girls, for whom special schools should be opened. They will often find it hard to get married, and education should aim to secure for them the possibility of an honourable existence in any circumstances.

Adaptation to New Conditions

The future will make harmony essential between the united efforts of the Government, the big commercial and industrial enterprises, and the missions. The first will have to prepare, adapt, and impose by its directions the broad outline of a system of education in accordance with the general evolution of the country. The second should consent to subordinate immediate needs for administrative personnel and specialised labour to the general demands of the educational plan. The third are the principal executive agents of the schemes for providing more generous educational facilities.

The intentions of official circles, the interests of economic enterprises, and the wishes of Natives are in entire agreement regarding the adaptation to industrialisation. The development of technical education is the principal task for the immediate future.

The agricultural professions, even rationalised by the adoption

of new instruments, methods, and techniques, do not, for many reasons, arouse in the Natives the same enthusiasm as do the administrative or industrial careers. Ancestral tradition emphasises the fact that the juridical concepts of the Natives concerning property and exploitation of soil veryseldom make cultivation after the European fashion possible, without upsetting inveterate legal customs. Daily agricultural labour is traditionally considered to be women's work, the man's part in this labour being reduced to the heavy but intermittent tasks. The peasant, who is bound to the soil he tills, finds himself deprived everywhere in the world of the tremendous attraction which education exercises on the workers: the possibility of getting free from arduous and trying manual work. However, the equilibrium of indigenous society demands imperiously a respected, stable peasant class, assured of its future and having on its own plane a professional standard equal to that of other labourers. The agricultural schools enjoying the Natives' favour are those that train for duties of control or supervision of agricultural work, but this is not enough for the creation or the maintenance of a peasant class. Upon the education of the first stage falls the task of giving the peasant class and its labours the consideration and respect which it should and must receive.

As for the recruitment of teachers, the private schools belonging to commercial enterprises make extensive use of European lay personnel; the Native lay personnel of the mission schools is trained in Native normal schools. The results of pedagogic activity have proved that both are capable of accomplishing their tasks.

A Native Intellectual Élite

By far the greatest number of Native students are destined for honourable but modest careers. Some of them have been so highly educated, particularly in religion and medicine, that many a European might envy them, and the successful student of such subjects is highly appreciated by his fellow-countrymen. The recruiting of priests and clergymen requires many precautions and reserves, as well as a very rigorous selection on the part of the Catholic and Protestant missions, but nevertheless no special difficulties have been encountered.

The medical profession and its ancillaries confer an extraordinary prestige upon those pursuing them. This feeling is partially a trusting admiration for the man of science and partially a respect for the mystery of the healer. Consequently the various medical schools, the official secular schools, as well as the mission schools, train "Native medical assistants," who are among the best agents of civilisation. As soon as medical instruction for Natives is still further improved, Officers of Health, capable of taking over the whole medical practice, will be placed above them.

The Social Function of Education

A problem that demands solution is that of the education of women. This branch of school organisation has not developed to the same extent as the education of boys. In spite of the joint efforts of both authorities and missions, Native families still tend to consider the school attendance of girls as a waste of time, since what they expect of girls is chiefly help in the house, and thus only domestic-science lessons would be acceptable. If the intellectual standard of women is to remain stationary, while more and better intellectual instruction is reserved for the masculine population, a harmonious development of the Native family will become impossible. Will the schools for girls, often still waiting to be opened, be modelled upon the secondary schools for boys? Will they be domestic-science schools, or technical schools for women? The future will make that clear. At any rate, an attractive picture presents itself to the mind when we read the following words in the *Parliamentary Report on the Administration of the Belgian Congo*: "Although the results of the educational effort are satisfactory, they cannot be considered final."

C. VAN DEYCK.

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CHAPTER SIX

FRENCH TROPICAL AND EQUATORIAL AFRICA

THE BIRTH OF AFRICAN-FRENCH CULTURE

FRANCE has the responsibility for education in the vast African territory stretching from the Great Desert to the Equator, from the ocean to beyond Lake Chad. This huge expanse, cut into by British, Belgian, and Portuguese territories, comprises two great federations of States and two Mandated territories.

(1) *French West Africa*, consisting of seven territories: Mauretania, Senegal, French Guinea, the Ivory Coast, Upper Volta, Dahomey, and Niger Colony, with an estimated population of 16 millions and an area of more than 4½ million square kilometres.

(2) *French Equatorial Africa,* consisting of four territories: Gabon, Middle Congo, Ubanghi-Chari, and Chad, with a population of about 3½ millions.

(3) *Cameroon*, with a population of 2,700,000 and an area of 432,000 square kilometres.

(4) *Togoland,* lying between British Togoland and Dahomey, a small territory of 55,000 square kilometres, with a dense population of 944,000.

Throughout French Negro territory in Africa progress in modern education has followed the same lines, but it has been more or less rapid in the various regions and at different periods, and a broad outline of the facts of the situation is necessary.

In the first place, we have a vast continent whose inland regions are as yet hardly influenced by the sea that washes its coasts. The great rivers are still mere lines of communication in a land of space where distance reigns supreme over the life of the people, and where the new land and air routes pass through or over bush and village. It is still a sparsely populated land of scattered peoples, a succession of human islands in a vast expanse of steppe, savanna, and forest land.

The world of peoples and tribes living in this natural setting, almost untouched by the hand of man, is awakening. French Africa constitutes the zone of contact between the black and the white races, but apart from this broad racial division we find a great diversity of peoples and languages. Many ethnological groups are linked by common elements of language, customs, history, and ways of life. Two hundred languages are spoken in French West Africa,

and some four hundred from the Sahara to the Congo. Some are widely used, growing languages, others are localised, restricted, intermingled one with another, and the smallest trader or packman needs to be polyglot.

Life in the African villages and encampments is still almost tribal, and its rural economy has felt the influence of the European colonisers only within the last thirty years. There is little or no urban life. Types are simple and clearly differentiated: nomads of the desert, cattle-breeders of the Niger and Chad regions, farmers of the plains who work together with the hoe, tree-growers of the forest-lands, and fishermen of the rivers and lakes.

Despite its isolated and scattered character, this world of peoples and tribes is not without culture. There are real, live, native African cultures which are at last being studied and which the Africans themselves are proud to discover, in Benin for example, among the Peuls, the Nasunas, the Sonrais. But for the most part, though they have their oral literature, their myths, their beliefs, their techniques, their system of training, they have no written language, no education. It is a closed and walled-in world of ignorance where barriers and obstacles bar the way to development, to modern techniques and a new world.

Yet the barriers are not impassable, the obstacles are gradually being removed or by-passed. The coastal regions—Gabon, Dahomey, Senegal, and the rivers of the south—have undergone Western influence, and Muslim influence has spread in the interior. Religious influences have been strong in the development of Africa. There is a Muslim Africa extending to Toutre Gallon, the Cameroons, and beyond Chad. Opposing it, or in retreat, is the Africa of animist religions, mainly in the coastal regions, the home of the old Benin civilisation. It is here that the influence of Christianity has been strongest. In the Lower Ivory Coast, Lower Dahomey, Gabon, and Lower Cameroon especially, Christianity has spread widely, churches have been built, and bodies of African clergy constituted. In Cameroon there are about 700,000 Christians, 500,000 Catholic and 200,000 Protestant. For the Africans, conversion to Christianity implies some degree of evolution and social education.

But the most powerful factor in the development of Africa has been European colonisation itself, through its action and the reactions of the Africans to it. Colonisation works primarily by contagion, by its very existence, by economic action. French colonists, European goods, trading-centres, roads, taxes, military service, the authority and requirements of the administrative system, all these have meant that new life has flowed in through the veins of old Africa. New needs have arisen, new ways of life; minds have become more alert. The more progressive regions, Senegal, Togoland, Dahomey, have taken quickly to the new road. Others, more

isolated, shut in by their forests or scattered over their pasture-lands, have come more slowly or have resisted.

Henceforth it will be political life which will direct the forces which are most influential in evolution. Since the abolition of slavery, France has recognised that the natives could and should become French citizens, and the terms of the new Constitution of the French Union of 1946 giving the right of citizenship to all the peoples of French Africa are the culmination of a development begun a hundred years ago. With their representatives in the legislative bodies of the metropolis and in their own country, the Africans are turning towards the French political system. Hence the demand for French education, the agent of Western influence, the instrument essential for steering the African territories towards participation in French life and modern civilisation.

This, broadly, is the framework within which the French system of education has had to develop, the social and economic background on which it must act, and the political forces which direct it. A few concrete examples may perhaps be of use in giving a picture of French education in Africa, and may serve to illustrate the statistical summary in the appendix.

French Educational Policy

First of all, some examples drawn from life in Africa and France will illustrate the characteristics and results of French education in Africa.

Here is a French school in the bush of the Sudan or in the Congo forest. A wooden cabin, a straw or clay hut, a garden, an orchard, a workshop, and perhaps a playground. When we go in, French is being spoken. There is a blackboard, a text of La Fontaine, pictures of France and Africa. One of the older boys talks to us about the time-table, the work, its results, and tells us about the life of the village and canton.

A secondary school at Saint-Louis, the oldest of the few which exist so far. The curriculum is French, black and white pupils are in the same classes. They take the same *baccalauréat* at the end of the school course, and study mathematics and chemistry as well as French literature, history, Latin, and philosophy.

A crafts school at Bamako. Machines, lathes, benches, electrical or telegraphic apparatus; pupils in white with blue overalls. It might well be a French technical school at Tarbes or Epinal training the mechanics, post-office workers, electricians, and surveyors of to-morrow.

In Paris, Marseilles, and elsewhere in France, more than eight hundred Africans are studying in the Faculties of Medicine or Letters or in the higher technical institutes. These students spend many years in France, take up technical careers, or enter the liberal professions.

And what do all these scholars and students do? What becomes of them? First of all, they are French-speaking. French is spoken throughout Africa, not everywhere, not in the villages and in the home, but on the roads and in the offices, in the towns and markets. French is the medium of instruction, communication, and culture; for the older pupils it is the common language.

A new class, a new society, is thus being formed. Citizens, employees, officials are European in their activities, trades, ways of life, and customs. Working in offices and workshops, driving cars, managing building yards, employed in the post offices, the army of those who have passed through the French schools is to be found. What is more important, many have become primary and secondary school teachers, doctors, veterinary surgeons. New political leaders are appearing in Parliament; the chief members are teachers, lawyers, and doctors.

And lastly, a French-African culture is growing up and finding its interpreters and writers. A real African literature in the French language is coming into being, and showing us Africa and its problems. There is the ethnologist Hazoumé, the essayist Fily Dabo Sissiko, and the poet Senghor.

This, then, you will say, is the effect of French education in Africa. You are making French-Africans, a class, a minority, individuals. Africans learn to be French. And this is true. The whole system, from the bush school to the *lycée,* has as its aim French life, French culture, and French citizenship. Education is a powerful unifying and assimilating factor. But these Africans who speak French, who learn to become French, who feel and know that they are French citizens, remain African by tradition, by family ties. Their roots are in their native soil, they live in an African environment, their economy is African. The problems they must tackle and the future they face are those of Africa.

And so, in the organisation and development of education, there is a constant struggle between the existing society and that which is coming into being, between tradition and aspirations, an attempt at synthesis between Europe, modern life, and France, on the one hand, and Africa and all that it stands for on the other.

The ideas which inspire French policy are in line with native aspirations, but both must be adapted to meet the needs and solve the problems of the African situation.

The guiding principle in French policy was for a long time that of assimilation. Education must be like that of France, with the same curriculum, the same certificates, the same opportunities. This was the traditional policy. It was that of the first missionaries. The first native teachers were twice-converted priests. France imposed her culture and her language on the Africans. Faidherbe had French taught to the captive sons of his enemies. The primary schools in Senegal, the secondary schools, the text-

books, all were at first identical with those in France. The Government, the army, the teachers, the missionaries, the politicians were all of one mind. French language, French culture, was to be taught in French schools. Africa was *tabula rasa* and must be remade. It was a moral conquest.

This French policy was in line with the aspirations of the more progressive Africans, those who had traditional ties with France through the political *élite* and the bourgeoisie of the former colonies of Senegal and Dakar. Among the mass of the people there has also been a deeper, more recent urge to participate in modern life, to move away from the ignorance of the past, to acquire an elementary culture. Behind this strong, sometimes militant urge, lies a clear, definite feeling of equality. French education represents the possibility of achieving this equality, as well as a career, advancement, access to posts in the public services, to office, and to the liberal professions. And yet among educated Africans we find a reawakening of national consciousness, a desire to find themselves as a people of African stock. They do not wish to be entirely denationalised, but to achieve a synthesis allowing them to be most fully themselves through the acceptance of new sources of inspiration. As Senghor says, the black races must not allow themselves to be assimilated, but must assimilate culture from outside, and make of it a new culture, their own.

The fact is that the realities of the African situation constitute the dominant factor. As we have said, Negro Africa has a long history, which is alive and active. She is not the *tabula rasa* of those who wished to assimilate her, she is no new country on which to impose a ready-made culture imported along with cement and cotton goods. She is an old continent, eager to round the cape of modern life and venture forth into the open sea in search of older civilisations and new techniques. She needs not only roads and ports, industries and towns, but also new work, new food, a medium of expression for her approach to the world, a language through which she may acquire her knowledge. In a word, through her economy as through her way of life, through her daily activities, through her culture, through all ranks of her society, Africa is being inevitably sucked into the stream of modern life.

And so the chief problem for Africa is that of education. Once it is realised that it is not enough to educate individuals, to train a chosen few out of a static mass, the importance of African education becomes clear. Its aim must be to raise the standard of life of the whole population and guide it towards a new culture, a new world, a new Africa. In what is now being done in African education, in the plans for the immediate future, and in the fundamental aims of the Africa of to-day, there seems to be agreement on the needs for striking a balance and achieving a synthesis.

Primary Education

The organisation of French primary schools in Africa has been as complete as possible. They are schools which take their responsibilities seriously, and those pupils who are capable of it are given the opportunity at the end of the course of going on to education at a higher level. There is only one type of school, free as in France, and even more so, and in his satchel the young African peasant has the key which can open the door to Dakar, perhaps to Paris. Though private education also is allowed and encouraged, the primary schools are the official schools for which the State is responsible and which form part of the political system. The " regional " school, which is a development of humbler and more elementary schools, is a typical example.

The full course comprises three stages—preparatory, elementary, and middle—and ends with the school-leaving examination, after which the better pupils may go on to secondary education. This primary education, which has a powerful influence on the minds of the African people, is given in French.

The French school, at least by definition and organisation, does not allow the use of local languages except for additional instruction for temporary or local experiments. This practice is on the whole in conformity with the officially expressed desires of the natives. The fundamental, practical reasons for the choice of French as medium of instruction have already been dealt with. The African languages are many, localised and intermingled; there are four hundred from the Sahara to the Congo. The French language is not only the vehicle for culture and technical education but also the medium of communication. It is spoken in the shops and workshops, in the markets and trains. Moreover, there is abundant opportunity for the use of native languages in the education of the adult population by modern methods.

The primary school that we have described, and which is to be found from Senegal to Chad and Gabon, is a firmly-founded, lasting institution whose influence is penetrating. It is a valuable instrument for intellectual and individual selection. But it is costly, it makes great demands in personnel and equipment, it needs much time. Its influence does not yet go deep enough, for it comes from outside and has still to discover Africa. And so it remains a school for the minority. In French West Africa there are about 120,000 pupils; there should be a million. In Cameroon the number is approximately the same, including those in the mission schools.

The French school is the kernel of the educational system and its influence is not confined to the classroom. Efforts are made to reach the adult population through the children, to improve conditions, to influence family and rural life. An experiment in this direction has been made in the adult rural schools, an attempt to

train a community in new ways of life. Each school has its orchard, its field, its cattle, its bee-hives, its plantation and workshop, its sports ground, its insurance society, and perhaps its cinema. It is essentially African, part of the environment which it studies with a view to improving it.

Alongside these official schools, others which are simpler, more flexible, and more traditional have survived and prospered as, for example, the Koranic schools in Muslim territory and the Christian mission schools.

To-day plans are in hand for universal education in Africa. They depend on an increased number of teacher training colleges, on acceptance of a school in every village and group of villages, and on the use of methods of popular education (readings, radio, cinema, youth clubs).

Fundamental Education has been begun in French Africa. The authorities were alive to the urgency of the need and the people understood its necessity. Its principles and objectives have been clearly defined. It is a weapon in the struggle against ignorance and a way to a new life. Experiments full of promise for the future have been begun and have spread, but not widely enough. In a population estimated at 23 million there are 2½ to 3 million children to be educated. As yet there are only about 300,000 in the schools. The figures vary greatly, of course, in different parts. In the more progressive regions and the missionary districts, e.g. Senegal, Lower Dahomey, Lower Togoland, and Cameroon, schools are fairly numerous, while in neighbouring lands they are few and far between. There is still the vast problem of adult education. The older generation must be linked with the new, the masses must be trained for the fight against social scourges and for a higher standard of life. A comparison with the policy adopted in Belgian and British territories seems to indicate that the conception of an education given entirely in French, and therefore involving great expenditure of time, and large numbers of teachers prepared to work in a foreign land, is one of the main obstacles to the rapid progress of primary education. The French Government and the African administrators are aware of the capital importance of the problem. The development of primary education by audio-visual methods need not involve an education of the classical French type. The educational techniques recommended by UNESCO must be developed. A ten-years plan for African education has been adopted. It includes, besides large credits allotted to the African Governments by FIDES (*Fonds d'investissement pour le développement économique et social des territoires d'outre-mer*), credits which amount over the ten-years period to more than 6,500 million francs, the building of teacher training colleges, the foundation of centres for further education, and many more primary schools. It is hoped that at the end of the period more than 50 per cent. of

the children will be in the schools. The long campaign for primary education for all in Africa has been launched.

The Education of Girls

The education of girls has naturally lagged far behind that of boys. In French West Africa there are 20,000 girls in schools, less than 10 per cent. of the total school population. Most of the schools are in the more progressive coastal regions where missionary influence has been strong.

The education of girls has encountered great obstacles, firmly-rooted traditions, positive antagonism. The first explanation for this is to be found in the position of women, their social and economic rôle. They are responsible for the care of the home and the children. A modern education in a foreign tongue seems unnecessary, even ridiculous. This idea is rife, particularly in the Muslim regions, where women themselves are against progress. Early marriages and the economic position of women's work seem, in short, to make any further progress unnecessary.

And then the professional reasons which lie behind the great enthusiasm for education among the male population hardly exist for women. Only two openings are possible for them, as teachers or midwives. Girls had at first to be educated in the higher elementary schools. In French West Africa a group of youth leaders and teachers was formed and a school of midwives attached to the School of Medicine at Dakar.

But now it has been realised that the education of girls is essential for social progress. A gulf must not be allowed to form between educated men on the one hand and unprogressive women on the other, between one generation and the next. Education of the children in the home is the responsibility of the women. The way of life of the people will be improved only by solid achievement in the education of girls. Modern marriages, with the wife developing alongside her husband, must become possible.

Large numbers of trained women teachers must be provided to carry out the work. The first step was the foundation in 1938 of the Women's Training College at Rufisque. Higher primary schools have been opened, preparing the way for primary schools with domestic science as an essential part of the curriculum. The aim is to make the school a training for the home, a school of domestic economy, a preparation for daily life and social progress.

Technical and Professional Education

Technical education must of necessity be the outcome and the reflection of the economic life whose agents, leaders, and operatives it trains.

Two important facts characterise the development of African economic life. First of all it is a land whose traditional economy is essentially rural and artisan. Peasants whose tool is the hoe, wandering cattle-breeders, craftsmen shut in by their trades and their village life, travelling tradesmen, these are the types of the old African economy.

It was first by development from within the country that attempts were made to free the peasant, to improve his techniques and tools, to give him the plough, new land, new crops and markets, to bring new life to the craftsmen, to improve conditions and raise the level of native life.

In the second place, it was not at one stroke that modern economy came to Africa. It came along well-built motor-roads, by way of the towns with their shops and offices, European quarters, and reinforced-concrete houses. It followed the railways which opened up the country. It made modern coffee, banana, and sisal plantations, it prospected and dug mines. Gradually, here and there, the industrial age has come to Africa and brought factories and workshops. Machinery and electricity supply the deficiency in human energy in a land where manpower is scarce and is seeking its freedom.

It was in accordance with these two diverging tendencies and as a function of their requirements that technical and vocational education had to be organised. To the first belong the elementary types of practical education: the handicraft and housewifery sections of the regional schools, the work done in rural schools for the improvement of agriculture and betterment of conditions, agricultural apprenticeship centres, and workshops like those at Bamako. The aim of this education is, within the natural environment, to give the farmer an understanding of his land and his farm, to teach him the value of co-operation, to renew the techniques of the craftsman, to teach the old blacksmith the use of new tools.

Modern European economy has other needs, makes other demands. It requires educated men, trained for a definite trade, capable of using modern tools and machinery and of understanding their use. It is part of a European set-up which is linked by techniques, trade, and everyday activities to the life of Europe. Hence the necessity for a modern French education, adapted to the needs and industries of Africa, but typically French in its essential characteristics.

To meet this need, multilateral technical schools were first constituted, training mechanics, fitters, workers in wood and iron. Then, as the need for skilled manpower grew and the ability of the Africans was recognised, more and more special sections for the training of specialists were opened. There is the higher technical school at Bamako, with its radio, survey, electricity, public works,

and mines sections. There is the school at Katibougou in the Sudan, training specialists in agriculture and forestry.

Technical education continues to develop. The implementing of the ten-years plan, whose aim is to transform the productive potential of Negro Africa and to make it a modern country, requires a vast system of technical education both for the progress of the old rural economy and for the development of the new economy. Provision has been made for schools which will meet these needs, from agricultural and crafts schools and training centres to regional technical schools and colleges, and culminating in an African School of Arts and Crafts and the special industrial Schools of Mines and Tropical Agriculture.

The development of technical and practical education has been especially important since just after the World War. An economic revolution is taking place; Negro Africa is now a vast workshop. The old Africa, for so long a mere source of raw materials, a land of peasants living on their fields and in their villages, is now working for the world market. She needs skilled artisans, educated peasants, African farmers capable of progress, foremen, engineers, managers. The operatives of this new economy must for the most part be found among the Africans. How important, then, for Africa are the rural schools, the agricultural schools, technical colleges and institutes.

There is a technical school in each territory of French West Africa and a higher technical institute at Bamako. In Cameroon there are two technical schools, the most important that at Douala. In French Equatorial Africa, the school at Brazzaville, which has several departments, offers a four-years course of study, and there are in addition trade schools, crafts sections, and agricultural schools. In French West Africa, besides the institute at Bamako, there are seven technical schools, five handicraft sections, trade and rural sections, workshops at Kuala and Bamako, a school of navigation and naval mechanics. The total cost of technical, industrial, agricultural, rural, and commercial education under the ten-years plan is estimated at 2,750 million francs.

Secondary Education

In Africa, as indeed in every country where there is an organised system of education, secondary education meets a double need, fulfils a double function. It trains cadres for whom a general education is necessary to the exercise of their trades, and at the same time it passes on culture, provides intellectual food, and is a preparation for higher studies.

Naturally, in a colonial country such as Africa has been since the beginning of the twentieth century, where the leaders and those in authority are nationals of the colonising country, where the native

élite has had to be sought out and trained from the village school upwards and is still a small minority, it is the first of these functions which must take pride of place. African secondary education, therefore, tends towards practical, technical training. For this reason it has been necessary to give preponderance to the teaching of French, since the French language is the vehicle through which the pupils can acquire the general and technical knowledge they need. And so, in the various territories, higher primary schools have been organised, schools of the same standard as similar ones in France but with the curriculum based on the needs, the trades, the background of Africa and the acquisition of the French language.

With the same object in view, classes for teachers and training colleges in the cities, districts, and villages have been founded, the William Ponty College being the most outstanding example.

This type of secondary education has been followed up by technical training which, with the general education received in the higher primary schools or at William Ponty College, enables pupils to go on to the School of Medicine at Dakar, the School of Pharmacy, the Veterinary School, Departments of Public Works, or the higher technical institutes of the metropolis.

Parallel with this technical secondary education there is the academic secondary education given in schools at Saint-Louis, Dakar, Abidjan, Brazzaville, and more recently elsewhere. African pupils are admitted to these schools, where the curriculum is identical with that of the schools in the metropolis and leads to the French *baccalauréat*.

Progress in secondary education, the reforms which have been made in the metropolis where secondary education is becoming more flexible to satisfy the various requirements of the modern world, the raised standard in the African schools, the desire of the Africans themselves to have a system of education which is not too exclusive—all these elements are gradually tending towards the establishment of comprehensive schools to include both types of education. Modern secondary schools are replacing the old higher elementary schools; the technical secondary schools can now take the technical *baccalauréat*. African secondary education, then, though based on the French system and applying its standards, remains varied in its aspects and faithful to its African function.

In conformity with the aims of the plan for the social development of Africa and with the desires expressed by the representatives of its peoples, a great campaign for secondary education was launched in 1945. In French West Africa the number of pupils rose to 2,215, in 3 schools. In French Equatorial Africa there were 639 in 8 schools, in Cameroon 1,157 in 10 schools, and 126 in Togoland in 2 schools. It is necessary to add that about 400 African pupils are studying in the secondary schools in France.

From now on, French educational policy gives to the Africans free access to French culture and to university training.

Higher Education and African Culture

It must first be said that from the early days of colonisation France allowed the Africans access to higher studies. There was no racial barrier, no principle of exclusion. But for a long time it was a matter of relatively isolated cases, of individual careers, which could have little influence on the country as a whole. To-day, the constitution of the French Union itself gives the right to higher studies to all who are capable of profiting by them. The entry into political life of countries hitherto led and directed by the metropolis requires from now on a large band of leaders belonging to the upper ranks and capable of making their contribution to the economic and administrative direction of their country.

The question thus arose as to whether the higher educational institutions in Africa should be organised along ordinary university lines. It had to be admitted that for the moment there was a strong tendency for African students to seek in France the higher degrees needed for the posts open to them. From 1945 to 1947 there was a positive rush to France. Moreover, the variety of higher education, not only in the different Faculties but in the technical colleges and French institutes, makes it desirable that students should come to study in France. We must add finally that the very idea which is the consolidating factor in the constitution of the French Union seems to lead the African *élite* to seek a completely modern French education and to become immersed in French life and culture.

This being so, it is in the higher educational institutions of France that the university life of African students is being spent, and will continue to be spent in the immediate future.

There are now more than 400 African students in France, studying in the Faculty of Law, Letters, and Medicine, in the Institutes of Commerce, Electricity, Pharmacy, in the Veterinary Colleges, and even in the Schools of Art and Agriculture.

But higher education must also be given the freedom of the city in Africa when local conditions require it, when higher studies need a tropical background. And so, from now on, advanced courses leading to higher studies in France will be organised, the schools of medicine and veterinary studies will be raised to the level of higher education, and a school of tropical agriculture will be founded. It is in terms of background study that education can achieve its maximum efficiency, its maximum scientific output. African medicine must have a tropical background.

And lastly, another particularly encouraging aspect of African culture is the development of institutes of scientific research and of African studies. The *Institut Français d'Afrique Noire,* founded

in 1936 to study Africa, its resources, its peoples, and its languages, is doing work of the first importance. New institutes, e.g. the training centre of the *Institut d'Abidjan* in the Ivory Coast and the *Institut d'Etudes Centre-Africaines* at Brazzaville, have just been opened. A similar institute is in preparation in Cameroon. These scientific institutes, whose main object is research, are already also in a position to train an African *élite* of research workers, so that the best of the Africans trained in the schools and in the Faculties can be associated with scientific research and culture in their own country.

The problem of education in Africa has passed out of the "colonial" stage. It is no longer a matter of training a dependency or a province of the metropolis, but of achieving the education of Africa for herself, for her future, for her independent development in partnership with French culture and modern economy.

The task which lies ahead, a task which will involve immense resources and the effort of several generations, has now assumed a definite character. The direction in which it will develop is clear. Let us sum up its essential features:

(i) Education in Africa remains French in spirit and language. The idea of "teaching the Africans to become French," to use the words of Bryant Mumford, has not been abandoned.

(ii) A basic education for the masses, including adults and women, is a social necessity, vital to African life. Through education the old peasant Africa must be rejuvenated, raised, enlightened.

(iii) The French school is the kernel of the educational system, but the facts of the African situation compel recognition in the school, and the collaboration of the people and of private institutions is essential. The private schools, notably in the mission districts, are complementary to the State schools.

(iv) The financial contributions of the African Governments to education are increasing. They are made up by the credits voted under the plan for the economic and social development of Africa. The ten-years plan involves an expenditure of 13,000 million francs for French West Africa, French Equatorial Africa, Cameroon, and Togoland.

(v) Secondary and technical education has two aims, the training of cadres fitted for African life, and the acquisition of a culture and of modern techniques like those of the metropolis.

(vi) More and more Africans are receiving higher and technical education and are thus in a position to join the upper ranks of society. The form and content of African education is French, but it is adapted to an African future, its roots are in African soil. French-African culture is being born.

STATISTICAL SUMMARY. 1947

	French West Africa	French Equatorial Africa	Cameroon	Togoland
Population	16,000,000	3,500,000	2,750,000	944,000
Total of pupils (public and private)	114,000	36,000	115,000	19,000
(Girls)	(21,000)	(3,700)	(16,000)	(3,200)
Private schools—pupils	27,000	16,600	95,000	11,000
Secondary education:				
Pupils	2,215	639	1,157	126
Schools	30	8	10	2
Technical and special education:				
Students	2,115	485	280	103
Schools	59	49	4	3
Higher, secondary and technical education in the metropolis: scholarship-holders	501	105	107	87
Educational budgets, 1947:				
Francs	466,000,000	66,000,000	44,000,000	28,000,000
Percentage	8	—	6·66	4·5
Ten-years development plan for education:				
Credits voted, million francs[1]	8,500	2,000	2,000	500
Credits, 1948, million francs	346	94	30	57

[1] Total, 13,000 million francs.

A. CHARTON.

SECTION VI

ASIATIC REPUBLICS OF THE SOVIET UNION

Introduction

THE following section includes six articles on Asiatic Republics of the U.S.S.R. In spite of great variations in national character, languages, and cultural-religious traditions, all these areas faced the common problem of building up national systems of education based on a native medium and native arts and crafts. In this respect the experience of Soviet Republics is of importance to all countries with similar problems. Of particular interest is the work done by Soviet experts among the primitive tribes of Siberia and the Far East. This section should be compared with that on Africa and the articles on Mexico. The Asiatic Republics of the Soviet Union can conveniently be divided into three groups, by their cultural development and the length of association with European civilisation. The most advanced are the three Transcaucasian Republics of Georgia, Armenia, and Azerbaijan. Next come the five Central Asiatic Republics of Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan, Tadjikistan, Kazakhstan, and Kirghizstan. The third group is formed by Autonomous Republics and Areas of Siberia and the Far East. The two Christian Republics of Georgia and Armenia joined the Russian Empire voluntarily in the eighteenth century to escape Turkish domination. Their independent principalities possessed an ancient culture and literary languages, with their national scripts. As subjects of the Russian Empire the Georgians and the Armenians enjoyed equality of status with the Russians and attended Russian secondary schools and universities in their thousands. Thus they had an educated class which, although Russian-trained, was yet jealous of the national language and culture. Azerbaijan, on the contrary, was conquered by Peter the Great from Persia and for two centuries had been a Russian province integrated into the Russian economy through the exploitation of the Baku oil-fields. It had, and still has, a considerable Russian-speaking population, and the Turkish-speaking Muslim natives were dominated by the Russian bureaucracy and oil-magnates. Their Muslim schools used Arabic as medium, a language not understood by the Azerbaijan Turks, and in consequence their intelligentsia was more or less Russified or consisted of religiously trained mullas. On the whole, all three Transcaucasian Republics were sufficiently integrated in the Russian Empire both economically and culturally.

The five Central Asiatic Republics were not conquered by Russia until about the middle of the nineteenth century. The population was traditionally Muslim and with the exception of the Tadjiks, who speak an Aryan language, belongs to the Turkish-speaking linguistic group. The economy of the region was most primitive, and a single railway line was the only link with the rest of the Empire. Yet at the time of the Baghdad Califate, Turkestan was the centre of a flourishing Arabic civilisation. The subsequent Mongol invasions disrupted the cultural growth and the whole region entered a period of stagnation. Neglected by the Russian Government, and lacking an educated class of their own, these areas continued their mediaeval economic and social life until the Revolution of 1917. In their case the national educational system had to be started from scratch.

The Oriental tribes of Buriats, Mongols, Yakuts, and others even less advanced had no historical traditions, and did not even possess written languages. The task of the Soviet Government in creating their educational systems was tremendous. Alphabets and grammars had to be constructed, textbooks and reading material to be written, and a native intelligentsia trained. Thus whilst the transfer to national systems in Transcaucasia was comparatively easy, the reconstruction of cultural communities in Central Asia and the Russian Far East met many difficulties. Dealing with the problem involved a total change of economic and social organisation, the emancipation of women from Islamic seclusion, and the building of canals, roads, and railways. The success of Soviet policy in these regions is due to an integrated combination of economic and social measures with educational reforms. This integration was largely facilitated by state monopoly both of economic and cultural life.

EDITORS.

CHAPTER ONE

THE CONSTITUENT REPUBLICS OF THE U.S.S.R.[1]

PROGRESS OF CULTURE AND EDUCATION

THE Union of Soviet Socialist Republics is a federal State, formed on the basis of a voluntary union of equal Soviet Socialist Republics. The U.S.S.R. includes sixteen constituent Republics, some of which (the R.S.F.S.R., Azerbaijan, Georgia, Uzbekistan, Tadjikistan), in their turn, include autonomous Republics and autonomous regions. Certain administrative regions and territories include national areas and national districts; altogether, there are, besides the sixteen Union Republics, sixteen autonomous Republics, nine autonomous regions, ten national areas, and many national districts. Such an administrative division fully reflects the national policy of the Soviet State, which has ensured the numerous peoples that inhabited Tsarist Russia all the necessary conditions for free, all-round development.

The equality of citizens of the U.S.S.R., irrespective of their nationality or race, is an immutable law. Furthermore, Article 123 of the Constitution of the U.S.S.R. reads: "Any direct or indirect restriction of the rights of, or, conversely, the establishment of any direct or indirect privileges for, citizens on account of their race or nationality, as well as any advocacy of racial or national exclusiveness or hatred and contempt, is punishable by law."

In the U.S.S.R. there is no ruling, privileged nation, just as there are no subordinated, oppressed nations; Russians, Ukrainians, Byelorussians, Latvians, Esthonians, Uzbeks, Lithuanians, Tajiks, Kazakhs, Kirghizians, Turkmenians, Georgians, Bashkirs, Yakuts, Chuvash, and all the other peoples of the U.S.S.R. enjoy equal rights in political, economic, and cultural life.

In the course of the Socialist construction, the Soviet Government has done away with the inequality of the nationalities, not in words but in deeds. This was accomplished by establishing a form of national and State system which takes into consideration all the national features of the Soviet peoples, and also by rendering wide-scale State assistance to the economically and culturally most backward peoples.

The U.S.S.R. is inhabited by nations and peoples speaking two hundred languages, belonging to different linguistic systems.

Before the Great October Socialist Revolution, dozens of peoples

[1] *Note.*—References to Georgia, Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, and Uzbekistan are included in the four articles following.—EDITORS.

inhabiting the old Russian empire had no written language of their own. Literacy among certain peoples did not exceed 1 per cent. to 2 per cent. (Yakuts—0·7 per cent., Kirghizians—0·6 per cent., Kazakhs—1 per cent., Turkmenians—1 per cent., and so forth).

After the Revolution, the most urgent task for the cultural and national development of the peoples was to provide a written language and an alphabet for those nationalities which lacked them.

School grammars were compiled. By 1940, school grammars had been compiled for all the nationalities of the U.S.S.R., including even the smallest. From 1926 work proceeded on the compilation of dictionaries, primarily terminological ones, in each language. Planned work is proceeding on the compilation and publication of dictionaries for the different nationalities of the U.S.S.R., from and into Russian.

Since the establishment of Soviet rule, dozens of peoples have created a literary language of their own in which hundreds and thousands of books have been written.

The vocabulary of many languages has grown immensely. Fiction, textbooks on various branches of knowledge, translations of the best works of Russian and foreign authors, are now published in those languages in which, before the Revolution, conversations could be carried on only about the most ordinary, everyday subjects.

Beginning with the elimination of illiteracy among the adult population and the introduction of elementary school education in all the national Republics, the Soviet Union achieved exceptional progress in the sphere of the public education and cultural development of the formerly backward peoples of the old Russian empire.

As a result of the intense cultural-organisation work of the Soviet Government, by 1930 even the culturally most backward peoples were receiving instruction in the native tongue, seventy different languages being used. This made it possible, by 1930, to introduce universal compulsory elementary education and compulsory seven-year schooling in cities and workers' settlements.

A convincing proof of the cultural progress in the U.S.S.R. is presented by the data of the all-Union census held in 1939. Despite the great amount of work, carried out from the first years of the establishment of Soviet rule, towards the elimination of illiteracy among the adult population and the enlargement of the network of elementary schools for children, on December 17th, 1926, literacy among the population of the U.S.S.R. from the age of 9 onwards equalled 51·1 per cent. By January 17th, 1939 (the date of the census), it had increased to 81·2 per cent. During the same period, the literacy of the population in the R.S.F.S.R. increased from 55 per cent. to 81·9 per cent., and in the Ukrainian S.S.R. from 57·5 to 85·3 per cent.

Exceptional successes in abolishing illiteracy were achieved by the Central Asian Soviet peoples. As mentioned above, before the Revolution only 1 per cent. to 2 per cent. of the Kazakh, Kirghiz, Turkmenian, and Tajik population were literate. It should be pointed out here that these literate persons were chiefly representatives of the clergy, feudal lords, and rich merchants.

By 1932, the percentage of literacy among the population over 9 years of age in the national Soviet Republics of Central Asia approached the level of literacy of the population of the R.S.F.S.R. and the Ukrainian S.S.R. Thus, it equalled 67·2 per cent. in the Turkmen S.S.R.; 67·8 per cent. in the Uzbek S.S.R.; 71·7 per cent. in the Tajik S.S.R.; 76·3 per cent. in the Kazakh S.S.R.; and 70 per cent. in the Kirghiz S.S.R.

Still more striking are the results of the work of spreading education among women in the national Soviet Republics. In 1926, 37·1 per cent. of the women in the U.S.S.R. were literate; and by 1939 this figure had increased to 81·2 per cent. In 1926, the percentage of literacy among women in the Azerbaijan S.S.R. equalled 25·2 per cent., and in 1939 73·3 per cent.; in the Armenian S.S.R.—19·2 per cent. and 73·8 per cent. correspondingly; in the Turkmen S.S.R.—7·7 per cent. and 67·2 per cent.; in the Uzbek S.S.R.—6·5 per cent. and 67·8 per cent.; in the Tajik S.S.R.—0·8 per cent. and 71·7 per cent.; in the Kazakh S.S.R.—12·5 per cent. and 76·3 per cent.; and in the Kirghiz S.S.R.—7·4 per cent. and 70 per cent.

In the nine years following the all-Union census of 1939, work continued persistently on enlarging the network of schools and increasing the number of pupils, as well as on eliminating illiteracy among the adult population. As a result of this further progress, 90 per cent. of the population of the U.S.S.R. were literate in 1947.

In a number of Republics (including Uzbekistan, Georgia, and Armenia) illiteracy has been practically wiped out. The greater part of the 10 per cent. of the population, which had remained illiterate by 1947, belongs to territories which only recently joined the Soviet Union—Western Ukraine, Western Byelorussia, Bessarabia, and so forth.

The successful efforts to spread education among the wide masses, as the primary condition for the acquirement of the whole of the cultural heritage of humanity, enabled all the nationalities of the Soviet Union to become educated in the wide meaning of this word.

The years of 1918–20 were years of civil war, years of destruction, nevertheless already in 1920–1 the number of Soviet schools exceeded the pre-Revolutionary level. The network of schools grew particularly rapidly in the Republics and regions inhabited by nationalities formerly oppressed under Tsarism.

A great increase in the number of pupils in schools took place in the national Soviet Republics:

Republic	School-year of		Increase per Scholar
	1914–15	1938–9	
	(*in thousands*)	(*in thousands*)	
Azerbaijan S.S.R.	73·1	627	8·6
Armenian S.S.R.	34·7	303·4	8·7
Turkmen S.S.R.	6·8	204·6	30·1
Uzbek S.S.R.	17·3	1,106·5	64
Tajik S.S.R.	0·4	251·8	629·5
Kazakh S.S.R.	105·2	1,102·3	10·5
Kirghiz S.S.R.	7	297·2	42·5

In many of the national regions of Tsarist Russia there were no specialised high schools or higher educational institutions at all. Higher educational institutions functioned only on the territory of the present-day R.S.F.S.R., Ukraine, and Georgia before the Revolution.

Since the establishment of Soviet rule, specialised high schools and higher educational institutions, as well as research institutes, have been opened in all the national Republics.

The Kirghiz S.S.R., which has a population of nearly 1·5 millions, has 33 specialised secondary schools, 6 higher educational institutions, 23 scientific institutions, and a branch of the Academy of Sciences of the U.S.S.R.

The Yakut Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic, which forms a part of the R.S.F.S.R., has practically eliminated illiteracy since its establishment; it now has 560 schools, 16 different specialised secondary schools, pedagogical institutes, 24 research institutes, and a research base of the Academy of Sciences of the U.S.S.R.

The Turkmen S.S.R. has 7 higher educational institutions and 25 specialised secondary schools. The Turkmenian branch of the Academy of Sciences of the U.S.S.R., which will shortly be reorganised into the Academy of Sciences of the Turkmen S.S.R., controls 40 different scientific institutions.

It is impossible in a short article and in laconic figures to reflect the vast, all-round progress in education and science achieved by the Soviet national Republics. The most striking aspect of this progress is the creation of large national cadres of Soviet intelligentsia, who are working with good results for the further development of the economy, science, and culture of their people.

Since the establishment of Soviet rule in Kirghizia some ten thousand Kirghiz have acquired the professions of agronomist, doctor, engineer, teacher, scientific worker, zoo-technician, writer, actor, and so forth. The Turkmen S.S.R. has over three thousand specialists with higher education and several thousand with secondary school education who graduated locally.

The presence of a local Soviet intelligentsia promotes the growth of science, literature, and art in the national Republics.

One of the important specific features of Soviet literature, for instance, is its multi-national nature combined with the organic unity resulting from the common ideological aim of all its representatives of different races and speaking different tongues, who, as the great Russian writer Gorky said, "are working, not only each for his own nation, but each for all the nations of the Union of Socialist Republics and autonomous regions."

As a result of this multi-national creative collaboration a vast literature has been founded in the years of Soviet rule, a literature containing tens of thousands of books, written and printed in more than eighty languages of the peoples of the U.S.S.R.

Over fifty writers of the Turkmen S.S.R. publish their novels, short stories, and poems in periodicals and in separate editions. Their plays are staged in the theatres of Republics, regions, districts, and collective farms. The names of Ata Kaushutov, Karaj Burunov, Kara Sentliev, Khaldurdy, Hadja Izmailov, and many others are well known, not only to the Turkmen people. This year, the Stalin Prize, first class, was awarded to Berdy Kerbabayev, merited worker of art of the Turkmen S.S.R., for his great poem "The Decisive Step."

The works of the gifted Kazakh bard and poet, Djambul Djabayev, are highly popular with all Soviet peoples. The popular Daghestan poet, Suleiman Stalsky, "the Homer of the twentieth century," as he was rightly called by A. M. Gorky, has taken a firm place in the history of Soviet literature.

The Tajik poet, Tursun-Zade, after visiting India, wrote an outstanding work, "An Indian Ballad," and other poems for which he was awarded the Stalin Prize last year.

Russian classic literature, as represented by the works of its best writers—Pushkin, Lermontov, Gogol, Turgenev, L. Tolstoy, Nekrassov, Gorky, and others—which has become the acquisition of all the peoples of the Soviet Union, exercises a great cultural influence upon the literature of the Soviet national Republics.

Well known to the peoples of the U.S.S.R. are the classic works of Western European writers, such as Hugo, Balzac, Shakespeare, Byron, Twain, Molière, and others, which have been translated into the languages of many of the nationalities of the U.S.S.R. and have become accessible to the wide masses of the population.

The rapid cultural progress, the unprecedented growth of the political consciousness and activity of the wide masses, resulted in a great upsurge in the publication of periodicals. In 1913, in Tsarist Russia 859 newspapers with a daily circulation of 2·7 million copies were published, of which 775 were printed in Russian and only 84 in 24 other languages. No newspapers at all were published on the territory of the present-day Tajik S.S.R. and

Kirghiz S.S.R. In the U.S.S.R., of 8,550 newspapers published in 1938, 2,188 were published in 70 non-Russian languages. In 1938, 1,762 magazines were published in 50 languages of the peoples of the U.S.S.R., with a total circulation of 257·2 million copies.

The following figures show how accessible newspapers and magazines now are to the many nationalities of the U.S.S.R.: in the Kazakh S.S.R., 262 newspapers are published; of these, 128 in the Kazakh language and the remaining in the languages of the other peoples inhabiting Kazakhstan. In the Azerbaijan S.S.R., 8 Republican newspapers are published in the Azerbaijan language and 10 regional and district newspapers in the Azerbaijan and Armenian languages. In the Kirghiz S.S.R., 89 newspapers are published (64 in the Kirghiz language) and 5 magazines. In the Turkmen S.S.R., 63 newspapers are published, 43 in the Turkmen language. In the Yakut Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic more than 30 newspapers are published, and so forth.

Many books are published in the Soviet national Republics. In the Kirghiz S.S.R., during the past five years, 700 books have been published in editions totalling over 13 million copies; in the Turkmen S.S.R., since its establishment, books have been published in editions totalling over 27 million copies, and so forth.

Dramatic art of all forms and genres has developed greatly in the U.S.S.R. In 1938 the U.S.S.R. had 790 theatres, including 26 opera houses and 326 dramatic theatres. The Soviet theatre is based on profound, constructive application of all the riches of world theatrical culture. Every Soviet theatre presents the best works of Russian and Western European playwrights, and of writers of the fraternal peoples of the U.S.S.R.

Since the establishment of Soviet rule in Turkmenia, a Turkmen Theatre of Opera and Ballet has been organised as well as a Turkmen Dramatic Theatre, a State philharmonic, and many regional theatres which stage works by Turkmen playwrights and composers.

The Kirghiz, Abdylas Moldybayev, People's Artist of the U.S.S.R., the People's Artistes of the Kirghiz S.S.R. Ashiraly Bataliyev and Saira Kiizbayeva, are famous far beyond the borders of Kirghizia.

A large network of cultural-educational institutions has been formed in the national Republics of the U.S.S.R. In the Turkmen S.S.R. there are over 700 libraries with a book fund of some 3·5 million volumes, 700 clubs, 42 cinemas, and 100 film installations, and also 500 reading-huts. The Bashkir A.S.S.R., in 1944, had over 250 mass libraries, 55 district clubs, 1,250 reading-huts and village clubs.

The Soviet culture, Socialist in content, has flowered luxuriantly in the vivid national forms of the peoples of the U.S.S.R. The science, literature, drama, opera and ballet, music, fine arts, sculpture, architecture, and handicraft art of the U.S.S.R. contain

the contribution of each nation and nationality inhabiting the country, according to the level of the given people's culture, their historical past and present.

In all Republics orchestras of national instruments, choirs, and *ensembles* have been formed. The Russian Pyatnitsky Choir, the Ukrainian chorus "Dumka," the choirs of Georgia, the national orchestras of Azerbaijan, the Georgian and Ukrainian national instrument players, the Palekh artists, the Turkmen carpet-makers, the Ukrainian, Mordovian, and Chuvash embroiderers are only single examples of the multilateral national forms of Soviet culture in the broad sense of the word.

The Soviet Government has created all conditions for the development of national culture, and carefully cherishes the historical cultural legacy of each nation. "Soviet people hold that each nation—whether big or small—has its own distinguishing qualitative features, its own specific nature which it alone possesses and other nations lack. These distinguishing features constitute the contribution that each nation makes to the common treasury of world culture and that supplements and enriches it," said J. V. Stalin.

In the course of the cultural construction in the Soviet national Republics a struggle had to be waged against the bourgeois nationalists who sought to separate themselves from the advanced culture, and who did their best to minimise the role and importance of the Russian language for the peoples, and attempted to prove the uselessness of learning Russian.

A still more severe struggle had to be waged against the Russian chauvinists who, being infected with the former policy of Russification pursued by Tsarism, attempted to minimise the role of the native tongue and the national culture of the non-Russian peoples, who did not wish to take into account the national differences of language, culture, and ways of living of these peoples, who hindered the schools, State, and other institutions from passing on to work in the native tongue and from creating national cadres.

Summing up the results of Party and State construction at the 12th Party Congress in 1923, J. V. Stalin said that Soviet power, which until lately was a Russian power, will only become an international power also, regarded as their very own by the peasants of the formerly oppressed nationalities, when the institutions and organs of power of these Republics begin to speak and do their work in the native language.

The Soviet Government consistently implemented this Lenin-Stalin national policy. Schools, cultural-educational institutions, State and public organisations in the national Soviet Republics work in the native tongue. This has enabled the masses of non-Russian peoples to raise their cultural level, and to abolish cultural backwardness.

Since the establishment of Soviet rule the great Russian people have always rendered the non-Russian peoples of the U.S.S.R. political, economic, and cultural assistance. They have helped the non-Russian peoples to turn the formerly backward national outskirts of Russia into advanced Socialist Republics.

The mistrust for the Russian people and the Russian language on the part of the non-Russian peoples, that was fostered by the Tsarist autocracy, has been done away with for ever. The Russian language, studied in the national schools on an equal basis with the native tongue, is one of the favourite subjects with the pupils, as it opens up before them wide perspectives towards the mastery of the heights of knowledge. Tens and hundreds of thousands of non-Russian boys and girls have graduated from and are studying in Soviet specialised high schools and higher educational institutions.

The development of culture and science in the Soviet national Republics is the result of the correct national policy of the Soviet power.

The fraternal family of Soviet peoples, living in friendship and close co-operation, is marching steadily along the road of economic and cultural progress.

T. I. Kuprianov.

CHAPTER TWO

SOVIET CENTRAL ASIA

ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL CHANGE

THE five Union Republics of Soviet Central Asia—Kazakhstan, Kirgizia, Uzbekistan, Tadjikistan, and Turkmenistan—occupy that vast area which in Tsarist Russia was described as the " Steppe Provinces " and the Governor-Generalship of Turkestan, together with the Khanates of Bokhara and Khiva. It had been gradually annexed in the course of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, at a time when its peoples were still in the feudal stage of development, or at an even earlier stage as nomadic pastoral clans. Their Russian conquerors soon arrived at a compromise with the native aristocracies, based on the system of " indirect rule." Russian landowners and substantial peasants secured labour for their estates, and Russian merchants the cotton for the factories of central Russia, through the native khans, aristocracies, and *bais* (rich peasants): while in return the feudal and semi-feudal rights of the latter over the native poor were protected by Russian garrisons and gendarmerie.

As a consequence, economic development was to a very large extent arrested in the primitive condition in which the conquerors found it: and where quantitative expansion and some technical progress did take place—notably in cotton-growing—they went hand in hand with the maintenance of barbarous robbery of the soil, wastefulness, and wretched poverty of the primary producer. Industry was feebly developed, and that mainly on a handicraft basis. A glance at reputable contemporary sources, like the *Russian Year Book for 1914* (particularly pages 62, 95–6, 199, 464, 493) or the eleventh edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica* (Vol. XXVII), will show how this backwardness affected the general cultural level, in the form of almost universal illiteracy, widespread disease, and high death-rate.

The great Central Asian insurrection of 1916, then labelled the " Kirgiz rebellion," but in reality involving the great mass of all these peoples—with its 4,600 Russians killed and missing, its many thousands of Kazakhs, Uzbeks, and others killed, its flight of 300,000 people to China—was but the forerunner of still greater struggles in the years 1917–20. In these the immediate issue was no longer resistance to conscription for the Tsar's labour battalions, as in 1916, but the ending of combined tribal, feudal, capitalist, and national exploitation.

One fact of decisive importance in this connection may easily be overlooked in a narrowly "economic" approach to modern developments in Central Asia. It is that Soviet Turkestan, completely cut o from Russia throughout the Civil War, nevertheless held out successfully against attacks from every direction by White armies, superior in numbers and equipment to their opponents. This was possible thanks only to an alliance between local Russian miners and railwaymen and the Uzbek, Turkmen, Kazakh, and Kirgiz poor peasantry and seasonal workers—an alliance not merely political, but extending to all practical matters such as the formation of a Red Army, control of industry, restriction of profiteering, and assistance to agriculture. Soviet power in Central Asia was founded from the beginning on this alliance.

The subsequent development of these peoples—and their pride in the achievements of the last thirty years—cannot be understood without constant reference to this background. For the problem in Central Asia was not only to modernise agriculture and develop industry: it was to combat and outlive the heritage of feudalism and colonial status, in social as well as economic matters.

Broadly speaking, this process went through the following stages. First came the restoration of agriculture, transport, and existing industry to their pre-war level, the relieving of the poorer peasantry by dividing among them the land of the former large owners and Russian kulaks or Cossack settlers, and the spreading of education, health, and political enlightenment among them, to the maximum extent possible at the given level of economy. Then, from 1925 onwards, a series of revolutionary measures destroyed the still very substantial privileges, surviving from feudal economy, of the richer peasantry in respect of landholding and control of water-supply. The cultural advance of the Central Asian peoples was noticeably accelerated by these reforms. Finally, from 1929 onwards, with the Five-Year Plans of economic development on Socialist lines, came collectivisation of agriculture and large-scale industrialisation (creation of an industry producing the means of production). These both required and made possible a vast advance in education of every kind.

It may be useful to examine these three stages more closely in a few concrete examples.

In Kazakhstan, reconstruction was delayed by the disastrous consequences of the famine of 1921, and economic revival began from the end of the following year. By 1925 the number of livestock had reached 70 per cent. of the 1916 figure, after falling as low as 36 per cent. in 1922. In the latter year the cultivated area was no more than 50 per cent. of the pre-war sowings: but by 1925 it had risen to 72 per cent. In the course of this recovery, nearly 500,000 acres of land seized by Russian kulaks during the 1916 rising were distributed among poor Kazakh peasants or used

for settlement of local Russian landless labourers, together with advances in seeds and cash which made the distribution effective. Industrial output was still under 60 per cent. of the very low pre-Revolution level, and confined chiefly to leather-working and flour-milling, to the Emba oil-field, and to some small mines and fisheries. Co-operative trade had made substantial progress, but chiefly among the Russian population, and in the towns. Although twenty-five per cent. of the 124,000 members of rural co-operatives were Kazakhs, this represented a very small proportion of the total number of Kazakh villagers.

From 1922 onwards great efforts had been made, however, to draw Kazakhs into the machinery of public life. Two-thirds of the rural Soviets conducted their business in the Kazakh language by 1925. Just over one-third of the magistrates were Kazakhs. By the end of the year, nearly 100,000 Kazakh poor and middle peasants were members of semi-co-operative, semi-educational bodies—the "Koshchi" and "Djarly" Leagues. One-fifth of the 120,000 members of trade unions were Kazakhs. Whereas in 1913, out of the 90,000 children in schools, the vast majority were Russians, by 1924–5 there were already 80,000 Kazakh children at school, out of a total attendance of 200,000. Moreover, half the schools were now in purely Kazakh districts. By the census of 1926, the percentage of literacy had risen tenfold, compared with 1913—to 22·8.

At this period, when the average Kazakh family was still living in conditions of almost natural economy, tied by patriarchal tradition and the routine of Muslim law, the emancipation of women could move forward only very slowly. Laws were passed forbidding polygamy, sale and kidnapping of wives, marriages of minors: but much strife attended their enforcement. To help women towards social independence, women producers' co-operatives began to be formed (though they numbered no more than ten by the end of 1924): and women's delegates, elected to supervise public institutions like crêches, clinics, and schools, played an important part in arousing women's interest in public affairs. They numbered 4,900 by 1925. In that year, however, the number of Kazakh women members of rural Soviets was just under 1,000, out of many times that number; and in the trade unions, out of 20,000 women members—one-sixth of the total—only 5 per cent. were Kazakhs.

In Turkestan, during this period, there was the same slow return to pre-war levels of economic activity on a new basis—without landlordism or Russian commercial exploitation—attended by marked cultural advances which in their turn were hampered by the persistence of primitive social organisation. Great efforts were made to restore irrigation systems as a means of reviving the cotton sowings (in 1922 they were at no more than 10 per cent. of the 1913

level). Nomads who settled on the land were relieved of taxation and given credits for their immediate requirements. Several textile factories were transferred from Central Russia, and a high percentage of the profits of Turkestan State-owned industry was earmarked for the local Budget. Credits were granted for the purchase of agricultural machinery from Russian factories. Agricultural producers' co-operatives made some progress: for example, 6,000 Turkmens formed a society to work a former Imperial estate at Bairam-Ali. Literacy by 1926 had reached 10·6 per cent. in Uzbekistan and 12·5 per cent. in Turkmenistan.

Yet, side by side with these advances, there still existed in 1925 ecclesiastical ("Wakf") landed property, schools conducted by Muslim mullahs on traditional lines, and "Shariat" (ecclesiastical) courts—when these and similar barriers to radical social change had long disappeared from European Russia. There were only some 900 women among the 113,000 members of the "Koshchi" League. Only a few dozen women were acting as court assessors. Special clubs and schools had to be opened for women, in the teeth of violent opposition by mullahs and *bais* alike. Here, too, the institution of women delegates, and extraordinary efforts by the central authorities to ensure that women were elected to rural and town Soviets, played a special part.

The general basis of these difficulties was well understood in Central Asia. It was clearly expressed by one delegate from Uzbekistan at the Thirteenth Conference of the Communist Party in April 1925, when he declared that in his territory there had been "no revolution yet in the countryside, in the real sense of the word." In the Fergana region, 51 per cent. of all holdings were of 1 dessyatina (2·7 acres) or less: in the Namangan district, 48 per cent. were of 0·7 dessyatinas or less, while the *bais* held 25, 30, and even over 100 dessyatinas. As a consequence, there was more hired labour in the villages there—and more poverty—than anywhere in European Russia. The *bais* even contrived, thanks to their superior resources, to act as buyers from their poorer neighbours on behalf of the State wholesale cotton trade! *Bai* predominance meant mullah predominance—and that, in its turn, meant cultural stagnation.

Drastic changes in this state of affairs were brought by the great economic reforms which began in 1925, and under which *bais* and mullahs were evicted from their economic vantage-points. Between 1925 and 1927, in Uzbekistan, where they had held 30 per cent. of the land and controlled most of the sources of water, 66,000 landless and poor peasants received by their expropriation 600,000 acres of good land, with livestock and equipment, while the water-supply passed under public control. The same happened in Turkmenistan, where it was nominally the clan elders—actually the wealthiest elements of the peasantry—who lost economic privileges held since mediaeval times, and over 32,000 landless or poor peasants re-

ceived a livelihood. In these and other cases there began a planned extension of irrigation. In Kazakhstan, in 1927, redivision of meadows and ploughlands gave the poor and middle peasants over 6½ million acres at the expense of the *bais*; and the latter lost the last vestiges of their feudal privileges in 1928 by the confiscation (except in certain districts) of their large herds of cattle, in favour of the poor peasants' collective and State farms.

Thus by 1929—when industry in the rest of the Union was expanding rapidly—material conditions existed for the Socialist reconstruction of Central Asian economy. The crying need for that reconstruction, and its essential interdependence with cultural progress, were placed on record by the State Planning Commission of the U.S.S.R. in the following unsparingly realistic terms (*Control Figures for 1928–9,* pages 617–18):

> Being in the recent pre-revolutionary past Tsarist colonies and Oriental despotisms, the Central Asian Soviet Republics suffer from insufficient development of mass education and sanitary-hygienic conditions of life, and are distinguished by an extremely low level of general culture, and particularly of municipal services. . . . The general condition of these Republics is characterised by their untouched vast natural resources, a traditional age-old technique of agriculture and cattle-breeding, in conditions of complex irrigation economy of oasis type; by undeveloped factory industry and lack of experience of the local population in factory and large-scale industrial labour: by traditional forms of domestic, artisan and handicraft industry, based on primitive and empirical craft technique: by the disconnected and isolated life of the individual oases and districts owing to their historical past and natural conditions (broken relief, deserts and high plateaux): and by a general poverty of life, with survivals of national, tribal and religious prejudices.

The three Five-Year Plans (fulfilled wholly or in part by June 22nd, 1941), the war-economy Plans adopted during the struggle against Hitlerite Germany, the first two years (1946–7) of the Fourth Five-Year Plan, have brought a complete economic revolution in the Central Asian Republics. Hundreds of modern industrial establishments of all kinds were built. Scores of industries entirely new to these countries, such as modern large-scale metallurgy, heavy engineering, oil-cracking, and chemical manufacture, made their appearance. Many thousands of self-governing and prosperous collective farms were formed, served by about 500 State-owned machine and tractor stations (their tractor strength rising from 773 in 1927 to 57,800 in 1937), and supported by the State agronomic, building, credit, and other services. There was an immense extension of railways, air-lines, roads, telegraphs, and other means of communication. Trade expanded rapidly, as a result of the rise in real wages earned and agricultural produce marketed. A substantial proportion of the profits of State enterprise in industry, commerce, and agriculture flowed into the

Budgets of the five Republics. These were the material foundations for the great advances in education and culture recorded elsewhere.

Thus, in Uzbekistan, industrial output in 1945 was nine times what it had been in 1913, and represented over 75 per cent. of the total national output, instead of a small fraction. The number of industrial workers had risen from 27,600 in 1929 to over 300,000. Yields in the cotton-growing collective farms had increased from 9 centners per hectare in 1929 to 17 centners ten years later. With new power-stations, non-ferrous metallurgy, engineering factories, Kazakhstan in war-time became "one of the mighty arsenals of our country," in the words of one of its deputies at the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. (January 29th, 1944). It is not difficult to realise that such development necessitates an extraordinary growth of general education and technical knowledge, which explains the figures given by the Uzbek and Kazakh Ministers of Education in their articles.

Again, in Turkmenistan there were before the Revolution only camel caravans as a means of transport, apart from the Trans-Caspian Railway along the southern border, and one very short branch line. In 1947 there were 10,000 kilometres of motor-roads and 3,000 kilometres of air-lines. When to this are added the 368 large modern plants constructed under the Five-Year Plans, and accounting for over 90 per cent. of Turkmen industrial output: and the 1,460 collective farms in which 106,000 peasant households are organised, and which account for practically all cotton sowings and 90 per cent. of grain sowings: is it surprising that—for example—the number of newspapers should have grown from 2 (in Russian) in 1913 to 63 (43 of them in the Turkmen language) in 1944?

Taking the five Republics together, the numbers attending places of higher education had increased from zero before the Revolution to 18,200 by the end of the First Five-Year Plan (1932), and to 34,500 by the end of the Second (1937); and in the same period the students in technical schools increased in numbers from 29,400 to 48,800. War-time economic expansion brought with it a further increase—in Turkmenistan alone, for example, from 1,600 students in four places of higher education (1937) to 2,500 students in seven such colleges (1946).

But perhaps the most striking change has been in the status of women, as a result of the greatly increased demand for industrial labour, the complete transformation of the countryside, and the concomitant spread of general enlightenment. In 1929, when the First Five-Year Plan was drafted, its authors were still referring to the "special problem" of using women for industrial work in these backward areas—and in Uzbekistan for agriculture as well. To-day this is no longer a problem. In the factory, the Uzbek

or Kirghiz woman has equal pay for equal work: in the collective farm, thanks to mechanisation and scientific organisation of labour, her contribution is rated like a man's: the final substitution of work for property as the basis of civic rights, during the transformations of 1925–37, has destroyed the basis of sex inequality in the Muslim family: an immense expansion of the network of crèches and kindergartens has made it possible for woman to take effective advantage of her opportunities.

"They were downtrodden slaves without right," wrote the Rector of the Central Asian University about the women of Uzbekistan (*Pravda*, November 2nd, 1946). "Now Uzbek women adorn the ranks of our multi-loom weavers, of the foremost cotton-growers, of education, health and art." "Thousands of Kirgiz women had gone in war-time into munition factories and building jobs, to operate machine-tools or to work in mines, or had taken their seat at the driver's wheel of the tractor," said a Kirgiz deputy at the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. on April 26th, 1945. In Turkmenistan, formerly one of the most backward areas, where the number of children in schools rose from under 49,000 in 1929–30 to 223,000 in 1939–40, the proportion of girls among these increased from nearly 30 per cent. to nearly 44 per cent. The two Central Asian women awarded the title of "Hero of the Soviet Union" for bravery in battle during the war—Aliya Moldagulova and Senior Sergeant Manshuk Mametova—were both Kazakhs.

It is safe to say that, amongst the radical and permanent social changes brought by the economic transformation of Soviet Central Asia, the emergence of the Asiatic woman to full partnership in all walks of public life with man is probably the most important.

ANDREW ROTHSTEIN.

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CHAPTER THREE

GEORGIA

EDUCATION AND CULTURE

On February 25th of this year the Georgian people celebrated the twenty-seventh anniversary of their free national Socialist State—the Georgian S.S.R. Investigators of the contemporary life of our people are struck by the rapid development of Georgia's economy, of its productive forces, of its national culture. In this brief review I should like to acquaint the reader with the present condition of education and national culture in Georgia. The facts which I shall mention show how the Socialist system of the Soviet State has ensured the development of culture of our people, the progress of education, science, and art. These facts from the present life of the Georgian people are all the more significant since up to this day some peoples of the East, of Asia, are still enmeshed in semi-colonial fetters, and are practically deprived of the possibility of advancing on the road of national progress.

The Soviet system has made education the possession of the broad masses of the Georgian people. There were, indeed, elementary and a small number of secondary schools in pre-Revolutionary Georgia. But these latter were few, and only well-to-do parents could afford to send their children to them, just as is the case to-day in the secondary and high schools in some European states. There are now in Georgia, with its population of 3½ million, more than 4,100 elementary and secondary schools, attended by over 600,000 children. These figures are 50–100 per cent. greater than even in 1930–2, and the number of schools in Georgia has increased by thirty times during the last twenty-five years. The Soviet Government has built 2,000 modern schools for Georgian children. In 1920, i.e. on the eve of the establishment of Soviet power in Georgia, there were 77 pupils per thousand of the population, whereas in 1938 the figure was 222. This figure has since been growing steadily.

Secondary education has become a compulsory minimum of knowledge for the Georgian youth. A special secondary education is acquired by scores of thousands of Georgian youths and girls in 125 technical, agricultural, pedagogical, sports, and other schools. Lastly, higher education has become accessible to the masses of the people, whereas before the Revolution the ordinary inhabitant of towns, to say nothing of the villages, could not even dream about such an education. Georgia has now 20 higher educational establishments, attended by more than 21,000 students, and nearly

3,000 scientists are working in these institutions. The higher educational establishments are training teachers, engineers, actors, artists, physicians, lawyers, agronomists, architects, philosophers, etc. During the last twenty-five years about 40,000 specialists of highest qualifications have graduated from these establishments.

We take a special pride in the Stalin University in Tbilisi (Tiflis), one of the biggest educational establishments in the Soviet Union. It has 10 faculties training students in 33 specialities. Nearly 8,000 Georgian youths and girls are now studying in the university. They have at their disposal 80 laboratories, numerous lecture-halls, libraries, collections, etc. The university is staffed by a highly qualified personnel, including 17 academicians, 10 corresponding members of various academies and 30 Honoured Science Workers. It is interesting to note that a considerable proportion of the teachers have acquired their education in the same university.

The Tbilisi University is also a very important centre of scientific activities. In addition to the fact that it has since its foundation trained 12,000 specialists in various branches of knowledge, the university also played an important role in the establishment of the Academy of Sciences of the Georgian S.S.R., which was founded in 1941. The Tbilisi University also assisted in the organisation of other higher educational establishments of the Republic. Its medical, agricultural, industrial, pedagogical, and a few other faculties have become independent institutes.

Besides the university, medical, industrial, pedagogical, and other institutes are now successfully functioning in the Republic. They are to be found not only in Tbilisi, its capital, but also in other Georgian cities: Sukhumi, Batumi, Gori, Kutaisi, Stalinir. There is now not a single big city in the Republic without its higher educational establishment. Here are educated scores of thousands of children of Georgian, Abkhasian, and Ossetian workers, peasants, children of all nationalities inhabiting our Republic. Here it may be noted, by the way, that national minorities in our country have long since had the possibility of acquiring education in their own native tongue. Azerbaijan, Armenian, and other educational establishments are successfully functioning in Georgia. The right to education, to teaching conducted in their own language, was not only proclaimed by the Soviet State, but its realisation was ensured in practice. That is why under Soviet rule Georgia, within a brief period, has become a country of wholesale literacy.

Pre-Revolutionary Georgia was exceedingly poor in cultural and educational institutions. That was a consequence of the semi-colonial policy of the Tsarist Government, which persecuted everybody attempting to promote the development of the national self-consciousness of the national minorities. Before the Revolution there were only 110 libraries, with a total of 300,000 volumes, in

the whole of Georgia. To-day we have in our Republic nearly 2,000 libraries, with a total of more than 7 million volumes.

There were neither national theatres nor museums, and almost no other cultural institutions, in old Georgia. To-day there are in the Republic nearly 1,400 clubs, 70 of which are real palaces of Socialist culture. There is now hardly a village in Georgia without a club, library, and cinema. Soviet Georgia is proud of its theatres, including the Rustaveli Dramatic Theatre and the Paliashvili Opera House in Tbilisi, well known throughout the Soviet Union. There is a theatre in almost every town and big district centre of the Republic.

Lastly, I should like to say a word about the foundation of such national museums as the State Museum of Georgia and National Picture Gallery in Tbilisi, and historical, ethnographical, literary, and regional museums in many towns and villages of the Republic. They, too, are outposts of the new Soviet culture, Socialist in content and national in form, which is flourishing in Soviet Georgia.

It is impossible in a brief review to touch upon all the aspects of contemporary culture in Georgia. A word must be said, however, about the Academy of Sciences of the Georgian S.S.R., which, though one of the youngest academies in the Soviet Union, has already become a centre of creative scientific work. During the seven years of its existence, the academy has united the efforts of over forty research institutes and other scientific institutions and of many hundred of highly qualified scientific workers. Scores of Georgian scientists, including Academician Ivan Beritashvili, one of the most eminent Soviet physiologists, and Professor Raphael Agladze, the gifted 35-year-old metallurgist and Vice-President of the Academy, have been awarded Stalin Prizes.

All major problems of science form the subjects of research by Georgian philologists, mathematicians, historians, chemists, sociologists, physicists. Never before has our national culture and science had such favourable conditions for their development as they now have. Let me mention only one fact. Not long ago the Government decided to build a township near Tbilisi to house the principal laboratories, institutions, and institutes of the Georgian Academy of Sciences. This will provide every Georgian scientist with excellent conditions and up-to-date means for his work.

Culture of Soviet Georgia, which has achieved such striking successes in the last quarter of a century, is continuing to develop rapidly. This development is based on the firm foundation of the Socialist system and is planned by the Soviet State just as the development of any other branch of national life is planned. Under the post-war Five-Year Plan for the development of the national economy of Georgia, more than half of the State expenditure is allocated for education, culture, art, etc. During that five-year period we shall build 200 new schools, 3 large theatres (in

Sukhumi, Kutaisi, and Batumi); the number of pupils will increase to almost 750,000, the network of clubs to 2,150 (against 1,505 in 1940), of libraries to 3,100 (against 1,620 in 1940); we shall build new houses of culture in town and countryside, open new museums, etc. Publication of national literature will grow considerably. In 1950 we shall issue 6 million copies of textbooks in the Georgian language. The number of secondary schools and higher educational establishments will increase. A considerable part of this programme has already been fulfilled in 1946 and 1947, the first two years of the Five-Year Plan.

Such is the position of national culture in Georgia. I do not dwell upon the achievements of Georgian painting, cinema, architecture, theatre, and much else. But it seems to me that what I have said above offers sufficient material for drawing the only possible conclusion, viz. that the Socialist system has provided the Georgian people with a real possibility of advancing their national culture, of utilising the achievements of science and art, of civilisation.

VICTOR KUPRADZE.

CHAPTER FOUR

AZERBAIJAN

ADVANCEMENT OF CULTURE

THE Azerbaijan people, one of the oldest nations of the world, have been subjected to many misfortunes throughout their long history. Foreign invaders pillaged their treasures and retarded the development of their culture. The Tsarist autocracy kept the people in darkness and ignorance and hindered the spreading of literacy. When Soviet power was established in 1920, 97 per cent. of the Azerbaijanian people could neither read nor write.

The Azerbaijan woman was deprived of even the few limited opportunities for education available to men. Woman in old Azerbaijan, as the apt saying goes, was wrapped in a veil of ignorance and illiteracy. No more than a hundred Azerbaijan girls studied in schools during the days of the Tsar, and these were the daughters of the rich and the privileged.

The Socialist Revolution has liberated the spiritual forces of the people and rid them of national and colonial slavery, and brought about a veritable revolution also in public education. From its very inception the Soviet State started to build the new school and work for the liquidation of illiteracy. During the first two years of Soviet power alone 333 elementary schools were opened for 37,000 pupils. The first normal schools and a pedagogical institute in Baku were also set up in that period.

Now that Azerbaijan has scores of thousands of teachers it is interesting to recall that the first graduating class of all the educational establishments of our Republic numbered nine teachers. But these were the first teachers to receive their education in their native tongue and in their native land.[1]

In the rapid spread of literacy, a big part was played by the change from the Arabic alphabet to a modern one. The alphabet now in use, based on Russian characters, was introduced in 1940.

The practical realisation of universal compulsory elementary education was started in 1930. In 1939 universal compulsory seven-year schooling was introduced in the countryside, and complete ten-year middle school education in towns and workers' settlements. Here, as everywhere in the Soviet Union, elementary and seven-year secondary education is free. In Soviet times the number of schools has grown to 3,352, and the total enrolment to 576,000 pupils. It hardly need be added that instruction in schools,

[1] Azerbaijan people speak a Turkish language.—EDITORS.

like everywhere else in the U.S.S.R., is given in the native tongue. Azerbaijan has become a country where the entire adult population is able to read and write, and all children of school age study.

Still more striking is the progress of higher education, which was totally unknown in the old Azerbaijan. It was only in Soviet times that a university, medical, polytechnical, agricultural, pedagogical, and other institutes were established. At present Azerbaijan has 18 higher educational establishments with a total student body of more than 20,000. Among these higher schools are an Academy of Music, a Theatrical Institute, and a Physical Culture Institute.

Important in the training of scientists and teachers is the university and its eight departments, representing all branches of humanities. Azerbaijan's Industrial Institute (known at first as the Polytechnical Institute) has trained many thousands of oil experts, geologists, mechanical engineers, builders, etc. By way of contrast it should be mentioned that before the Revolution Azerbaijan had twelve engineers of Azerbaijanian nationality who were educated in Russia. Now there are more than 1,500 Azerbaijanian engineers, and most of them have received their diplomas at higher schools of their Republic.

Major successes have been registered in the training of teachers. During forty years of Tsarist rule only 262 teachers were trained, whereas in less than thirty years of Soviet power the number has exceeded 32,000. Seventeen pedagogical schools and 10 teachers' institutes have been established in Azerbaijan. The Republic also has an institute for the advanced training of teachers, as well as a chain of methodological study-centres. More than 3,000 students attend pedagogical institutes, and 4,500 normal schools.

In all these educational establishments women study side by side with men. The Azerbaijanian woman, thanks to the Soviet State, has discarded the veil that for centuries barred her way to learning and progress. Azerbaijanian women have eagerly taken to study. Whereas in the early years of Soviet power women comprised only one-tenth of the student body, now they make up fully half of the enrolment. On an equal footing with men they have access not only to secondary education but also to higher learning. Of the 2,200 graduates of the Medical Institute nearly a thousand are women. Azerbaijanian women have come to the fore in the world of science. There are 6 women professors, 9 assistant professors, and 80 other research workers, engaged in the field of medicine alone.

Books, newspapers, and magazines have become part and parcel of life in the homes of Azerbaijanian workers and peasants. Eight republican and dozens of regional and district newspapers in the Azerbaijan and Armenian languages are published in the Republic. Books are published in editions annually totalling 6 million copies,

and newspapers have an annual circulation of 100 million copies.

Our Republic has a ramified chain of children's clubs and hobby centres which provide facilities for healthful and useful extra-mural activities.

Old Azerbaijan did not have a single scientific research institution. The Republic now has 69. A striking index of the swift progress of culture and science is the fact that this country, where over nine-tenths of the population was illiterate three decades ago, to-day possesses its own Academy of Science which embraces 15 research institutes and has branches in many cities of Azerbaijan.

The further advancement of education and culture is envisaged in the post-war Five-Year Plan. The number of secondary schools is to increase and their facilities are being extended; a chain of secondary schools for adults is being set up to enable urban and rural youth, whose studies were interrupted by the war to complete their education.

Teachers' training according to the Five-Year Plan is to be substantially extended with enrolment of pedagogical institutes rising to 12,000 and at normal schools to 9,000. The network of kindergartens and nurseries is being expanded, and in 1950 these institutions will be able to accommodate more than 50,000 children.

The Azerbaijan people are justly proud of their achievements in education. They highly appreciate the efforts made by the Soviet State to promote the advancement of culture in their Republic, and this is manifested in their boundless devotion to and love for their Socialist homeland.

IMAM MUSTAFEYEV.

CHAPTER FIVE

UZBEKISTAN

ADVANCEMENT OF CULTURE

IN Uzbekistan, as in all the other Republics of the Soviet East, public education was introduced after the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution. In Tsarist times Central Asia was a colony, where every cultural initiative of the Uzbek people was suppressed. There were only 160 public schools on the territory now occupied by the Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republic, of which only 52 were in the *kishlaks* (villages), where the major part of the population lives. In no school was teaching conducted in the native tongue. Before the First World War this region, with a population of several millions, had 17,299 scholars, of whom only 3,028 were village youngsters.

Uzbek children were only admitted to the mosque schools, where they were taught in the Arabic language, which they did not understand. Tuition was confined to memorising prayers. The schools played no part in raising the cultural level of the Uzbek people. Only 1·5 per cent. of the population were literate and they, in the majority of cases, were mullahs, feudal lords, and wealthy merchants.

Soon after the establishment of Soviet power the Government began wide-scale development of public education of Uzbekistan, despite the difficulties brought about by the foreign intervention and the civil war. Schools were opened, and not in the towns alone but in distant rural localities as well. In 1924 Uzbekistan already had 904 public schools, attended by 75,000 children.

In areas with a nomad population the teachers and their text-books travelled from place to place with the nomads.

The formation and delimitation of the Central Asian Republics in 1924, and the establishment of the sovereign Uzbek Republic as an equal member of the fraternal family of the Republics of the Soviet Union, set up favourable conditions for the cultural development of the Uzbek nation. In 1927 the Republic had 1,825 schools, attended by 133,000 children. In the course of the First Five-Year Plan (1928–32) the Soviet Government decreed universal compulsory elementary education. This led to a tremendous increase in the number of schools, which in the period of the First Five-Year Plan reached a total of 4,387. The number of school children increased from year to year. In the school years of 1932–3, 445,000 children attended school; in 1937–8, 863,200, and in 1942–3, 1,071,000. In 1948 the Republic had 4,523 schools, attended

by 3,916,000 scholars. The school network of Uzbekistan is so organised as to ensure the attendance of all children even in the sparsely populated and remote mountain regions, or in the oases of the desert areas.

Schools admit both boys and girls. Before the Revolution Uzbek girls were not admitted to even the mosque schools. In 1928, 26 per cent. of the school children were girls, now in the towns they total 50·1 per cent. and in the rural districts 46·5 per cent. This in itself is illustrative of the existing equality of the women with the men in Soviet Uzbekistan as well as in all other Republics in the U.S.S.R. Together with the development of the network of public schools, immense work was done in training teachers from among the native population. The first pedagogical higher school—the Tashkent Timiryazev Pedagogical Institute—was opened in 1920. The year following, similar institutions were opened in a number of other towns, including Urgench and Nukus, situated on the territory of the former Khiva khanate, where the cultural level of the population was exceptionally low.

Now six pedagogical institutes of this Republic train teachers for the upper grades of the secondary schools, 10 teachers' institutes graduate personnel for the 5th–7th classes, and 19 pedagogical schools train teachers for the elementary schools. Uzbek schools now employ 38,567 teachers. This means that there are now more than twice as many teachers as there were scholars in the Tsarist days. Before the Revolution there were only 704 teachers on the territory now occupied by the Uzbek Republic.

The army of teachers played a very important part in the transformation of formerly backward Uzbekistan into a country of literacy and culture. In addition to their work at school, the teachers carry on important educational work among the adult population.

Along with the training of new teachers serious attention is devoted to raising the qualifications of the old ones. For this purpose five advanced and several correspondence-course institutes have been opened for village school teachers. Teachers get valuable assistance from the pedagogical consultation centres opened in all regions of the Republic.

No textbooks in the Uzbek tongue [1] ever existed, so they had to be prepared right from the beginning. This entailed tremendous work. In the early stage the Uzbek schools used translated textbooks. Eventually textbooks were written to conform with the curriculum of the Uzbek schools, to provide for the study of the history, literature, geography, the flora and fauna of Uzbekistan.

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[1] The Uzbek language belongs to the Turkish-Tartar linguistic group.—EDITORS.

Work on the compilation of textbooks continues. The efforts of the best teachers of Uzbekistan and eminent Leningrad and Moscow Orientalists have been employed for the job. To-day all the elementary and secondary schools are provided with textbooks in the Uzbek language, including books on Uzbek literature, on the history and geography of Uzbekistan.

The Arabic alphabet, which is difficult to learn, was a serious obstacle in Uzbek education. This barrier was overcome by the introduction in 1928 of the much easier Latinised alphabet. In 1940 the alphabet was again reformed on the basis of Russian letters. Thus disappeared the obstacles which hampered the elementary education of Uzbek children.

But teachers and textbooks alone could not solve the problem of public education in Uzbekistan. School premises were needed. Therefore the development of public education was accompanied by construction of school buildings. To-day the public school is the best building in the Uzbek village. Many of the village schools compare well with the city schools.

Every year Uzbek schools graduate thousands of young people of both sexes, well prepared for entrance to the technical and higher schools. Besides the two universities in Tashkent and Samarkand, Uzbekistan has 37 specialised higher schools, among them an industrial institute, two medical institutes, a transport institute, a law school, several agricultural and other institutes.[1]

National Uzbek culture developed on the basis of widespread public education. Many Uzbek higher school graduates devoted themselves to scientific work. The work of Uzbek scientists widely developed, enabling the founding of the Uzbek Academy of Sciences (1943). This Academy embodies over twenty scientific-research institutions—institutes of geology, chemistry, power, botany and zoology, archaeology, the history of language and literature, an institute for the study of ancient Oriental manuscripts, an institute of economy, an observatory, etc.

Uzbek scientists are rendering valuable aid in the development of the national economy of the country, in the study of its past and present. Here are the names of some of the most eminent scientists working at the Academy and its institutions: the outstanding mathematician Tash-Mukhamed Sarymsakov, President of the Academy; members of the Academy of Sciences, Khabib Abdullayev—expert on the geology of Uzbekistan, whose work helped to promote the mining industry in the Republic, and Abid Sadykov, who studies ways of utilising the chemical properties of certain plants; corresponding member of the Academy Professor Vakhid Zakhidov, expert in the sphere of Oriental philosophy.

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[1] T. Kuprianov gave the following figures: 67 specialised secondary schools and 37 special institutes with 45,000 scholars.

Uzbek national literature is also flourishing. The works of Stalin prize-winner, member of the Academy of Sciences of the Uzbek S.S.R., the Uzbek writer Mussa Aibek—author of two great novels: *The Sacred Blood* and *Navoi*, translated into Russian, as well as a number of other writings and poems—are known far beyond Uzbekistan. The Uzbek poet Gafur Gulyam, holder of the Stalin prize, is known for his collection of poems, best of which are: *I Hail from the East* and *The Lights of Uzbekistan.*

A recent production—*Two Chinars* (Two Plane Trees), by Abdullah Kakhar, describing life in the Uzbek collective-farm village—is just as popular with the Russian as with the Uzbek reader. Many first-class works were produced by Uzbek writers Uigun, Mirtemir, and Kamil Yashen, as well as the poetess Zulfiya.

Before the October Revolution the Uzbek people had no theatre of their own. Now theatrical art is one of the most developed of the national arts of Uzbekistan. The Republic has nearly fifty theatres, which stage the productions of national playwrights as well as the best Russian and West European works.

The Uzbek audience is now able to enjoy plays by Gogol, Lermontov, Ostrovsky, Gorky; plays by our modern playwrights Simonov, Pogodin, Korneichuk, Lavrenev; works by Shakespeare, Molière, Lope de Vega, and Goldoni. Uzbek actors Abrar Khidoyatov and Sara Ishanturayeva are of the best performers of Shakespearean characters in the Soviet Union.

Uzbek national operas and symphony music are also developing. Tchaikovsky's *The Queen of Spades* and Bizet's *Carmen,* translated into the Uzbek tongue, have been performed with great success on the Uzbek stage. Uzbek composer Mukhtar Ashrafi, Uzbek singers Khalima Nasyrova and Tamara Khanum, and the master Uzbek folk-dancer Mukkaram Turgunbayeva, have been awarded the Stalin prize.

Uzbekistan has also its national painters. The canvases of Samig Abdullayev, Ural Tansykbayev, and Abdulkhak Abdullayev have been exhibited at Uzbek as well as at All-Union Exhibitions.

The successful development of Uzbek culture, achieved with the help of the fraternal Russian people, is vivid evidence of the correctness of the Soviet national policy, which converted the former backward, illiterate territory into a progressive, highly cultured Republic in the Soviet East.

ABDULLA MURAT HODJAYEV.

CHAPTER SIX

KAZAKHSTAN

ADVANCEMENT OF CULTURE

BEFORE dealing with public education and the development of the national culture in our Republic, I want to say a few words about the past of Kazakhstan. Only then will the reader understand the magnitude of the successes which we have achieved in the past thirty years.

Kazakhstan is a large country, the size of its territory equalling that of several European countries taken together. For instance, it is five times larger than France.

Before the Great October Socialist Revolution, Kazakhstan was one of the most backward " borderlands " of Tsarist Russia. Thirty years ago, the whole of this huge region was devoid of roads or of any cultural centres. Throughout the ages, the Kazakh nomad cattle-breeders had roamed the steppes, and only a few of them knew what was meant by railways, schools, theatres, cinemas, or the radio.

Pre-Revolutionary Kazakhstan had only a small number of primary Russian-Kirghizian and Muslim schools, offering one or two years of tuition. All the studies there consisted in learning the four rules of arithmetic and in reading the *Koran* in Arabic. There were no Kazakh schools at all, and there were certainly no secondary schools or higher educational institutions. Even those schools that did exist were closed to the children of the working Kazakhs; they functioned only for the children of Tsarist officials, merchants, and the local beys. To every hundred native Kazakh inhabitants there were not more than two literate Tsarist colonisers. The local feudal lords and beys made no attempt to spread education among the working people of Kazakhstan. An ignorant people could more easily be exploited. Throughout the whole of Kazakhstan there were 146 libraries.

Public education in the young Kazakh Soviet Republic had to be built up from the very beginning. In this, the Kazakh people, liberated from Tsarist oppression, were assisted by the Soviet Government, the fraternal Russian people, the leaders of the multi-national Soviet State, Vladimir Lenin and Joseph Stalin. With their help, from the very first days of the establishment of Soviet rule in the Republic, wide-scale construction of schools, higher educational institutions, libraries, reading-rooms, theatres, museums, and other cultural institutions began. Schooling was

organised for children and for illiterate adults. The assignments for public education grew from year to year, reaching 554 million roubles in 1938, and 913 million roubles in the current year. Since the establishment of Soviet rule, 1,000 light and spacious schools have been built in our cities, factory settlements, and collective-farm villages.

Under Soviet rule education became accessible to all Kazakhs in Kazakhstan. The children receive tuition in their native language; instead of Arabic we have introduced a new system of writing based on the Russian. This has made it easier for our people to master the Russian language, the great Russian culture, and world culture. In our schools, English, German, and French are taught besides Russian.

In the first years of the organisation of public education we experienced a great shortage of local teachers; neither were there any textbooks in the Kazakh language.[1] But we overcame this problem. Pedagogical institutes and schools were opened in the Republic; at present there are 38 institutions, 78 per cent. of the students being Kazakh youths and girls. A particularly large number of trained teachers and lecturers have come from the Kazakh State Pedagogical Institute, founded in the city of Alma-Ata in 1928. The problem of textbooks was solved just as successfully. In 1938 alone, we already published 5·5 million copies of textbooks on different subjects in our native language.

Darkness and ignorance have been done away with for ever in Kazakhstan. The law of the Soviet Government on universal compulsory elementary education has been fully carried into effect. From a backward and illiterate borderland of the former Russian empire, Kazakhstan has been transformed into a Republic with 100-per-cent. literacy, with a wide-flung network of pre-school institutions, elementary, incomplete secondary, and secondary schools, higher educational institutions and research institutes, all functioning in the native language.

The Republic now has 8,305 elementary, incomplete secondary, and secondary schools, attended by nearly one million boys and girls. There are 517 boarding schools in which 22,000 pupils live, chiefly orphans, children of servicemen who fell at the front, or of war invalids. There are also 600 pre-school institutions, kindergartens, and children's playgrounds. The schools are staffed by 44,000 teachers, many of whom have been accorded the honorary title of Merited Teacher of the Republic and have been decorated with Orders and Medals of the Soviet Union.

Kazakhstan has not only become a country of complete literacy but also a country with a great culture. Since the establishment

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[1] The Kazakh language belongs to the Turkish-Tartar linguistic group. —Editors.

of Soviet rule a local intelligentsia has come into being. Scientific workers, engineers, doctors, agronomists, zoo-technicians, and other specialists are trained for the Republic in 23 higher educational institutions, including the Kirov State University of Kazakhstan, and in 97 specialised secondary schools; since their establishment these institutions have been graduated by 15,000 persons. The 11 higher educational institutions and the 19 specialised high schools of Alma-Ata alone have 18,000 students at present.

Forty research and other scientific institutions function in the Republic; the central seat of learning is the recently formed Academy of Sciences of Kazakhstan, headed by the eminent Kazakh geologist, K. I. Satpayev, member of the Academy of Sciences of the U.S.S.R. The Kazakh Academy comprises 17 research institutes and is staffed by 1,500 scientific workers, of whom 400 doctors and masters of sciences, professors, and assistant professors are Kazakh men and women.

Since the establishment of Soviet rule Kazakh literature and art has progressed tremendously. We have extremely talented Kazakh writers and actors, composers and artists. Before the Revolution there were only two Russian and one Kazakh theatre on the whole territory of Kazakhstan. At present, the Republic has 47 theatres, of which 22 perform in the Kazakh language. The huge edifice, built in Oriental style, of the Kazakh State Theatre of Opera and Ballet named after Abai, is one of the most decorative buildings in our capital. In addition to Russian and world classics, such as Tchaikovsky's *Eugene Onegin,* Rubinstein's *Demon,* Puccini's *Madame Butterfly,* and others, translated into the Kazakh language, the theatre stages operas by Kazakh composers: *Abai* by Zhubanov, *Khamidi* and *Birzhan and Sara* by Tulebayev, *Amangeldy* by Tulebayev and Brusilovsky.

The State Dramatic Theatre and the Young Playgoers' Theatre also present, in the Kazakh language, the works of Gogol, Gorky, Tchekhov, Ostrovsky, Shakespeare, Balzac and, of course, the works of our Kazakh playwrights.

Our actors have successfully acquired advanced musical and theatrical culture. A particular favourite with playgoers are the talented Kazakh singers and actors—People's Artist of the U.S.S.R., Kulyash, Baiseitova; the People's and Merited Artists of the Kazakh S.S.R., K. Kuiapyshpayev, E. Umurzakov, S. Kozhamkulov, M. Yerzhanov, A. Umetbayev, and many others. Kazakhstan has 14 special education institutions, offering musical and histrionic training, including the Alma-Ata State Academy of Music. The Alma-Ata Philharmonic, three regional philharmonics, and 16 concert *ensembles* present concerts throughout the Republic. Altogether, we now have some 4,000 professional actors and singers.

The Republic also has a wide-flung network of cinemas, number-

ing up to 1,150. But we do not only exhibit films, we also make them. The pictures produced in Alma-Ata Film Studio, which is extremely well organised and equipped with the most up-to-date material, appear throughout the Soviet Union.

Thousands of clubs and reading-rooms, equipped with mobile film projectors, function in enterprises, collieries, factory settlements, on collective farms, and at the summer and winter pasture camps.

The Republic has 10,500 libraries, with a total book-fund of 10 million volumes. We have a large publishing house which has already issued millions of books other than textbooks. The best classics by Russian and foreign authors have been translated into the Kazakh language. Many talented Kazakh prose-writers, poets, and playwrights have come to the fore in these years. Newspapers and periodicals are published in large numbers in the Republic, including 128 Kazakh, 130 Russian, 2 Uigur newspapers, as well as one in the Uzbek and one in the Korean language.

The Kazakh people are displaying an insatiable thirst for knowledge, a desire to master science and all cultural accomplishments. And we may well be proud of our achievements on this glorious path, traversed by our Republic since the Revolution.

ABDYKHAMI SEMBAYEV.

SECTION VII

THE NEAR EAST

Introduction

THE countries of this section form that part of the world where three great religions were born, and from where European civilisation derives its origin. It was the meeting-place of Europe, Asia, and Africa, of Hellenistic and Oriental cultures, where Judaism, Christianity, and Islam cross-fertilised each other. Europeans, Semites, Mongols, and Africans freely mixed their blood under both the Romans and the Arabs, and the population to-day includes representatives of all these races. This heterogeneity of racial origin and cultural-religious tradition is still visible to-day in spite of thirteen centuries of Islam and Arabic culture. There are considerable enclaves of Christian communities, mostly survivals of original Christianity, but partly the result of Western missionary efforts. The recent immigration of Jews created a new enclave of Hebrew-speaking population in Palestine, European by upbringing but keen on reviving the half-forgotten Oriental tradition. Controlled for decades by European Powers, these countries, carved out of the old Ottoman Empire, were subjected to European guidance in their educational policy, and often transplanted Western systems and methods wholesale. In Syria and Lebanon, under the French Mandate, the whole French system was imitated in detail, and the French language had a priority over Arabic. In Egypt, Iraq, Transjordan, and Palestine the British influence, on the other hand, permitted the growth of indigenous culture and did not attempt to supplant Arabic by English. In both areas, however, the new generation of Nationalist Arabs were impatient with the foreign control of education and endeavoured to revive their own tradition based on the heritage of Islam and the Baghdad Califate. Yet the historical connection with Europe is too strong to be shaken off completely. In addition, the demand for technical education emphasises the necessity of modern European methods. Thus we see in all countries of the Middle East an attempt to synthesise indigenous and European traditions and cultures. It is quite candidly avowed by the Turkish government as the goal of Turkish education. The Arabs are more reticent in this respect, and Lebanon alone, being half Christian and more exposed to European influence, officially recognises the two sources of its culture. The Palestinian Jews, although they fled from Europe to the East, are bringing the European way of

life to their ancient home. The difficulties of adapting their ancient languages to modern needs are common to all, Turks, Arabs, and Jews, and here again they have to borrow from Europe. The Turks proved the most radical of all and took over the Latin alphabet in the same spirit as they transplanted the Swiss Civil Code without any alteration. Both Arabs and Jews are in possession of great literatures and national scripts, and can hardly contemplate such revolutionary steps, but even they have to use European technical terms. The inevitable industrialisation of the Middle East in consequence of exploitation of the oil-fields makes the development of technical education imperative. The cultural isolation of Islamic countries is definitely at an end, and Islam has lost its previous cultural monopoly. Turkey has become a secular State, and the Arab States have proclaimed the equality of religious traditions in order to unite Muslims and Christians in a nationalist movement. Thus all Arab States in their school legislation put a stress on the unity of Arabic culture without insisting on its Muslim character. In one respect the Middle East has been spared a problem which looms large in other countries. Islam never recognised any racial superiority, and the policy of racial equality is traditional both in Turkey and in Arab countries. The Middle East is entering a new era, in which the heritage of the past is being rapidly adapted to the modern world.

EDITORS.

CHAPTER ONE

MUSLIM EDUCATIONAL IDEALS

MUSLIM education in the past has had very few opportunities of making itself known to Europeans. Historians and educationists who have written about it so far have generally dealt with its later development—which was not always approved by the true religion of Islam. They were scarcely concerned with education as it had been prescribed by the *Koran* and understood by the Prophet himself. This study will endeavour mainly to describe early Muslim education, because most of the Arab and Muslim countries which are reforming their system of education are nowadays looking to the pure religion of the Prophet for inspiration and guidance.

Islam, which like other religions is itself a system of education, exhorts the faithful to aspire to certain prescribed ideals. In two main characteristics, however, it differs from other religions. First, though it gives the greater importance to the life hereafter, it enjoins Muslim people not to neglect their life in this world. Muhammad himself in his prayers used to repeat the following *Koranic* verse: " Our Lord! grant us thy bounty in this world and the next, and save us from the chastisement of the fire" (Bukhari, Sahih, VIII, 149).

Secondly, Islam is an all-embracing religion, dealing not only with the moral and spiritual life of the believer but with all the other aspects of his life, whether material, social, or personal. D. B. Macdonald, referring to the latter aspect said (somewhat superficially): " There is no inner side to Muslim life. All the sides of life, for the unreconstructed Muslim, are equally discussible, may be talked out. There are no forbidden subjects for conversation " (*Aspects of Islam,* New York, 1911, p. 323).

The Muslim religion does not believe in the innate wickedness of human nature. It admits, however, that human nature contains what it calls " low desires," which must be quelled and subdued by reason and will-power. This fight of the Muslim against his low desires is called " the greater war " because of its difficulty; it will last the whole lifetime of the believer, and constitutes the essential development of his religious education.

By " low desires " Islam means, of course, tendencies to vice, corruption, and evil. Moreover, it also means excessive attachment to the pleasures and goods of this world. It allows the believer to enjoy life and happiness in so far as this enjoyment does not lead him to cling graspingly to this world and to forget the hereafter; for preparation to meet God and deserve His Grace is the chief aim of the Muslim's life.

That this preparation would be always successful is assured by Muslim religion provided that the believer uses the following means:

(*a*) The study of "Muslim science," which consists of the *Koran* and *Hadith* (the sayings and doings of the Prophet).

(*b*) The performance of certain rites, such as to pray five times a day, to fast one month a year, to give in alms every year 5 per cent. of whatever money is not required by the believer for his own essential maintenance, and to go on a pilgrimage at least once in his life.

(*c*) The practice of religious morality even in the minute details of everyday life, and the development of moral goodness and responsibility by associating with pious people as well as by continual introspection and war against low desires.

The struggle against low desires very often makes Muslims suspect the whole emotional life and want to subdue it to reason and will. This gives Muslim religion a rather puritanical aspect.

(*d*) The contemplation of the world of creation by the believer who, in pondering on the mystery of the world and admiring its marvels, will thus find, in the creation, a convincing proof of the existence of one omnipotent God. "Most surely," says the *Koran,* "in the creation of the heavens and the earth, and the alternation of the night and the day, there are signs for men of understanding. Those who remember Allah, standing and sitting and lying on their sides and reflect on the creation of the heavens and the earth: Our Lord! Thou hast not created this in vain; glory be to Thee!" (III, 189).

All these ways and means must be used so as to achieve the following ends, which may be considered as the Muslim educational ideals:

(1) A firm belief in the existence of one omnipotent God who desires His creatures to fear Him, love Him, worship Him, and rely on Him, and who sends Messengers—the last of whom is Muhammad—to teach human beings and show them the right path.

(2) The teaching of a way of life which, without prejudice to the life of the believer in this world or to his enjoyment of its goods and pleasures, is a serious preparation for the hereafter—the ultimate goal of the believer's existence.

This way of life consists of a delicate harmony between love of life and asceticism, and is somewhat difficult to attain. Therefore, the majority of Muslims in the later periods of Islam went to extremes. They became either worldly or ascetic, or they began their life with the former and ended it with the latter.

(3) The achievement of spiritual and moral education according to the prescriptions of Islam. As for physical training, the Muslim must always be strong, to make the enemies of his religion respect

and fear him. He is exhorted to learn swimming, riding, and shooting.

(4) The creation of the Muslim society which can be described, on the whole, as a huge family. This society must not be based only on the recognition of the rights and duties of each individual member, but also on kindness, mutual regard, and solidarity. "A Muslim," says Muhammad, "is the brother of a Muslim; he does him no injustice, nor does he leave him alone (to be the victim of another's injustice); and whoever meets his brother's need, Allah meets his need; and whoever removes the distress of a Muslim, Allah removes from him the distress of the day of resurrection; and whoever covers the fault of a Muslim, Allah will cover his sins on the day of resurrection." [1]

The chosen place for women in the Muslim society is the home. However, there is no religious rule forbidding them to take any fitting occupation if they obtain the consent of their husband. They are allowed to be judges and to teach even adult males. Ibn 'Asakir, a great reporter of *Hadith*, was proud of having had women among his teachers.[2]

If the development of women's status in Muslim society did not actually follow the line set up by the true religion, the reason is perhaps that the puritanical tendency which grew stronger and stronger after the early periods of Islam caused free-born women to be jealously locked up in their homes. Strangely enough, however, their slave-girls were left free and were scarcely ever watched. The slave-girls attended mixed parties, salons, and wine-shops; their charms fascinated young men and were celebrated by the poets. Their behaviour was not laudable; in fact it was sometimes shameful. Therefore pious Muslims and moralists who disapproved of the loose virtues of the slave-girls, and who wrongly regarded them as representatives of all womenkind, were very suspicious about the nature of the weaker sex, and advocated increasingly the seclusion of free-born women.

Muslim society, which is democratic, was originally republican. Its members, of both sexes, are explicitly commanded to learn Muslim science; in other words, to become educated. Even the slaves must be educated, and—if possible—set free. "The person," says Muhammad, "who has a slave-girl and brings her up and trains her in the best manner, and educates her and gives her the best culture, then sets her free, and marries her, has a double reward."[3]

Islam must be the official religion of the theocratic Muslim society, but other religions are permitted within it and must be treated respectfully as long as their followers do not adopt a hostile attitude

[1] M. M. Ali, *A Manual of Hadith* (Lahore, n.d., p. 378).
[2] Asma Fahmi, *Principles of Muslim Education* (Cairo, 1947, p. 148).
[3] M. M. Ali, *ibid.*, p. 33.

towards Islam. "Allah," says the *Koran,* "does not forbid you to respect those who have not made war against you on account of your religion, and who have not driven you forth from your homes, nor to show them kindness nor to deal with them justly. Surely Allah loves the doers of justice" (LX, 8).

The *Koran* and *Hadith* are written in Arabic. Therefore the Muslim must learn Arabic, since he is enjoined to learn Muslim science. The translation of the *Koran* into another language being always liable to mistakes and misinterpretations, the non-Arab Muslim is religiously bound to know at least the meaning of the Koranic verses which he needs to use in the performance of his religious rites. In practice, the majority of non-Arab Muslims, in countries which did not adopt the Arabic language, went only half-way. They learned how to read the *Koran*—and sometimes to recite it from memory—without understanding its meaning. In Arabic-speaking countries another linguistic problem has occurred. The *Koran* was regarded by the Arabs as the criterion of Arabian eloquence, to which the great stylists should always look for inspiration. This fact, which set the ideal Arabic in the past and not in the future, as has been the case with other languages, slowed down the development of literary Arabic. Subsequently the literary language was unable to compete with the colloquial, owing to the latter's great adaptability to the needs of everyday life. Nowadays, Arabs are fully aware of the seriousness and difficulty of the problem. They know they urgently need an easy and malleable language but, on the other hand, they do not want to depart from the literary Arabic since it is the language of the *Koran*, and that in which the Muslim and Arabian legacy was written. Furthermore, it has been one of the strongest bonds which has linked the Arab peoples throughout the centuries. As for the practical side of the problem, a modern Arabic is now in the making. It is a compromise between literary and colloquial Arabic. It can be read in the newspapers and is heard in broadcasts, schools, and formal and political meetings.

As for race and colour, early Muslim society was—as the true religion required—against any racial discrimination. All Muslims are brothers and equal. The sole criterion set up by the *Koran* and *Hadith* for superiority among Muslims is: piety. "The most pious among you," said the *Koran,* "is surely the most superior" (XLIX, 10). Yet the Umayyad rulers who came to power fifty-four years after the rise of Islam showed an unmistakable favouritism for Arabs at the expense of non-Arab Muslims. The latter took their revenge in the Abbasid period. They became the effective rulers of the Muslim Empire and succeeded in eclipsing the Arabs.

However, the struggle between Arab and non-Arab leaders did not actually halt the process of amalgamation of races and colours which was initiated by Islam. D. B. Macdonald expressing him-

self somewhat enigmatically, has said, "Christianity has never been able by its weight and breadth to obliterate the distinction of race. To have done that with success is the glory and the danger of Islam" (*Aspects of Islam*, p. 287).

The national feeling which has grown in the modern Arab world, and which has taken the form of pan-Arabism, would not have developed had it not found some way of reconciliation with a religion which makes no distinction between races. The non-Arab Muslims consider themselves "Arabs" because they speak Arabic, have an Arabic culture, and share with the Arabs the same glorious tradition. The Arabs themselves are divided into two camps: the nationalists who put race before religion and who regard Islam as the best creation of the Arab genius; and the religious Arabs, who extol their race by putting the stress on the part played by the Arab people for the defence and expansion of Islam.

These are the characteristics of Muslim society as conceived by the true religion. To create such a society and also to believe in one single God, to attain a way of life which combines the love of this world with asceticism, and lastly to achieve spiritual and moral education, are the four outstanding ideals of Muslim education.

These ideals and the ways of attaining them are largely dealt with in the Muslim science, which consisted primarily of the *Koran* and *Hadith*. Later on it came to include commentaries on both the *Koran* and *Hadith*, and also the study of dogma, jurisprudence, scholasticism, literature, philology, grammar, history, geography, and any other knowledge necessary for the understanding of Muslim science. When, by the end of the Umayyad period and during the Abbasid age, the culture and science of Greece, Persia, and India were translated into Arabic, the attitude of Muslim science towards "foreign science" was not always a welcoming one. It was favourable only towards medicine, and certain branches of philosophy and mathematics; the remainder of philosophy, which did not square with religious dogma, and the higher mathematics with their exactness which might mislead the average student, making him believe that philosophy—which belonged to the same category of sciences as mathematics—could be as exact and convincing as mathematics, were not sciences recommended for Muslims. Only well-qualified religious scholars should deal with them (*cf.* Al-Ghazali, *Al-Munqidh*). Physics and chemistry were permitted as long as they were used for the convenience of individuals and the community, but forbidden when they were used for purposes of magic (Al-Ghazali, *Ihia*, I, 15–20).

As regards painting and sculpture, Islam's attitude is iconoclastic. The other fine arts were cultivated only for practical purposes by craftsmen. Architecture, for instance, was in the hands of the builders, and calligraphy, illuminating, miniature-painting were the

work of craftsmen. The artist existed as an artisan, and the artisan was often an artist.

At the present time, the attitude of the Muslim religion towards the exact sciences and the arts is more tolerant. The schools and universities in most Arab and Muslim countries teach nowadays—besides the Muslim sciences—all sorts of modern sciences, technology, and art.

The teaching of Muslim science was confined almost completely to the mosques during the early periods of Islam. In the Abbasid age, it was taught also in libraries, book-shops, and during debates. After the fourth Muslim century (11th century A.D.), special boarding-schools called *Madrasa* were founded for adult students who wanted to specialise in religion (A. Amin, *Duha al-Islam,* II, 49).

Muslim science was mainly taught to adults. In the classical way of teaching, the students sat around their teacher in the mosque, library, or school, forming a circle. One of them would read a paragraph of a book chosen by the teacher, and the latter would explain it and comment on it. The chosen book dealt generally with a special subject, yet the teacher, before dealing with this subject, might make other comments connected with philology, grammar, literature, history, etc., using the special subject as a centre of interest. The students would listen to him and take notes which they would read after the class and learn, sometimes by heart. Once the book had been read right through and scrupulously explained, the teacher would give the student who learned it satisfactorily an oral or written permission called *Ijaza* which would enable him to teach the same book to other students. Without this *Ijaza*—which was the only diploma ever known in the Muslim system of education—no one would be allowed to teach Muslim science.

The students were not allowed to venture any critical remark or to harbour the slightest shadow of doubt about Muslim science, for the latter was of divine origin. Muslims were not allowed to raise any objection about it. All they had to do was to learn it and to teach it afterwards to the succeeding generation. The students, however, were able to train their critical mind and to develop their faculty of reasoning and discernment in other branches of religious science, such as scholasticism or jurisprudence. In the former they used philosophical argumentation to defend religion against the philosophers and non-Muslim people who attacked it or were doubtful about it. In the latter, scholars and students had often to find solutions to social problems for which there was no explicit provision in the books. This search for solutions based on religion —called *Ijtihad*—was most likely to preserve elasticity of mind, sagacity, and curiosity, and to train the intellect for independent thought. Unfortunately, *Ijtihad,* which had flourished in Muslim

society till nearly the middle of the Abbasid age, was afterwards overpowered by unprogressive tendencies which cling more to the letter than to the spirit of the religious teachings. These tendencies, whenever and wherever they prevailed, made of the learning and understanding of Muslim science a mere process of learning by heart.

The education of Muslims was primarily the duty of the State. However, when the Umayyads came to power (A.D. 661) they were regarded by the majority of religious scholars as illegal rulers, and a breach occurred between these two groups. The education of the community became henceforward a private undertaking, outside the control of the State. During the Abbasid period, only two main changes occurred. First, the caliphs and rulers were more respectful to scholars and sometimes more interested in their welfare; secondly, the endowments left by wealthy people to cater for mosques and schools grew more and more numerous.

The students were left to choose the branch of Muslim science in which they wanted to specialise, and the teacher under whom they preferred to study. To meet the greatest scholars of the time, some students travelled all over the Muslim world, from Spain in the west, to China in the east. Besides, the Prophet was said to have exhorted Muslims to seek learning even if this latter was in China (Al-Ghazali, *Ihia*, I, 8) and to have stated that: "He who goes forth in search of knowledge is in the way of Allah till he returns" (M.M. Ali, *ibid*, p. 38).

Islam was fully aware that this adult education must be preceded by an elementary education which must be given during childhood. The Prophet, being an optimistic reformer, was himself concerned with the education of the younger generations. At the end of the first Muslim war (fifteen years after the rise of Islam), Muhammad asked the Meccan captives who were not willing to adopt Muslim religion, and who wanted to be set free, either to pay a ransom, or to teach the art of writing to some Medina boys, assigning ten children to each prisoner. In his private life the Prophet is reported to have played with his two grandsons, to have carried them sometimes on his back, and to have shown kindness towards children in general and to orphans in particular. To a nomad who came to him and said: "You kiss children, but we do not kiss them," the Prophet said: "Do I control aught for thee if Allah has taken away kindness from thy heart?" (M. M. Ali, *ibid*, p. 374). Omar, the second caliph, was reported to have appointed 'Amir al Khuza'i as schoolmaster, and made the State responsible for his salary (*cf.* Al-Fawakih al-Dawani). However, this policy was not followed by the Umayyad and Abbasid caliphs, and thus the education of children was left to the parents' care. In fact, the first responsibility for children's education, in the eyes of Islam, lies with the parents (the *Koran*, XVII, 24). The latter used to send

their children—generally after the age of 5—to private preliminary schools called *Kuttab* to learn the three R's (particularly the reading of the *Koran*) and the elementary teachings and practice of the religion. The *Kuttabs*, which were often mixed till the age of 9 or 10, were held by masters whose standard of education was not generally high. No special qualification was required of them, so anyone who knew reading, writing, and some arithmetic was allowed to open a *Kuttab*. This may be the reason why, whereas teachers of adults were always held in great consideration and esteem, and even regarded as the successors of prophets, the schoolmasters were sometimes objects of ridicule.

The pupils were taught by a method which was predominantly oral. They sat on the ground or on benches around the master—or some advanced pupil—and repeated their task aloud and articulately until it was committed to memory. Their spelling-book was most generally the *Koran*, and to learn how to read the latter correctly—or to memorise it—was considered the greatest achievement possible in school.

Muslim scholars have produced a huge literature about child and adult education, much of which is scattered in books dealing with Muslim science, morals, and Arabic literature. Sometimes it is collected in book form, like Ibn Suhnun's book (written in the third century of Islam) called *Adab al-Mu'allimin* or "Teachers' good manners," because it dealt with all the qualities required from teachers and schoolmasters. Books similar to this and dealing with the good manners of teachers and students are numerous in Arabic, though a large number of them are still in manuscript form. A detailed list of these manuscripts, scattered in the great libraries of Europe and Asia, is to be found in the work of G. D. Shahla, entitled: *The Arab Conception of the Ideal Teacher*. Among the printed books, the most exhaustive, perhaps, is the book written by Ibn 'Abd al-Barr al-Namiri, of Cordova, entitled *Jami bayan al Ilm wa Fadlih*. The chapter about science and education included in Al-Ghazali's *Ihia* (Vol. I) is most interesting from the Muslim point of view; yet the most systematic and critical study of Muslim education—which is also the most accessible to the European student—is that written by Ibn Khaldoun, who died A.D. 1405, in his famous introduction to his book on the *general history of the Arabs and of the Muhammadan dynasties*.

A. KH. KINANY.

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CHAPTER TWO

THE ARAB WORLD

NATIONALISM AND EDUCATION

The Rise of Arab Nationalism

FOR purposes of this article the expression "the Arab world" is used to denote Egypt, Palestine, Transjordan, Lebanon, Syria, and Iraq. No attempt is made here to draw conclusions about education in the countries of the Arabian peninsula, of Northern Sudan, Lybia, or North Africa. The Arab world, as thus defined, was under Ottoman Turkish domination from the early sixteenth century to the second decade of the twentieth. During this period and up to the nineteenth century the countries were little more than distant provinces of an empire conducted largely along mediaeval lines. Islam was the religion of the state which was headed by the Ottoman Sultan as Caliph and successor to the prophet Muhammad. The Arabs considered themselves as Muslim subjects of the Caliph, enjoying equal rights with other brother Muslims.

The nineteenth and twentieth centuries brought with them increasing contact with the Western world. This took the form of the invasion of the Arab world, or parts of it, by Western armies (1798, 1860, 1914, 1939), the establishment of foreign schools, the sending of student missions abroad, the increase of travel between East and West facilitated by the opening of the Suez Canal and the development of railway, steam, and air transport, and finally the emergence of direct European political intervention in the form of the British occupation of Egypt and the British and French mandates over Syria, Lebanon, Palestine, Transjordan, and Iraq.

The first stirrings of a national consciousness began to be felt among the Arabs in the second half of the nineteenth century. These gathered momentum in the first decade of the twentieth and had their first consummation in the Arab Revolt led by King Hussein of Mecca during World War I. The Arabs had sided with Britain in order to get rid of Ottoman rule, only to find themselves after the war subject to the so-called mandates which were imposed upon them by the Allied Council in 1920. A period of new political struggle in the years between the two world wars led to the end of the British occupation of Egypt, and to the end of the mandates in all the countries mentioned. These two movements of liberation, first from Ottoman and later from Western rule, have dominated Arab political life since the beginning of this century. Indeed they have coloured all aspects of Arab life

and conditioned the mentality and outlook of the present generation of leaders as well as the more articulate sections of the population.

To-day the aims of Arab nationalism can be summarised as follows: (i) liberation and independence, including the maintenance of present independence against any further foreign encroachments; (ii) the unity of the Arab peoples, whatever form that unity may take; (iii) the development of the material and human resources of the Arab world, which embraces not only the development of agriculture, industry, transportation, irrigation, and commerce, but also the spread of education, the improvement of health conditions, the establishment of modern political democratic institutions, and the rejuvenation of the Arab social fabric.

Recently a new element has been injected into Arab life in the form of the National Home for the Jews and the new State of Israel in Palestine which many Arabs regard as a new invasion of their country and a new imperialistic attempt which threatens their national life. How to solve that problem, which has attained international proportions, is one of the political tasks facing the present and future generations of Arabs which is likely to colour the whole atmosphere of the Arab world and have important repercussions in all the aspects of its life including education.

A New Faith in Education

The intensified Arab national feeling in this century has had definite effects on education. There is an implicit faith in education as a means for awakening and building up Arab national life—a faith somewhat akin to that of the founders of the American Republic in that it aims at the creation of an enlightened citizenship. It comes partly from the old Arab and Muslim respect for learning, partly from an intense desire to revive the old glories of the Arab nation, and finally from the realisation that a modern state which would occupy its rightful position in the comity of nations cannot be built up without a widespread programme of education.

During the occupation of Egypt and the mandates in the other Arab countries faith in education manifested itself in an insistent call upon the authorities for the opening of schools on a larger scale. When this demand was not adequately met there was a tendency for the people themselves to try to supplement it. Thus we find in Egypt after 1908 a movement for the foundation of primary and secondary schools by the local authorities and municipalities precisely because it was thought that the British-dominated Ministry of Education had failed to meet the demand of the people for education. To the same movement can be traced the foundation, at about the same date, of the private Egyptian university. The leaders of this movement were primarily the leaders of the national movement in Egypt, one of whom, Zaghlul Pasha, later became the outstanding national leader. The same factor operated in Palestine

during the mandate where the inability of the Government to meet the demand for education brought about a considerable increase in private schools, as well as the provision of school buildings by local authorities and villagers, and more recently the establishment by the municipalities of their own schools based on local taxation.

With the end of foreign rule the control of education passed to the Governments of the various Arab states, and national feeling found expression in the liberty to establish schools at a more rapid pace. Thus we find in Egypt a movement for compulsory education which by 1942–3 increased pupil enrolment by about a million. In Iraq, the end of the mandate in 1932 was followed by an accelerated programme for the establishment of primary and secondary schools which resulted in the primary school enrolment reaching approximately a hundred thousand children as compared with 34,500 children in 1931. There was at the same time an increasing number of students sent abroad both from Egypt and Iraq. The end of the mandate in Syria in 1943 resulted in a large-scale opening of schools and brought the enrolment in primary and secondary schools from about 82,000 in 1944 to about 152,000 in 1947–8. An increase in higher education is also noticeable. Egypt established its first national state university in 1925 by absorbing the private university already mentioned and some of the then existing colleges, as well as by founding new faculties. More recently a second university has been founded at Alexandria, with the prospect of a third at Assyut. The enrolment in higher education in Iraq has increased more than tenfold since 1930, and Iraq is on the point of establishing its first national university. Similarly, Syria has, since the mandate, been expanding its university by the addition of new faculties and by increase of enrolment.

The Teaching of the "National Subjects"

Arab nationalism has also expressed itself in education by the assumption, almost universally held, that education is the most potent means for the regeneration of the Arab nation, or of any single Arab country. It is the task of the schools to inculcate in youth a national consciousness, a sense of national unity, a knowledge of their homeland, and an ideal of service for the Arab cause, or for the several causes of each Arab country. In the face of religious and sectarian divisions inherited from past centuries and somewhat sharpened by missionary education, in the face of tribal and regional divisions and allegiances, it is felt that education should become a means for substituting an ideal of national unity for one of sectarian schisms and of tribal and regional rivalries. Only through education can the Arab nation be welded into a unified well-knit body. Hence the great importance attached to the study of the Arabic language and literature, of Arab history, of

the geography of the Arab world, and of civics and the social studies.

In the teaching of Arabic, emphasis is entirely on the classical language and its literature both ancient and modern. No attempt has been made to teach any of the local dialects prevalent in each of the Arab countries. The reasons for this are both religious and national. Classical Arabic being the language of the *Koran,* it is considered irreligious to forsake it for any of the dialects, since that would tend to impair the understanding of the *Koran* by the believers. Similarly, on national grounds it is felt that an emphasis on the dialects would tend to lead the Arab countries away from one another instead of bringing them together and knitting them into a single nation.[1] There have been occasional suggestions, mainly in Lebanon and by some Orientalists, that dialectical Arabic should be encouraged and used. These suggestions, however, have gone entirely unheeded by the schools, and the writer knows of no school in the Arab world where the teaching of any of the dialects of Arabic is carried on. A united Arab nation requires one language, and classical Arabic is the best vehicle for expressing that unity. Moreover, Arabic literature, which is one of the widest and richest in the world, can and is being used for the inculcation of the Arab national idea and for keeping alive the *mores,* traditions, and ideals of the Arabs. While the Arab countries differ in the degree in which they use Arabic literature for the handing down of the Arab heritage to the new generation, the good schools in all of them attempt to give their students real mastery of Arabic. The national educational systems in particular attach a great deal of importance to this.

In the teaching of history the syllabus in Iraq and in Syria, even under the mandates, laid great stress on Arabic history, while at the same time giving proper attention to the ancient history of Europe and the Near East as well as to modern European history. Little regional history of Iraq or Syria as such was or is being given. In Lebanon and in Egypt the syllabus laid greater emphasis on the regional study of history, and Arabic history received less attention.

[1] Orientalists have tended to over-emphasise the difference between classical and dialectical Arabic. A foreign student struggling for some years to master classical Arabic is at first puzzled when confronted by the twists which the various dialects give to the language. Native-born Arabs do not face this difficulty to the same extent. Classical Arabic, kept alive by the *Koran* and simplified by modern usage, is undoubtedly the common denominator of understanding among Arabs. This is amply borne out by the fact that any Arab going from one eastern Arab country to another can make himself easily understood if he uses in his speech an approximation of the classical. Moreover, thousands of tourists from Egypt, Palestine, and Iraq flock every summer to Lebanon and experience little difficulty in making themselves immediately understood. Beyond a few peculiarities which can soon be mastered, the dialects do not differ radically among themselves or from the classical as is often supposed.

In Palestine emphasis was on general history, and Arabic history was studied as a part of it. More recently, the cultural treaty between the members of the Arab League has provided for a minimum essential programme in Arabic, Arabic history and geography, and civics to be common to all the school systems of the countries that are members of the Arab League. The first Arab Cultural Conference, held in Lebanon in the summer of 1947, tried to work out the details of these common programmes.

Arabic or regional history is supposed to be taught in such a way as to arouse national feeling and consciousness in the students and to inculcate patriotic sentiments in them. More than one history syllabus enjoins the teachers to arouse these sentiments in their history lessons. A nationalist strain, therefore, runs through the teaching of history, but it is largely a positive attempt to create national feeling rather than ill-will or animosity towards other nations. With few exceptions, the school books are free of material which might arouse hatred towards other nations. Even after liberation from the Turks, one finds little trace of any attacks on the Turks. Occasionally, however, at some periods between the two world wars, the nationalist struggle against the mandatory Powers resulted in active attempts by some of the teachers to arouse the feelings of their pupils against them and to urge the necessity of liberating the Arab countries from their influence. This trend reached its highest, perhaps, during the period from 1936 to the first two years of World War II, owing to the struggle of Syria to liberate itself from the French mandate, and to the Palestine revolt of 1936–9. Both of these had repercussions, not only in Syria and Palestine, but also in the other Arab countries. Yet, even then, the central idea was the call to independence and not the fostering of hatred, though the line between these two may sometimes have been crossed.

The teaching of civics is supposed to be carried on in the same spirit as Arab history. It is, however, largely devoted to the study of the constitutions, political institutions, and administrative machinery of the Governments of the various countries, together with general ethical and patriotic principles. More recently, Iraq has introduced in its secondary schools a detailed study of its current problems, in which an attempt is made to study the political, economic, social, hygienic, and cultural conditions of the country. In geography, increasing attention is being given to the study of the geography of the Arab world, from Iraq in the east to Morocco in the west.

Scouting and Similar Activities

There were other channels through which nationalism found expression in the schools and in other educational and youth movements. Notable among these have been scouting movements and

organisations. Where these, as in Iraq, were connected with the Governments, they usually were organised on the basis of the schools and attempted to spread national feeling among the scouts. In Syria, Lebanon, and Palestine the mandatory regimes either did not encourage national scouting movements or, while encouraging scouting, paid little attention to national feeling. Accordingly, some scouting organisations in these countries developed without a connection with the Government and almost in spite of them. In this way the *Muslim Scout* movement in Syria and Lebanon, the foundation of which ante-dated World War I, developed during the French mandate into a kind of nationalist organisation of scouts. In Palestine scouts and some youth organisations played an active role in the political opposition to the policy of the Jewish National Home.

Beginning with 1933, the Iraq Government introduced military training into its intermediate and secondary schools. This movement, which was expanded to include almost all post-primary schools (excluding higher institutions), lasted until 1941, when following the Rashid Ali troubles it was discontinued. Recently, a somewhat similar movement is being undertaken in Syria following the surge of national feeling after the declaration of independence.

Student excursions have also come into vogue: scouting troops, athletic teams, and groups of students have occasionally gone from one Arab country to another where, as a rule, they have been met with open arms, the Governments often providing accommodation at their own expense. This is a matter which has been written into the Cultural Treaty between the states of the Arab League, but ante-dates that Treaty by some fifteen years. It is likely to increase in the future.

Attitude towards Foreign Schools

A discussion of " Nationalism in Education " naturally raises the question of the relationship between the Arab movement and the national systems of education on the one hand and private and foreign schools on the other. Foreign schools abound in Lebanon, Palestine, and Egypt, and are less numerous in Syria, Transjordan, and Iraq. In the nineteenth century when the national systems of education were still weak and the regime of the capitulations prevailed, these schools were to some degree a law unto themselves. They followed their own programmes and their own policies, and were subject to very little supervision on the part of the Governments. In many instances, the better ones were pioneers in the field of education and sometimes set the pace for other schools to follow. With a few notable exceptions almost all have been sectarian and naturally have tended to perpetuate sectarian interests and sentiments. Among them the French were the most numerous, then the American, and, in much smaller numbers, the British,

Italian, Russian, and German schools. The Russian schools vanished after World War I. Only a few German schools were left between the two world wars, and most of these have since disappeared.

Since the First World War the educational scene in the Arab world has considerably changed. National systems of education have developed, and foreign schools are, with few exceptions, no longer pioneers. State supervision, which hardly existed, has tightened. It was imposed at first by the mandatory or occupation authorities, but with the coming of independence it has passed to the national Governments. Foreign schools are, therefore, no longer as free as they were to follow their own policies.

In the last two decades four important criticisms have been levelled against foreign schools: (i) being mainly sectarian in character, they have tended to perpetuate sectarian feelings; (ii) many are accused of actively propagating among their students a sympathy for, and a loyalty to, the countries of their respective origins, thus militating against the ideal of national unity; (iii) in propagating the various brands of their national cultures they have created cultural gaps between their graduates—French, American, British, German, etc.—thus making understanding and co-operation between their respective graduates difficult; (iv) they have, it is claimed, given greater attention to the teaching of their own language than to the teaching of Arabic. This has also created the unfortunate impression that there is a necessary conflict between the teaching of the foreign language and the teaching of Arabic, implying that care for the former usually means neglect of the latter. Foreign schools, therefore, have come to be thought of in the main as having a divisive influence which alienates the allegiance of students from their own country and attaches it to their particular sect or to some foreign Power.

It would be unjust to imply that all foreign schools are subject to these criticisms in the same degree. Some of them, notably the British and American schools, have been largely free of political propaganda. Beyond teaching English fairly thoroughly, most of them do not even include the geography and history of their respective countries in their syllabuses. In some, nationalist feeling among the students is known to run high, not indeed by any design of the school authorities, but owing to the free atmosphere prevailing in the schools. The criticism expressed has been levelled mainly against, and is perhaps more applicable to, a large number of the French and Italian schools, especially in Syria and Lebanon during the mandate period. Here they found encouragement from the French mandatory authorities who subsidised many. In Syria a number of private local denominational schools were even encouraged to register as French schools. In Lebanon, while French secondary schools were encouraged, not one complete public second-

ary school was opened. Indeed, the whole public school system was left undeveloped when compared with the foreign and private schools in Lebanon. But even here the above criticism cannot be advanced against all French schools, since a number took considerable pains to ensure a high standard of Arabic.

Under such circumstances, a new attitude is slowly emerging towards foreign schools. It is quite natural that state ministries of education should feel that they are the bodies primarily responsible for education, that it is their duty to ensure that such education as is given shall be directed towards the formation of intelligent and loyal citizens, and that, therefore, it falls upon them to ensure that private and foreign schools are not used for purposes of illegitimate propaganda but to produce a united body of citizens. Hence policy is becoming stricter: although it takes various forms, it is intended directly or incidentally to bring foreign schools more into line with national education and to allow for a greater measure of supervision over them.

The oldest and the more obvious method is the system of public examinations. These are not usually instituted specifically as measures against foreign schools, but have been established in all the Arab countries primarily to ensure a good standard of teaching. Since, however, they are based on public school syllabuses they have the effect of imposing Government programmes on all schools, at least as regards those of their students who want to sit for public examinations. As the certificates granted by the Governments on the results of these examinations carry with them certain privileges, such as the possibility of Government employment and the entry into Government-controlled institutions, they are usually much sought after, and many private and foreign schools have been compelled by student pressure to adopt the official syllabuses. Some maintain two parallel courses, in one of which they follow their own programmes, while in the other they prepare for Government examinations. During the French mandate over Syria and Lebanon it was sometimes possible to find a private or a foreign school preparing for four different examinations, viz. the examinations of the French Ministry of Education with questions sent from France, those of the Education Department of the French *Haut Commissariat* which were based on a modified French programme, the examinations of the Lebanese Republic, and the examinations of the Syrian Republic.

Governments, however, have not been content with the public examinations as the sole method of control over private and foreign schools. While examinations ensure that the students do get instruction of the type approved by the Government, particularly in the so-called "national subjects," they do not ensure that those students who do not sit for the public examinations receive that instruction. Accordingly, in its education law of 1940, the Iraq

Government prescribed that private and foreign schools should follow the public school syllabuses in the "national subjects," namely Arabic, history, geography, and civics. These are to be taught in Arabic in the same textbooks used by the Government schools and by teachers appointed by the Ministry of Education. A more drastic measure was passed in Lebanon in October 1946, on the occasion of the publication of the new primary and secondary school syllabuses. It was laid down that the programme of the private and foreign schools was to be the programme of the public schools. Thus Lebanon is attempting to unify at one stroke the great variety of schools which have existed in the country. Secondary schools, however, are left free to teach some subjects, particularly the sciences and mathematics, in Arabic, English, or French, and students may sit for examinations in these subjects in any of the three languages. Government programmes must, however, be followed.

Iraqi law again prescribes that private and foreign schools submit annual budgets, lists of textbooks in use, and their lists of teachers to the Ministry of Education for approval. Teachers are to be of the same standard as those in public schools. The use of schools for foreign political propaganda is prohibited. Moreover, the position is taken in Iraq that primary education is a function which can be exercised only by the State or by private Iraqi citizens. Accordingly, Iraqi parents are prohibited from sending their children to foreign primary schools. Such may therefore exist in Iraq only for the education of children of foreign communities. Conditions in other Arab countries are less stringent as regards private and foreign schools, but these have to be registered with the Governments and are subject to inspection by the Government education authorities. Their certificates and diplomas are not usually recognised by the Governments, excepting diplomas and degrees granted by such institutions as the American University of Beirut, and the French *Université Saint Joseph,* which are recognised by some Governments.

It will be seen that foreign schools (and native private schools as well) are beginning to come under some strict measures of control. The situation, however, is in actual practice much less stringent than would appear on paper. Many leading people and parents have high appreciation for the work of foreign schools, and would like to see it continued. This is particularly true of those who would like to see their children master one or more foreign languages and acquire some of the salient traits of Western character. Nor are the new laws being interpreted narrowly so far as the writer is aware. What the national Governments really desire is that public, private, and foreign education alike be directed towards creating a body of united citizens, and that schools of any sort shall not be used as instruments of foreign and divisive propaganda, as

has so often been the case in the past. If foreign schools desire to continue their constructive work, they will have therefore to keep clear of any political activities, and actively to encourage the formation of useful citizens for the country in which they are working.

Nationalism and Politics amongst Students

The political struggles of the past thirty years all over the Arab countries here mentioned could hardly have gone on without having their effects on the schools and on the students. This is particularly true of students in secondary schools, training colleges, and higher institutions, with the latter usually taking the lead. As we have seen, it is one of the functions of education as understood in the Arab world to inculcate patriotism and a national spirit among the students. When the Arab countries were under foreign domination and influence patriotism implied, among other things, the duty to work for the liberation and independence of one's own country. While patriotism is largely a matter of the education of the intellect and of the sentiments, the students hardly needed any encouragement, especially in times of crisis, to translate their sentiments into action.

Encouragement there has been indeed from various quarters. Headmasters and teachers have occasionally felt called upon to go beyond their immediate duties and encourage students to participate in political action. This has usually been an individual matter and not through preconceived concerted action by teachers as a class. In most of the countries, indeed, teachers were prohibited from participating in politics. Departments or ministries of education usually did little more than encourage a national and patriotic spirit in the schools. Under foreign authority some of them sometimes did not even do that. It was only in exceptional cases that men in authority in some departments of education encouraged students to participate in political action.

Much more important and more serious has been the encouragement coming from political parties and nationalist leaders and organisations. The *Wafd* Party in Egypt, the national Arab organisations in Palestine, the *Kutlah* Party in Syria, and some of the parties in Iraq have all at one time or another attempted to stir up students and sometimes to create political student organisations. These were used as political weapons in the face of France in Syria and Lebanon, and in the face of Britain in Egypt, Palestine, Transjordan, and Iraq. It must be pointed out, however, that they have also been used as weapons in the strife of one party against another.

It would, however, be simplifying matters too much to suppose that students, particularly those in higher institutions, act merely as tools in the hands of political parties. There is a psychological factor influencing the students that is not sufficiently appreciated at home or abroad. Students have come to think of themselves as

active leaders in the nationalist movements and in the nationalist struggle. In countries where political experience is a new thing, where a large proportion of the population is illiterate or with a very low standard of education, and where many of the leaders are not among the best educated men in the country, college and university students feel that they are the best educated people, that they know the problems of their countries and can therefore pass correct judgements about them, and that they are in duty bound to participate actively, and to lead if necessary, political and national movements. Whatever may be the merits of this attitude on the part of the students, there is no doubt about its existence, and students have been amply encouraged in it by political leaders and by the newspapers. This attitude resembles in many ways that in China, where students have played a great role in political life and participated in the struggle against the Japanese invasion.

Political action among students may take many forms: visits to and contacts with political parties, establishing student political organisations, often illicit, within the schools, student strikes and student demonstrations. Strikes may last for days, and sometimes even weeks. While the demonstrations are more intermittent, they may also take place on many successive days. Both strikes and demonstrations may involve clashes with the police and have sometimes resulted in bloodshed on both sides. On occasion they have become so violent and recurrent as to become a real problem to governments, ministries of education, and school authorities.

Governments may try to suppress student strikes and demonstrations, and in this they are often successful. They may also fail, particularly because the sympathies of the population are often on the side of the younger generation. In this case Governments may placate students by promises or by taking certain lines of action demanded by them. This in itself tends to encourage further political activities. It has sometimes happened that a political party which encouraged students while in opposition, found itself embarrassed, on coming to power, by their demands. This has been particularly true in the last few years, when the controversies of the Anglo-Iraqi Treaty, the Anglo-Egyptian Treaty, and the question of Palestine have caused considerable unrest in the schools all over the Arab world.

Strikes, demonstrations, and hunger strikes by students cause considerable disruption in the studies, examination, discipline, and routine life of the schools. The time lost may sometimes be counted in weeks. Examinations have been known to be abandoned. Discipline becomes extremely difficult, those teachers and headmasters attempting to control their pupils losing face before them, and sometimes being disobeyed and defeated by united student action. Under such circumstances students may acquire an unruly mentality which is detrimental to good discipline and healthy school

atmosphere. It is to be feared that with the continued unrest in the Arab world, with the Palestine problem still acute, with the relations between the Arab states and the Western and Eastern Powers undefined, with ideals of national unity only partially fulfilled, and with Communist agitation on the increase, political activities in the schools may assume proportions far beyond what has been known in the past.

The Unity of Education in the Arab World

The public educational systems of the Arab world are far from being unified. Though possessing the same Muhammadan educational background, all the countries covered by this article have been establishing new schools and educational institutions on the Western model. The new systems had their origins in the nineteenth century in Egypt and in the Ottoman Empire. The Egyptian educational system has developed on the whole without abrupt breaks in its evolution. The other systems, however, experienced an almost complete break after World War I, when the mandatory Powers gave a new turn to education quite different from that established by the Turks.

In Syria and Lebanon the French fashioned the educational systems entirely after the French model, even in minute details. In Palestine and Transjordan, British influences clearly showed themselves on the Government Arab school system. In Iraq, although British influences were apparent in the first few years, the early passage of the system into Iraqi hands brought other influences derived from various sources. The Egyptian system developed under French influences in the nineteenth century, British influences after 1882, and has since 1923 been in the hands of Egyptians. It is thus seen that the various systems have developed independently from one another, particularly after World War I. Their unity, therefore, is rather something to be desired than a present reality.

Present trends point towards a new *rapprochement* between the various Arab systems. Initiated at first by individual states with one another, this *rapprochement* has now become the declared policy of the states which are members of the Arab League. For about thirty years Iraq has been recruiting teachers from Syria, Lebanon, Palestine, and Egypt, and has been sending students to these countries. Other Arab countries have done the same though on a smaller scale. School books issued in one country are often used in another. The secondary school certificates of each country are now recognised in the others. The Cultural Treaty of the Arab League provides for the exchange of teachers and professors, of students, of publications, and of information. As has already been mentioned, it also provides for a minimum essential programme for Arabic, Arabic history and geography, and civics. In this way the

elements of an educational and cultural policy are beginning to show themselves.

Aside from that, however, each system follows its own scheme and its own policies. The educational ladder in each is different from the other. In Iraq, six years of primary school are followed by five years of secondary school, divided into an intermediate stage of three years and a preparatory stage of two years, thus making a total of eleven years for primary and secondary education. In Egypt, the standard system leading to the university begins with a three-year kindergarten above the age of five, a four-year primary school, and a five-year secondary school divided into a general stage of four years and an orientation stage of one year. Other schemes exist for those children who do not go on to secondary education and the university, and who constitute the great majority of the pupils. Recently, a unified system has been worked out with a six-year primary school and a five-year secondary school. In this way the arrangement has come nearer to that of Iraq. Similarly, Syria has broken with the French type of school programme and has reduced the number of years from twelve to eleven, divided into five years primary, four years intermediate, and two years preparatory, thus again making it somewhat more similar to the school organisation of Iraq. Lebanon, on the other hand, still maintains a French type of organisation, with five years of primary school and seven years of secondary education, making a total of twelve years. The Palestine Arab school system, before it was disrupted by the present troubles, had a seven-year primary school, followed by a four-year secondary school. Transjordan has a similar arrangement. While the systems therefore differ from each other in the organisation of their educational ladders, it is apparent that there is a tendency for them to draw nearer to each other, as witnessed by the examples of Egypt, Syria, and Iraq.

The Arab public educational systems also resemble one another in the fact that their administrative organisation is highly centralised, the ministries and departments of education exercising direct control over the school systems, prescribing their syllabuses, appointing their teachers, and setting their general examinations. They are also centralised in the fact that they draw most of their financial support from the state treasuries. Local interest in the administration of education and local support of it are, compared with Western standards, rather weak.

How far a more co-ordinated and unified (though not necessarily more uniform) Arab educational system can be created is a matter for the future. There are undoubtedly forces working towards such unity. The stress of world events is bringing the Arab countries closer together. The Arabs are beginning to realise the necessity for a more unified foreign policy, for a more unified defence, for more unified economic relationships and policies, and, finally, for

more unified education. The more the necessity for unity is consciously felt by the Arabs the more the likelihood that it will reflect itself in the field of education. The Arab League has already established a Cultural Bureau and a Cultural Committee, with representatives from each state meeting at least once a year, to plan for greater cultural and educational contacts between the Arab states. One cultural conference devoted to the teaching of the national studies has already been held, and it is hoped that further conferences on various cultural and educational subjects will be held. In this way it is hoped to create gradually a greater unity of outlook on the educational problems of the Arab world. It is hoped, too, that it may be possible to bring up a new generation which will have instead of regional or sectarian outlooks a national Arab one.

Will the present independent systems of education, loosely co-ordinated by the Cultural Committee of the Arab League and by mutual contacts among themselves, succeed in creating this national outlook in the younger generation? Or is a more closely knit and unified educational system necessary? This is an interesting and difficult question, the ultimate answer to which will probably depend on whether the Arabs prefer to live in separate independent states with some measure of co-ordination of policy among them, or whether they will feel the need for a more united political existence in the form of a central or federated Government. At the present stage this is a matter purely for speculation.

The Problem of Cultural Change

A discussion of nationalism and its influence upon education in the Arab world, and of the possibilities of a more unified national system of education, would not be complete without allusion to the bigger problem of the relation between education and the great changes which Arab life has been undergoing. The Arabs had for centuries lived in comparative isolation from the rest of the world. During the last hundred and fifty years, however, contacts have increased at accelerating tempo, and have now become so close as to make the Arab world and the whole of the Near East one of the main centres of international contact and conflict. This exercises a powerful influence both on the modes of life and on the culture of the people.

Situated between three continents, the Near East has always been subject to political, economic, and social pressures and influences from all directions—perhaps one of the main reasons why it has been the cradle of civilisation. Here were laid the foundations of what has developed into modern Western and of Arab-Muslim civilisations. These two, however, have for almost a thousand years followed different paths. While Western civilisation pioneered in

new directions and, through geographical and scientific discoveries, has been radically changing the surface of the globe, Near Eastern civilisation maintained its mediaeval character down to the nineteenth century.

After nearly seven centuries of invasions, tribal raids, misrule, and lack of constructive government, the Arab world was badly depopulated, its history was almost lost, its vast and rich literature degenerated into stereotypes, a great deal of its architecture, arts, and crafts was lost or degraded. Even its music became again elementary, and that of the Abbassid era almost forgotten. Science, medicine, astronomy, mathematics, and philosophy became only poor remnants of what they were in the heyday of Arabic civilisation.

The nineteenth and twentieth centuries brought a revival, first in Egypt and the countries of the Syrian coast, and then in Iraq. In this period modern Governments of the Western type were established and thus large-scale constructive projects became possible. Egypt has more than recovered its irrigation system and its population. In Iraq, however, the first major irrigation work was completed only shortly before World War I, and the irrigation system, in spite of the completion of a number of new projects, is still far below what it was in mediaeval and even in ancient times. Though better health conditions and greater prosperity are bringing about an increase in population, Syria, Transjordan, and Iraq are still sadly depopulated, and it will take a long time before their populations rise to what they should be.

Revival also took the form of the establishment of schools along modern lines. These were in part the instruments for the literary renaissance. This aspect of the Arab revival has been perhaps the most apparent, and has produced some outstanding men of letters. Yet, in many respects the literature of the revival falls short of the classical achievements, and still has some way to travel before it can rank with the great modern literatures of the world. Schools have also been instrumental in introducing the study of the national, or at least the regional, history and geography. They spread knowledge of foreign languages and literatures, of modern science, mathematics, and hygiene.

While Arabic literature, both old and new, has received considerable attention, the artistic heritage has not received the care that it deserves. In the past, Arab-Muslim art was largely decorative and paid little attention to the representation of the human form and of natural phenomena. It manifested itself in architectural design, in woodwork, in steel and copper utensils, vases and armaments, in porcelain and glazed tiles, in cloth and carpets, in illuminated manuscripts and tableaux in which the use of Arabic letters as artistic motifs attained a high degree of perfection. Many of these artistic forms have been lost and others can be recovered only after considerable research.

Factual and interpretative study is also needed of Arabic history, the history of thought and religious life, and of the development of society. Such studies are necessary to the understanding of the Arab national character, of the values to which the Arabs have attached importance, and the main cultural patterns of their life. In sum, if the Arabs are to preserve their national and cultural existence, if they are to make a further contribution to civilisation, they must regain possession, awareness, and understanding of their cultural heritage. This can come only with time—time to allow for the increasing development of national consciousness and for the spread of education.

Arab cultural history in the last one hundred and fifty years can be described as a race between the revival of the old cultural heritage and the acquisition and assimilation of the new patterns derived mainly from the West. The *mores,* customs, traditions, values, modes of life and thought, social and political organisation, economy, dress, housing, and almost every other aspect of Arab life have been undergoing considerable change. This process is undoubtedly beneficent, for it furnishes Arab culture with a new blood-infusion and a new leaven which will help modify it and adapt it to modern conditions. Yet this process of change is becoming so rapid that it threatens to change beyond recognition the Arab cultural pattern. Western civilisation, with its trenchant and decisive modern methods and techniques, may so swamp the Arab and Near Eastern worlds as to make them lose their cultural individuality. Here then lies the central problem of the Arab world to-day. Recovering after centuries of devastation, it has to regain and revive its own culture, and not only to revive it but to blend it with that of the West so as to produce a new, dynamic, and yet truly Arab pattern—which requires time, for tender shoots are slow of growth. Yet time, which is essential to cultural evolution, is no longer available as it was a century ago. The danger is that the pressure of Western imperialism and of economic and cultural penetration become so overwhelming that many significant, though not easily appreciated, aspects of Arab culture may be lost.

The depopulation of the Arab world also weakens its power of cultural resistance. In countries like India and China, which are situated, so to speak, on one side of the world, and where population is counted by the hundred million, the very vastness of the population imposes slow growth and allows time for cultural adaptation. In this way the significant aspects of the Chinese and Indian ways of life stand a greater chance of being preserved. The sparsely populated Arab world, on the other hand, situated in the centre of the old world, is subject to greater cultural pressure, while its power of resistance is weaker.

In its haste to defend itself against Western aggression, the Arab world is prone to borrow from the West its more striking and

material aspects. Thus, more attention is being paid to Western science, technology, and methods of production, armaments and army organisation, means of transport and communication, and the acquisition of the tools and gadgets with which Western civilisation abounds. Considerably less attention is being paid to Western art, architecture, music and literature, Western scientific method, freedom of thought and expression, social organisation and co-operation, social and political theory, the democratic way of life and all the other less apparent phases of Western civilisation. In its attempts to fight back, the Arab world is in danger of neglecting the precious intangibles of its own culture as well as of the culture which it is adopting from the West.

The cultural problem as here stated is of profound significance to Arab education and it imposes a high responsibility on the schools. In the lower grades, that is in the period of general education, a greater appreciation of their cultural heritage by the students is necessary. This is an inadequately explored field. In a curriculum that is mainly borrowed from the West in the primary and secondary schools little more is done along this line than the teaching of Arabic with bits of Arabic literature. To this may be added the teaching of Arabic or regional history, which leans more towards the superficial glorification of the great periods of Arabic history than towards a real understanding of the life and evolution of the Arabs and their civilisation, of the forces that brought about their meteoric rise and decline, of their contributions, and in general the role they played in history.

More attention needs to be paid, for example, to the teaching of the *Koran* in the modern schools, because it is the basic book of Islam and the backbone of Arabic literature. It embodies to a large extent the *mores* and standards of value accepted in Arab and Muslim communities, while a large number of its expressions have passed into everyday speech. Similarly, more attention needs to be paid to Arabic literature as opposed to the study of grammar, and also as embodying the character, the traditions and customs, and other aspects of Arab life. Related to these should be a rational and interpretative study of Arabic history and geography. Arab art, Arabic music, and Arabic *motifs* in handicrafts need to be better cultivated in the schools. Thus might a citizen be produced who has some understanding of his country and heritage and a tendency to self-debasement prevalent among some young people might be fought and self-confidence established.

In all this, of course, there is a danger that an ultra-nationalistic and chauvinistic attitude would tend to narrow down the intellectual and social outlook of the student and rear in him a negative outlook towards other nations and cultures. This depends partly on the breadth of outlook of statesmen and educational leaders, and partly on how violent are the reactions engendered by the political

events of the day. An explosive situation like that of Palestine might create a tremendous hatred towards those countries that are thought responsible for bringing about the Palestine impasse, and a reaction against all the principles, ideas, and, in general, the culture that they stand for.

In higher institutions and universities this cultivation and appreciation of the Arab heritage might be continued, but the main task is that of study and research which would clarify unknown aspects of that heritage. This might lead to the rediscovery of lost arts, to the understanding of past and present Arab society, and of the changes which that society is undergoing. Again achievement in this field falls far short of the need. A sociological study of society as it is being modified by Western influences is not only a pressing need but would probably bring out extremely interesting results. It is studies like these that will eventually lead to a better understanding by the Arabs of themselves, to their better adjustment to the modern world, and to the formulation of policies which will give some measure of direction to the process of cultural change. It is hardly necessary to add that the universities are perhaps the best places where both Eastern and Western civilisations can be critically studied and expounded to the Arab, and where Western literature, art, science, and technology can be taught.

Conclusion

Arab education is in a state of flux. Spurred on by an increasingly intensified nationalism, its aim is to bring up a generation of citizens which will rebuild the country, maintain its independence, and bring about Arab national revival. Political events of the day, particularly the struggle against Western imperialism, have a disturbing influence on the schools and tend to make them centres for the creation of resistance to imperialism. At the same time Arab life is undergoing profound change, which necessitates a continuous critical study of Arab society and therefore a continuous adjustment of educational outlook, ideals, and methods.

MATTA AKRAWI.

CHAPTER THREE

SYRIA

POST-MANDATORY DEVELOPMENTS

Under the Mandate

THE educational system established in Syria under the Mandatory regime (1920–44) was a slavish imitation of the French system. The Syrian secondary schools, for example, were simply the French *Lycées,* transplanted with all their details, even with their original terminology—seven-years course beginning with the sixth form (*sixième*), continuing up to the first form (*première*), and crowned by the *classe de philosophie* or *de mathématique.* Again, the system of examination was organised completely on a French model, with *Certificat, Brevet* and *Baccalauréat* in two parts; with oral and written tests and the French system of marking giving special value to each subject.

It is well known that every educational system in every country is the result of a long historical, economic, and social development. Its defects are explained and in a way compensated by general conditions of the country and the teaching personnel. But if transplanted to another country, such a system loses all its natural features, and is divorced from all the compensations, and may degenerate into a residue of defects. That is what happened in Syria.

It should be noted that this transplantation of the French system was aggravated by special regulations which accompanied it. These regulations had a definite purpose: to assure the dominance of the French language and culture, and for this political aim all the pedagogical considerations were sacrificed.

The teaching of French was compulsory even in primary schools, and more than a third of all marks of the *certificat d'études primaires* were assigned to French. The value of the marks for French in this examination was more than the combined total for history, geography, arithmetic, and geometry!

In addition, side by side with official examinations of the Syrian Ministry of Education there were examinations organised directly by the French authorities. The regulations assigned to the French diplomas the same privileges as to the Syrian, whether they were awarded as a result of the examination passed in Syria or in France. Even more so, these regulations gave an official priority to the French diplomas over all others, whether English, American, German, or Egyptian.

As if this priority were not enough, the French diplomas received a veritable monopoly. The statutes of the Syrian University declared, for example, that no person may be appointed a professor or lecturer of the Faculty of Law who did not possess the degree of doctor of a French or Syrian Faculty. And as the Syrian Faculty did not award the degree of doctor, all the appointments of the Syrian Faculty of Law became an exclusive preserve of men who had studied in France. Similar clauses precluded the access to appointments at the Syrian Faculty of Medicine to all who had studied in England, America, Germany, or even in Egypt. This typical example is sufficient to show how the interests of the country and of science were sacrificed to political ambitions.

The whole system led to a paradoxical result. Syria, the vital source of Arab nationalism, was covered by an official school organisation entirely anti-national, intended to isolate her from the rest of the Arab world. It is quite natural that all Syrians were discontented with the existing order and felt the necessity of an immediate reform in a national sense. For this purpose, as soon as the national Government was formed, after the restoration of the Syrian Constitution, it enacted measures for the realisation of necessary reforms, without waiting for the final abolition of the Mandate. The Government called to service the author of this article and charged him with the preparation of the project of general reforms. After many months of serious study, the author presented a series of reports describing the situation of education in Syria, with its faults and weaknesses, and suggested the necessary reforms. These reports were published in two volumes, in 1944 and 1945. They were accompanied by a project of the Organic Law on Education.

The project of the law was strongly opposed by the Mandatory Authorities, both by official approach and by clandestine propaganda. These Authorities did not want any change before the conclusion of the Educational Agreement between France and Syria. However, their project of agreement presented nothing less than a badly disguised cultural Protectorate. It did not suggest, in fact, anything but the continuance of the system of privileges and monopolies established by the Mandatory regime. As a result the national Government rejected this official approach and submitted the project of the organic law to the approbation of Parliament. The Parliament accepted it unanimously and emphatically, because it considered this law as the act of Declaration of Cultural Independence. The new law in effect abolished with one blow all the privileges and monopolies of the Mandatory regime and gave Syrian education a new system at once national and nationalist.

The Law of 1944

The organic law on education, promulgated towards the end of 1944, established the bases of educational reform and defined the

essential aims and fundamental tendencies. It consists of fifty-eight articles, divided into eleven chapters, under the following titles:

(1) The duties of the Ministry of Education.
(2) Educational institutions, definitions and general clauses.
(3) Education of infants.
(4) Primary education.
(5) Secondary education.
(6) Higher education.
(7) Technical and vocational education.
(8) Teacher's training.
(9) Teachers and professors.
(10) Private schools, national and foreign.
(11) Various clauses and conclusions.

The first article clearly defined the fundamental task of the Ministry of Education: "It is to impart to the rising generation an adequate education from all points of view, physical, moral, and intellectual," so that each individual of this generation should grow "strong physically, good morally," knowing how to judge justly, devoted to his country, attached to his nation, conscious of his duties, armed with skills necessary in his life, and "capable to serve his country with all his physical and moral abilities, and his productive efforts."

The second article of the law enumerates the duties of the Ministry of Education for the realisation of this fundamental task. It consists of nine paragraphs, of which the last is as follows: "To establish and strengthen cultural relations between Syria and her sister-nations in order to create one unified culture in all Arab countries." It should be noted that this clause came before the formation of the Arab League and the creation of the cultural section of the League. As regards the significance of the expression "unified culture," it is defined and explained in a special report. The sixth report of the reform is entirely devoted to the cultural relations between the Arab countries. The report recognises that education has to vary, not only as from country to country, but even from region to region in the same country. It declares, however, that this variety must be accompanied by the unity of aim, of plan, and of direction. It compares this desired unity of culture to the vital unity of an organism composed of many parts, or the unity of a musical harmony in an orchestra formed of a group of different instruments.

Primary Education

The reform of 1944 did not change the length of time of primary education. But it enacted an important change in its programme by eliminating the study of foreign languages. To teach a foreign language in a public primary school to children who have not yet

mastered their own native tongue is hardly defensible from psychological and pedagogical points of view. The difficulties of such instruction are especially serious in the case of Arab children.

It is well known that the Arabic alphabet, grammar, and syntax are very complicated. In addition there is a great difference between the popular speech of the home and the classical Arabic taught at school. Consequently the teaching of Arabic is extremely difficult. To add to this inherent difficulty of the native tongue of the children, the difficulties of learning a foreign language would act contrary to the elementary demands of sound pedagogics. That is why the reform of 1944 is radical on this point. It considers foreign languages as subjects for secondary education, and not for primary. However, the law did not lose sight of the economic needs that might be present in certain circumstances. In large cities, where commercial transactions abound, there is need for men to know a foreign language without attending a secondary school. The law of 1944 foresees for such cases the creation of special additional classes. Article 18 of the law states as follows:

> No foreign language is taught in primary schools. Nevertheless the Ministry of Education is authorised to add to certain primary schools in large cities a special class, where languages and elements of accounts are taught to children who expressed the desire after the completion of the primary course and who did not enter a secondary school.

The elimination of foreign languages from the programmes of primary schools allowed a greater readjustment in distribution of other subjects of instruction. Table II gives the time-table established after this readjustment. We observe among the subjects of the first three classes one lesson devoted to " Observation of Environment " or " Local Studies." The detailed programme defines these studies as embracing physical and social environment, which replaces the lessons of *Instruction morale et civique* and *Leçon de chores* of the old syllabus, in a quite new interpretation, with modern methods of instruction. The essential purpose of this innovation is to enable the primary school to profit from the new methods known as Project Method, Complex Method, and Centre of Interest.

Secondary Education

The reform of 1944 has greatly changed the general aspect of secondary education. It includes a six-years course divided into two cycles: the first, with a four-years course, imparts to the pupils the foundation of general culture; the second, with a two-years course, is divided into two sections, one scientific, the other literary. The Tables Nos. III and IV give the time-tables of the two cycles. This new organisation has suppressed the old *classe de philosophie* and *classe de mathématique,* because it was considered that to devote

eleven hours a week to the study of philosophy was to transcend the limits of secondary education allowed by the pedagogical and social conception of it. These studies are confined to logic and psychology, and completely eliminate metaphysics.

As regards foreign languages, they are compulsory in all classes of secondary schools, one language in the first cycle, and two languages in the second cycle. The law of 1944 deprived the French language of the privilege of the first compulsory foreign language. The new programme gives the pupils a free choice between French and English as the first language in the first cycle. The great majority of pupils chose English, and during the first year of the introduction of the new law the proportion was nine in ten in favour of English.

Higher Education

The Syrian University, founded in 1919, was composed only of two Faculties: of Law and of Medicine. These two Faculties were created by the Arab Government, which was formed in Syria after the First World War, before the French occupation. During the whole period of the Mandate the University was limited to these two Faculties. However, after the restoration of independence, the national Government of the Syrian Republic completed the task and created in 1946 three new Faculties: of Letters, of Sciences, and of Engineering. In addition the Higher Institute of Education was created and affiliated, and in collaboration with the Faculties of Letters and Science was charged with the training of teachers for secondary schools. The two Faculties teach humanities and sciences, and the Institute imparts professional training.

Statistical Data

These efforts of reorganisation and renovation were accompanied by a great extension of existing and new institutions. The statistical data of the following pages show the progress in the field of education realised by the Syrian Republic since the end of the Mandate and declaration of independence.

SATI EL HUSSRI.

TABLE I

Number of Pupils during the Mandatory Period and Four Years of Independence (State System)

Schools	*Mandatory Period*			*Independence—4 years*	
	1920	1944	*Increase*	1947–8	*Increase*
Primary	15,800	76,800	61,000	138,227	61,427
Secondary	900	4,890	4,000	13,380	8,490
University	261	433	694	2,221	1,527
Training colleges	152	224	72	365	293
Higher Institute of Education	—	—	—	208	208

Note by Editors.—In private and foreign schools, at the end of the Mandate, there were about 150,000 pupils.

TABLE II

Weekly Time-table of Subjects in the Primary Schools

	1st Class	*2nd Class*	*3rd Class*	*4th Class*	*5th Class*
Koran and religion	4	4	4	3	3
Arabic	13	13	9	8	8
Arithmetic and geometry	5	5	5	5	5
Local studies (observation of environment)	4	4	4	—	—
Science (including hygiene and agriculture	—	—	—	4	4
History	—	—	2	2	2
Geography	—	—	2	2	2
Morale et civique instruction	—	—	—	2	2
	26	26	26	26	26
Arabic calligraphy	—	2	2	2	2
Drawing and manual work	3	2	2	2	2
Singing and gymnastics	3	2	2	2	2
Selective work	2	2	2	2	2
	8	8	8	8	8
Total	34	34	34	34	34

TABLE III

WEEKLY TIME-TABLE OF SUBJECTS IN THE FIRST FOUR YEARS OF SECONDARY EDUCATION

	1st Class	2nd Class	3rd Class	4th Class
Koran and religion	1	1	1	1
Arabic language and literature	7	6	6	6
Foreign language[1]	8	7	7	6
History	3	3	3	3
Geography	—	2	2	2
Morale et civique	—	—	—	3
Mathematics	4	4	4	5
Science (physical and natural)	4	4	6	6
	27	27	29	32
Drawing	2	2	2	—
Physical training	2	2	1	1
Singing	1	1	—	—
Selective work	2	2	2	1
	7	7	5	2
TOTAL	34	34	34	34

[1] The pupils chose either English or French.

TABLE IV

WEEKLY TIME-TABLE OF SUBJECTS IN THE LAST TWO FORMS OF SECONDARY SCHOOLS

	Literature Section		Science Section	
	5th Class	*6th Class*	*5th Class*	*6th Class*
Koran and religion	1	1	1	1
Arabic literature	6	6	4	4
First foreign language [1]	5	4	5	4
Second foreign language [1]	5	4	5	4
History	4	4	—	3
Geography	2	3	2	—
Mathematics	3	3	6	6
Physical and natural sciences	3	4	6	7
Logic and methodology	2	—	2	—
Psychology	—	3	—	3
	31	32	31	32
Military training	3	2	3	2
TOTAL	34	34	34	34

[1] "First Foreign Language" means the language started in the intermediate forms. If the pupil chose French at first, his second language would be English; if he chose English, his second language would be French.

CHAPTER FOUR

LEBANON

EDUCATIONAL REFORM

The Problem

WITH their newly won independence, the Government and leaders of Lebanon are faced by three urgent tasks which will depend mainly on education for their accomplishment. They are:

(1) Welding the population into a nation. This involves substituting a broader national ideal for the narrow sectarianism which has heretofore divided the population into rival and mutually suspicious elements, and strengthening the people's will to live together as a united nation.

(2) Defining more precisely the international orientation of Lebanon, *vis-à-vis* the Arab world on the one hand and the West on the other. Culturally, geographically, and economically, Lebanon is part of the Arab world. Its economy is vitally affected by and influences that of the other Arab States; it is a member of the League of Arab States, and its citizens have played a leading role in the modern Arab revival. Notwithstanding these intimate and powerful ties, many Lebanese believe that there are certain characteristics which distinguish them from other Arab countries, such as a greater affinity with Western culture and traditions, the existence of a Christian majority, and the historical constitution of the population. What kind of relations shall Lebanon have with other Arab countries; with other Western powers? What elements from Western culture and tradition should be retained to form the basis of Lebanese nationality? Is a separate Lebanese nationality possible of formulation and definition? Questions such as these must be answered not by political leaders alone, but by educators.[1]

(3) Raising the standard of living of the common people economically, morally, and intellectually. How can conditions of living and sanitation be improved? How can the economic productiveness of the individual be raised? How can crime and illiteracy be removed and the common people given " newer things to love and admire "? Questions such as these stare the young national Government of Lebanon in the face, particularly during these days of conflicting economic and political ideologies.

In their programme of educational reform, the first of these tasks, that of achieving a greater degree of national solidarity, has been

[1] For an able and lucid statement of this problem, see A. H. Hourani, *Syria and Lebanon* (Oxford University Press, 1946).

accorded priority over the other two. Current educational legislation and thought revolve around it. This paper will therefore deal primarily with it and only incidentally will it touch the two others.

Background of the Present Educational System

The major work of education in Lebanon to-day is done in private schools, the best of which are often foreign. They are older and cover a wider range of the educational programme. This fact distinguishes education in Lebanon from that in other Arab countries, and constitutes the crux of the educational problem facing the Government to-day.

TABLE I

PRIVATE AND PUBLIC EDUCATION IN LEBANON, 1947–8[1]

	Foreign, Private	*Native, Private*	*Public*
Number of schools	306	815	623
Number of teachers	2,498	2,314	1,322
Number of pupils	50,111	64,769	52,422

This predominance of private education goes back to conditions prevailing before 1914 and are still in existence. Public schools are largely a legacy of the French Mandate.

Private Schools

The majority of the people of Lebanon are made up of traditionally dissident communities which sought freedom and safety in the mountain fastnesses. Christians and non-Christians, Arabic-speaking and non-Arabic-speaking communities alike came to Lebanon as minority groups conscious of the differences which separate them from other groups, eager to preserve their identity and way of life. Here these communities lived as autonomous units, isolated from one another; the rugged terrain and difficulties of internal communication prevented contacts and intensified isolation. A psychological climate was thus created which, on the negative side, bred division, suspicion, and lack of co-operation, while on the more positive side, men and women of strong personality, devoted to personal (as distinguished from national) freedom, resourceful and adventurous. Throughout the country there prevailed a type of mentality, peculiar to a self-conscious minority, which clings to its rights and freedom, and refuses to compromise in the interests of general welfare and more permanent stability.

Both custom and law helped to perpetuate this provincialism.

[1] Unpublished statistics from the Ministry of Public Instruction.

Every major community acquired the right to regulate the personal affairs of its members in accordance with its religious and communal traditions and practices. The Ottoman Government dealt with these communities as autonomous units through their religious leaders, who were also granted certain civil responsibilities, e.g. for dealing with questions of inheritance, marriage, and divorce, and who in practice exercised authority far beyond that which was legally accorded to them.

TABLE II

DISTRIBUTION OF THE POPULATION OF LEBANON ACCORDING TO RELIGIOUS SECTS[1]

Muslims and Related Sects		*Christians*	
Sunnis	239,990	Maronites	332,871
Shi'ites	213,949	Greek Catholics	65,392
Druzes	75,784	Greek Orthodox	111,539
		Protestants	10,619
Jews	5,745	Latin	3,181
		Armenian Catholics	10,261
		Armenian Orthodox	60,802
		Chaldeans	1,363
		Syriac Catholics	5,090
		Syriac Orthodox	3,839
		Miscellaneous	6,368
Total non-Christians	535,468	Total Christians	611,325

Total population, 1,146,793

Education was a major responsibility assumed by each of the communities. Some were too poor or backward to afford or be concerned with the matter of education. Others established schools. When they did, the schools were primarily intended for the children of each community, taught by the priest or a lay member of the community and originally designed to train religious leaders and preserve the way of life of the community. Until the advent of the French Mandate there was no attempt on the part of the Government either to regulate or to supervise the work of these schools. Thus the tradition arose that education was primarily a community affair and, as a consequence, a considerable number of independent native sectarian schools varying greatly in standards, aims, methods, and programmes were established. These schools still constitute the backbone of elementary education in Lebanon to-day.

Towards the latter half of the nineteenth century this unco-ordinated educational situation was further complicated by the advent of foreign missionaries, who considered education as a most important means for attaining their goals. Lebanon proved a specially fertile field for Christian missionaries from Europe and the United States. Its accessibility to the sea, temperate climate,

[1] *Récueil des Statistiques Générales* (Ministry of National Economy, 1946).

autonomous status, and above all the eagerness of its people for Christian Western education, proved powerful factors attracting missionaries. Its Christian population looked to the West as their spiritual home, and to Western Powers as their protectors against the encroachment of Ottoman rulers. In this the people of Lebanon were encouraged by Western Powers partly out of humanitarian motives and partly for self-interest. They sought to expand their influence on the eastern shores of the Mediterranean. By diplomatic means and other forms of pressure these Powers encouraged the activities of their nationals in Lebanon, especially their educational work. Missionaries and Governments alike were aware of the effectiveness of education in shaping character and forming loyalties. And they were correct. In the absence of a State of their own Lebanese students trained in a foreign school gave their affections and loyalty to the country which sponsored their school. They learned its language usually better than their own, its history, literature, geography, customs, and traditions. Its heroes and battles, its glories and cause, became their own.[1] As the language of instruction was foreign, the pupils acquired its peculiar patterns of expression and thought, usually to the detriment of their mastery of their own native language.

TABLE III

NATIVE AND FOREIGN PRIVATE SCHOOLS IN LEBANON, THEIR ENROLMENT AND TEACHING PERSONNEL, 1946–7

Native		*Foreign*	
Total number of schools	815	Total number of foreign schools	306
Enrolment	64,769	Enrolment	50,111
Teaching staff	2,314	Teaching staff	2,498
Division by Denomination		French	253
Maronite Christian	369	American	35
Catholic	119	British	13
Greek Orthodox	123	Italian	2
Armenian	48	Greek	1
Sunni Muslim	98	Danish	1
Shi'ite	24	Swiss	1
Druze	22		
Mixed	12		

Within each above categories of foreign schools there were schools for different sects and denominations. The rivalries among schools belonging to different national groups were intensified by their divergent sectarian affiliations.

It is not to be surmised from the foregoing that foreign missionary educators deliberately set out to alienate the affections of youth from their land or people. When such alienation occurred it was

[1] A readable and human account of the influence of foreign education on Lebanese youth and of attitudes of Christian elements towards Western powers is narrated by Edward Atiyah, *An Arab Tells His Story* (London, Murray, 1946).

in most cases unintentional. It developed as a result of certain factors inherent in the Mission schools, namely the personal influence of the foreign masters, the introduction into the school, without modification, of a programme of studies found in the mother country, and the generally religious atmosphere of the school which tended to encourage universal spiritual values to the exclusion of national sentiments.

Missionary schools differed in their attitude towards native culture and institutions. On the whole, French educators, whose schools comprised the bulk of the foreign schools, were sincere in their conviction that the most effective method of raising the intellectual, moral, aesthetic, and cultural level of Lebanon was to introduce the people to the beauty of French culture, to the exactness of its logic, and to the originality of French scientific thought. Notwithstanding the fact that French educators contributed to the development of Arabic studies and produced some distinguished Arabic scholars, the majority of their graduates were unable to translate into Arabic the values of their French training.

French education was theoretical and intellectualistic. Lebanese trained in French schools played an important role in the literary awakening in Lebanon and other Arab countries. A number of them produced literary works of note, but in French.

Anglo-Saxon educators tried to awaken an interest in Arabic studies. True to their tradition, the education which they sought to give was more pragmatic, laying stress on character and living.

Crowning these two major types of foreign education in Lebanon are the American University of Beirut which, though non-sectarian to-day, is the product of American Protestant missionary enterprise; and the Université St. Joseph, a French Jesuit institution. These two universities continue to exert considerable influence on the educational orientation of Lebanon, and to be the two opposite poles around which the intellectual life of the country revolves.

Britain's preponderant position in the Near East proved of immense advantage to graduates of Anglo-American schools in affording them opportunities of work outside Lebanon. Lebanese doctors, teachers, engineers, business men, and Government officials found employment in territories under British rule. Being Arabic-speaking with an Anglo-Saxon education, they proved valuable links between the nationals and the British administration, helping the local population to understand British rule and the British point of view. That they served the best interests of all concerned is attested by both British statesmen who worked in the Near East and by nationalist leaders of the various Arab States. Through this experience the Lebanese were able to contribute significantly to the establishment of independent Government services in Arab lands outside Syria and Lebanon. This is explained by the fact that in Lebanon the French authorities naturally drew upon the graduates

of French institutions for manning the country's civil service, to the exclusion of American or British-trained Lebanese.

Public Education—French Mandate, 1920–41

The aim of the League of Nations in assigning the Mandate over Lebanon to France was to delegate to her the task of assisting the people to become independent and of leading them towards economic, social, and cultural advancement. In the realisation of this aim, education was to play an important role.

But the Mandatory authorities were restrained from carrying out a bold programme of educational reform by the provisions of the Mandate. These stipulated that (*a*) the educational and humanitarian work of nationals of friendly Powers and of members of the League of Nations must not be interfered with; (*b*) in accordance with the principle of religious freedom guaranteed by the Mandate, native sectarian schools must not be subject to Government interference or control. Thus in the matter of educational reform the French authorities had to proceed rather cautiously. They took two steps in this direction: (*a*) they established the framework of a public system of education with a limited number and variety of public schools; (*b*) they introduced educational legislation which was designed to raise educational standards, bring about certain homogeneity in education, and give it a distinctly French orientation.

A " Division of Public Instruction " was established in the High Commissioner's Office. This was the highest educational authority in the land, and was directly responsible for matters of broad educational policy together with over-all protection of foreign schools. Under this Division the National Ministry of Public Instruction, with its inspectors, administrative and teaching personnel, was established. A French Counsellor to the Ministry was appointed who was in reality the final authority in all important educational matters.

Five types of public schools or courses were established. These were: pre-primary, primary, higher primary, vocational, teacher training. Due to the existence of a considerable number of private secondary schools both native and foreign, the Mandatory authorities deemed it unnecessary to open any public secondary school. The pre-primary course, for children from 3 to 6 years of age, provided mostly games, singing, manual exercises, and stories with moral import. The primary course covered six years; it was uniform all over the country, and consisted of Arabic, French, arithmetic, history, geography, drawing, physical education, general science, object lessons, morals, hygiene, religious instruction, and sewing. Half the subjects, including science, arithmetic, and history, were taught in French. The higher primary course aimed at preparing children for certain jobs such as foremen, skilled artisans, minor clerks, etc. Its duration was two years, and the

subjects taught were the same as those taught in the primary programme but at a slightly higher level. Most of the primary schools included the six-year elementary course only. A few of them, those in the larger cities, had the primary and the higher primary programmes as well.

Financial limitations, a preference for white-collar jobs, and a corresponding disdain for manual work were obstacles in the way of increased facilities for vocational education. Nevertheless an agricultural programme was established as a post-primary course, and the best trade school in the country, inherited from the Ottoman Government, was reorganised and strengthened. The course extended over a period of four years, the first two dealing with mathematics, science, and general shop work, and the last two with specialisation such as foundry forge, mechanics, or electrical work. The graduates of this school were greatly in demand.

After considerable experimentation with programmes of teacher training the Mandatory authorities finally approved a system whereby two normal courses, one for boys and one for girls, each extending over two years, were attached to the two higher primary schools in Beirut. The first year was devoted to general education: applied psychology, civics, literature (Arabic and French), history, geography, mathematics, and science; the second year to

TABLE IV

EDUCATION UNDER THE FRENCH MANDATE[1]

	Number of Schools	*Total Enrolment*
A. *Primary and Advanced Primary Schools*		
Public . . .	137	15,501
Native private	719	50,817
Foreign private .	359	29,197
B. *Secondary, Normal, and Vocational Schools*		
Public . .	1	205
Native private	28	1,848
Foreign private .	49	5,392

Summary showing the Distribution of the Three Predominating Religious Groups according to Percentage of Enrolment in the various Types of Schools

	Christian	*Muslim*	*Druze*
Public . .	23·8	68·8	7·3
Native private .	69·0	23·8	6·4
Foreign private .	85·4	7·5	3·2

[1] These statistics are taken from an unofficial report on education in the territories under the French Mandate, 1933.

Distribution of Enrolment according to Religious Affiliation

	Christian	Muslim	Druze	Jewish and Miscell.
Primary Schools				
Public . . .	3,589	10,760	1,147	16
Native private. .	35,158	12,093	3,192	374
Foreign private .	29,197	1,170	1,039	1,039
Total .	67,944	24,023	5,378	1,429
Secondary, Normal, and Vocational Schools				
Public . . .	142	49	11	3
Native private .	1,204	447	190	7
Foreign private .	4,349	733	80	230
Total .	5,695	1,229	281	240

N.B.—The differences between the sum of the percentages and 100 per cent. represents the percentage of miscellaneous religions.

theoretical and practical work in education together with drawing, handwork, and music.

Each community in which an elementary school was established was required to bear the cost of the school plant unless exempted by special order from the Government on account of poverty. The central Government paid the salaries of the teachers. There was no special school tax, the appropriation for education being part of the central budget. An average of 5–7 per cent. of the total budget was allocated for expenditure on education.

In attempting to bring about a greater degree of homogeneity in education in Lebanon and to give it a French orientation, the Mandatory authorities introduced six important measures of legislation which, even though indirect, exercised a far-reaching effect.

First, French was recognised as one of the two official languages of the country, on a basis of complete equality with Arabic. This equality permeated all activities of the Government, including the official programmes of instruction and examinations.

Second, every school in Lebanon, private or public, was required to include a certain minimum number of hours of teaching in French in its programme. Every Lebanese student was required to study French for a certain minimum numberof years in the primary and secondary schools.

Third, approximately half the subjects of the official programmes, of all grades, were taught in the French language. This regulation was applied even with the beginning of the primary school.

Fourth, they assisted a number of private secondary schools by

providing them with French masters. The purpose here was two-fold: to improve standards of French instruction and to provide teachers of other subjects with models upon which they could pattern their work.

Fifth, they instituted a system of official public examinations on the basis of which recognised certificates and diplomas were awarded, which in turn qualified their holders for entry into certain designated professions or Government service.

The following were the examinations established:

Examination for the Certificate of Elementary Primary Studies.

Examination for the Elementary Brevet of Higher Primary Studies.

Examination for the Higher Brevet.

Examination for the Baccalaureate, first and second parts.

The programmes, administration, and standards of these examinations were patterned after their French counterparts, with the difference that Arabic studies and Arabic as a language of the examination in certain subjects were included in the Lebanese programmes and examinations. This measure, though valuable educationally, placed a serious hurdle before those students who chose the Lebanese programme in that it required them to attain equally high standards in both Arabic and French. It resulted in a distinct preference for the private French programmes.

Sixth, they granted official recognition to French certificates on the same basis as that granted to national certificates. Thus a French private school operating in Lebanon could adopt an exact replica of the French programme, and present its graduates for the official French examinations which were held in Beirut. These graduates would be accorded the same treatment and privileges normally accorded to holders of Lebanese certificates.

The net effects of these far-reaching measures were quite definite and their influence was strong. They gave an impetus to French studies, programmes, and methods. In order to survive, many of the Anglo-Saxon schools were obliged either to change their programmes to the French programme or organise a special section in their schools preparing for the French or Lebanese Government examinations.

After realising the implications of France's educational policies in Lebanon, an observer cannot escape the conclusion that the system of education which France sought to establish in Lebanon was definitely designed to encourage the cultural assimilation of Lebanon. Actuated by political expediency, without careful inquiry into the real needs of the Lebanese people, the system which France established was contrary to the spirit of the Mandate, which was predicated on the principle of assisting Lebanon to achieve eventual self-determination and independence.

The Programme of Educational Reform

This is the educational situation which the present independent Government of Lebanon has inherited and which still prevails in its essential features. In evaluating the situation, a necessary prelude to reform, the national Government is conscious of four major weaknesses.

(1) They believe that the great diversity of private schools, their rivalry, and the lack of control or supervision over their activities, undermine national solidarity. Under certain conditions diversity in schools is commendable. When the school is sincere in its efforts to serve the country as a whole, when it has a teaching staff which is well trained and endowed with a sense of professional responsibility, then it is safe to permit divergence in methods and programmes in the interest of local adaptation. In the opinion of Lebanese authorities only a limited number of private schools come up to this standard at the present time.

(2) Many national leaders do not favour those measures adopted by the French Mandatory authorities which were designed to further France's cultural penetration of Lebanon. They do not favour the maintenance of the privileged cultural position of French schools or language. On technical grounds they believe that the official programmes adopted under the influence of the French administration were heavily weighted in French to the detriment of Arabic and Arabic studies. As a consequence of the early introduction of French as a language of instruction education was rendered wordy and superficial. For example, in the primary schools pupils were required to solve arithmetic problems in French, to grasp principles of science in French—subjects which are intrinsically difficult, without the added hurdle of comprehending them in a language foreign to the pupil. The ability to speak and write French rather than soundness of thought and judgement is considered as the main criterion for judging the worth of education, both elementary and secondary.

(3) In the judgement of responsible officials, foreign education is responsible for the creation of a denationalised educated class widely separated in sympathies and ideas from the people. They cannot lead the people because they do not understand their needs. They lack the knowledge of their native tongue, hence the ability to communicate their ideas, the fruits of their education, to the people. They are more foreign than Lebanese, and they pride themselves on this fact.

(4) Finally, vocational education is inadequate. There is an overabundance of maladjusted persons seeking white-collar jobs, and a lack of skilled workers or intelligent, progressive farmers. When Lebanon's economy is vitally dependent on agriculture this lack presents a serious handicap to social progress.

In its efforts to remedy these weaknesses, the national Govern-

ment adopted a course of action similar to that pursued by the French authorities under the Mandate. It embarked on a policy of complete centralisation and control of educational institutions, and passed legislation with this aim in view. Two committees representing the major educational interests in the country were convened in 1944 and 1945 in order to advise the Government on desirable revisions in the programmes of study and on the contents of a new programme which would exert the greatest possible influence in unifying the country. On October 1st, 1946, in a series of presidential decrees, the Government passed comprehensive legislation dealing with pre-primary, primary, higher primary, and secondary education; with private schools; and with official examinations.

According to the new regulations, education in Lebanon should aim to develop the powers of the individual, to cultivate in him a knowledge of and pride in his cultural heritage, a love for his country, a sense of honesty and morality, and an appreciation of his country's international position *vis-à-vis* the Arab world and the West.

The primacy of the Arabic language has been re-established. Arabic studies, Arab history and geography and civics, are emphasised. All subjects in the primary school, excepting a foreign language, are to be taught in Arabic. In the higher primary school and in the secondary schools all subjects are to be taught in Arabic excepting the foreign language, philosophy, science, and mathematics, the latter two of which may be taught in a foreign language. Conversely, French has lost its officially recognised and privileged position. It is taught simply as a foreign language. English has been accorded equal status with French, and the Lebanese student has the right of choosing between these two languages both in his primary and in his secondary courses. Ancient languages, both Semitic and Classical, have been added to the secondary programme, and a special Baccalaureate section of ancient languages has been added to those in mathematics and philosophy.

The organisation of education into pre-primary, primary, higher primary, secondary, teacher training, and vocational has been left unaltered. The elementary programme, however, has been reduced from six to five years. The higher primary course has been expanded from two to four years, with the programme of the first two years being made identical with the programme of the first two years of the secondary course. In order to give it reality and substance, however, the Government has decided to establish a new public *lycée* in Beirut which will be the first of its kind since 1912, and which opened its doors in October 1948.

The curriculum of primary and secondary education has been rigidly prescribed and made uniform throughout the country. The subjects, syllabuses, number of hours allotted to each subject,

sequences, and the examinations required at the end of each course have been detailed in the official syllabus and *must* be followed.

The most revolutionary aspect of the new legislation, and that which is causing most criticism and comment, is the legislation affecting private schools, native and foreign. The Government has taken direct measures to bring these schools within the orbit of the national programme and control. According to the Article 13 of Public Decree No. 7000, " the programme of private schools, whether native or foreign, is the programme of the public schools." Arabic is required in all private schools. Only those books which have been approved by the Ministry of Public Instruction are allowed in any private school. Furthermore, it is the established policy of the Government to discourage, if not completely forbid, the establishment of foreign elementary schools. No new private elementary school may be opened except by the express permission of the Minister of Public Instruction, who alone has the power to decide on the need for the school before granting his authorisation. Every private school is subject to regular inspection by Government inspectors.

The legislation regarding teachers' qualifications attempts to require officially recognised teaching certificates of all new teachers, to determine the minimum age for the practice of teaching, and to make sure of their eligibility on moral grounds.

The measures are being introduced gradually into the schools and it is expected that they will all be in force some time around 1955.

With the tradition of free private education, with the still prevalent close association between religious communities and their schools, and with powerful foreign interests backing the schools established by their nationals in the country, strong opposition to direct Governmental control of private education is to be expected. This opposition comes from numerous quarters: ecclesiastical authorities, foreign Governments, the private schools themselves, and certain groups of leaders in the country.

The French Government and private schools in particular are anxious not to lose their privileged cultural position in Lebanon, and are exerting strong pressure to retain the position which they enjoyed under the Mandate. Although officially the Lebanese Government has stood adamant against any special privileges to any foreign Power, nevertheless French institutions enjoy a special advantage bestowed upon them by the recent past and by the fact that the official personnel of the Ministry of Public Instruction are all French trained. They naturally tend to derive their educational standards, programmes, spirit, and method from those found in France, as a review of recent legislation will immediately reveal.

Criticisms of current legislation have also been made by native educational leaders and private schools, both foreign and native.

The most common and at the same time the most cogent of these criticisms are:

The strongest and most widely recognised foreign schools maintain that many of their students come from countries outside of Lebanon. Thus it will be disadvantageous to them, as well as to Lebanon, to force these students to follow a programme of studies which is strictly Lebanese. Furthermore, these schools believe that as a result of nearly a century of experience in educational work here, they have evolved a programme which they consider specially suited to the needs of the students of this part of the world and which has gained international recognition. They feel that to be forced to abandon their programmes, which are based on their experience and which are the foundation of their peculiar influence and contribution, means in effect that the Government intends to remove the primary reason for their existence in Lebanon.

Many of the schools, particularly those of the Anglo-Saxon type, believe that uniformity of programmes such as that envisioned by the new legislation is deadening to educational progress; that educational progress can come only from freedom of experiment and initiative; and that uniformity tends to discourage local adaptation so necessary for effective educational work, particularly in the villages and rural areas.

These schools also doubt whether it is actually possible to achieve national solidarity through complete uniformity of educational programmes. Instead of uniform curricula, they prefer to see a plan for the improvement of the calibre of teachers in preparation, character, and ability. But this would be impossible unless definite measures were adopted to improve the status of the teacher, increase his salary, and make his tenure more secure. Through such measures as these it should then be possible to draw to the teaching profession able, well-prepared teachers with the interest of the whole country at heart, who deserve to be entrusted with the responsibility of shaping the character of youth and the necessary freedom essential for the performance of their task.

In the judgement of many educators the excessive reliance of the authorities on external examinations is deadening to the ablest teachers, who are really interested in educating the children and forming their character. Pressed by syllabuses which they must complete and examinations for which they have to prepare their pupils, these teachers are unable to give thought and attention to those intangibles of the educative process which count so much in the eventual formation of personality and character.

On more technical grounds criticism has been levelled at the programmes and syllabuses advocated by the Government, on the ground that they are overloaded, too full, and impossible of satisfactory completion by the pupils at ages for which the programmes are designated. There is a lack of a unifying purpose which helps

to synthesise the various subjects. The different syllabuses show evidence of being merely an Arabic translation of a French original. Although the legislation stresses Arabic language, in the examination it is weighted equally with foreign languages. There are no written examinations in history and geography, and no examination at all in civics. These omissions tend to defeat the very purpose which the reform seeks to achieve.

The retort of the Government to these criticisms is that while they all might be true and pertinent, nevertheless Lebanon is in great need of national unity, and its population is still torn by sectarian rivalries and suspicion. Education has been a divisive factor when it should have been the main unifying force. Something must be done immediately. Once this unity has been achieved, then it will be safe to give the diverse schools some measure of individual freedom.

The controversy was at its height in 1948. Accordingly, it is difficult to judge between the relative merits of the two positions. One important observation may be made, however. The teachers and officials who are responsible for the present public educational programme are predominantly the same as those who were in charge of public education under the French Mandate. They have had their experience and training under that regime, and most of them have neither visited nor studied other schools which adhere to a different theory and practice of education. Although a number of new books have appeared, nevertheless the great majority of textbooks are the same as those which the previous regime has approved.

Conversely, there has been little change in the personnel of the private schools. The majority of teachers and administrators are still those who taught before the advent of the national Government. They retain essentially the same convictions and the same points of view. Their schools retain the same characteristics.

As long as these conditions continue to prevail in both private and public schools, it is difficult to see how a change in programmes and syllabuses will effect the real spirit of education now. It will take years to achieve. And it will be achieved in reality only when the convictions, experience, preparation, and horizons of the teachers and administrators in both private and public schools rise perceptibly above their present level and become synthesised and directed towards those goals desired by all those who are truly concerned with the education of the youth of Lebanon. In few other countries is the task of education more difficult and therefore more challenging than in Lebanon, and in few other countries is the need for educational statesmanship more pressing.

HABIB AMIN KURANI.

CHAPTER FIVE

IRAN

MODERNISATION AND EXPANSION

Education before the Second World War

UP to the outbreak of war, progress in all social and civic affairs was rapid and, especially in education, great improvement was achieved during the preceding decade. In 1934 a law was passed providing for the creation of twenty-five normal primary schools, where some 750 teachers of both sexes were to graduate yearly. This was a fundamental step towards the fulfilment of the aim of providing public primary education for all. Furthermore, in the important cities and towns new secondary schools were created in which various subjects were taught by modern experimental methods, and these were equipped with libraries, laboratories, gymnasiums, and lecture-halls. A plan for the construction of the modern University of Tehran was accepted and put into execution in 1934. It comprises six Faculties—of medicine, law, engineering, art, science, and Islamic theology and philosophy. The beautiful buildings of the university give charm to the north-west corner of the city.

In 1927 a law was passed instructing the Government to send one hundred students every year to well-known universities and higher educational institutions in Europe and America. Thirty-five of these were commissioned by the Ministry of Education to train themselves as teachers, but other Government departments, including those of Police and of Posts and Telegraphs, followed the same course. Since French was the second language taught in the schools of Tehran, about 60 per cent. of these students went to France. In 1934 a temporary halt was called in this process since, from that date, the University of Tehran started work and students had to be provided for it. The halt was only temporary and, until the war, the Ministry of Education alone sent not fewer than twenty college graduates every year to Europe to be trained in teachers' colleges.

Among the special characteristics of the educational system at this time was a pervasive patriotism. The concept of nationalism prevailed to an almost exaggerated extent. Evidence of this is found, for example, in the formation of the Iranian Academy (Farhangistan). This institution, founded in 1935, had as its aim the purification of the language from foreign words and phrases. A great effort was made to find purely Persian equivalents for the technical, scientific, geographical, and administrative terms of either

Arabic or European origin. This measure was, no doubt, detrimental to the highly developed Persian literature and was in fact useless. Yet it was carried on with great perseverance and enthusiasm.

Period of Occupation

September 1941 is a date vital in the history of the Second World War, because it was then that America and Western Europe on the one hand and the Soviet Union on the other were linked through Iran and its highways, which are the shortest routes connecting the south of Russia to the ocean. From this time onwards gigantic caravans of armaments were sent to the eastern front. Indeed, Iran could well be called "The Bridge of Victory" because, if help had not been given to Russia through these roads, victory could not have been achieved. The date is also decisive in the history of Iran, because H.M. Reza Shah Pahlevi, an energetic and resolute ruler, abdicated in favour of his young and popular son, H.M. Mohamed Reza Shah. This abdication brought the older order to an end and established in its place a new and democratic regime. The date marked, too, a new stage in the evolution of education in Iran.

Although immediately after the occupation of the country, Iran clarified her political position by signing a treaty with the Allies (February 1942), and later on by declaring war against the Axis Powers, one must admit that some disorder and decline crept into her cultural life at this stage. The change can be observed in the educational statistics of those years. In the following tables the figures given prove that the two scholastic years 1941–2, 1942–3 were the worst and most unfortunate years for education, and that from 1943 onward there has been an improvement. (All figures in this article are taken from official reports.)

Scholastic Years	*Number of Schools*	*Number of Students*	*Number of Teachers*
1941–2	5,000	407,182	14,452
1942–3	4,918	336,589	14,363
1943–4	4,811	323,505	14,936
1944–5	4,802	350,386	15,278
1945–6	4,910	379,891	17,326
1946–7	5,011	403,883	18,057
1947–8	5,132	428,454	19,305

Note.—The figures given are the totals of Government schools and students, primary and secondary, for boys and girls.

The number of the schools for 1941–2 is not accurate owing to the disturbances of the war.

The material damage to education caused by the occupation consists of loss of furniture, plunder of school property, breakage of equipment handed over to the Allied Armies, non-payment of rent

of buildings taken by the armies, losses sustained by teachers and their families, together with damage done to the public libraries, and is estimated in the Ministry of Education's official report at about £812,500 ($3,250,000).

Education during the War Years

From 1941 to 1945 Iran was passing through a period of war. During this time the Allies' armies were in the country and there were many obvious effects in internal affairs. Among these might be noted: changes in the working of Parliament, vigorous reappearance of popular elections, full liberty of political propaganda, issue of innumerable newspapers, formation of many political parties, from the extreme right to the extreme left, lack of permanence in the Governments.

In cultural life there were similarly outstanding features, which can be summarised as follows:

(i) Demagogic spirit in the leaders of education; more attention to words than to action; new Bills ratified by Parliament, the aims of which were to satisfy the sentiments of the masses rather than to gain practical benefits.

(ii) Foreign cultural relations: before the war there was practically no scientific contact with the cultural centres abroad, and anti-foreign feelings prevailed in an exaggerated form. But during this time more contact was established. Institutes and societies for cultural relations between Iran and other nations, even with China and Yugoslavia, were established. Cultural missions were exchanged between the neighbouring countries. I myself took part in two of them, one to India in 1944, and the other to London in 1945 (to the conference on the organisation of UNESCO).

(iii) Tendency to protect labour: the labouring class was recognised and education for their children was demanded. Plans for schools for them were drawn up.

(iv) The independence of the University of Tehran. This phrase may sound strange and need a little explanation. Before the war there was extreme centralisation and higher education followed the schedules of the Ministry of Education, regarding all items concerning budget, personnel, organisation, etc. In this period this institution freed itself from such restrictions and obtained its autonomy. This autonomy has proved useful by eliminating harmful political and religious influences in higher education but, on the other hand, it has caused a certain confusion in management, which has had an undesirable effect on the standard of that education.

Students Sent Abroad for Higher Education

During the war hardly any students were sent to Europe, but the 37 students who were in Switzerland, France, and England before 1939 were kept there. There was a revival in 1946, and 26 officials

	Number of University Graduates during the Last Seven Years							*No. of Teachers*
	1940–1	1941–2	1942–3	1943–4	1944–5	1945–6	1946–7	1947
Medicine	131	76	121	122	136	141	160	135
Law	230	118	121	80	171	275	257	27
Engineering[1]	—	—	—	—	—	43	51	61
Letters and Education	181	129	89	104	68	62	90	70
Science and Education[2]	—	—	—	—	—	34	60	51
Art[3]	—	—	—	—	—	13	10	6
Islamic Theology and Philosophy[4]	—	—	—	—	16	14	15	15
Veterinary Sciences[5]	—	—	—	—	—	11	17	17
Agriculture[5]	—	—	—	—	—	41	27	20
Total	—	—	—	—	—	634	687	402
Budget in rials[6]	—	—	55,712,000	55,712,000	73,747,000	105,728,000	124,729,000	—

[1] Until 1945 this Faculty had a total number of 426 graduates in different sections.
[2] Until 1945 this Faculty had a total number of 178 graduates.
[3] This Faculty was founded only in 1940, therefore it had not any graduates until 1946.
[4] This Faculty was founded in 1934 but it was closed from 1938 to 1942.
[5] These two Faculties were part of the Ministry of Agriculture until 1946.
[6] £1 = 130 rials. Until 1943 the budget of the university was included in the total budget of the Ministry of Education.

as well as 40 students went to France, England, and Belgium in 1947. In addition, 30 students went to America, Western Europe, Turkey, and India, with Government aid. Their studies consisted of science, mathematics, medicine, engineering, law, letters, agriculture, and fine arts. From 1941 to 1947 we notice in the Ministry of Education's budget an annual sum of Rls.12,500,000 (about $70,000) reserved for the students abroad.

Education of Minorities

There are four distinct minorities in Iran, three of which are recognised by the law: Christians (Armenians and Assyrians); Jews; Zoroastrians; Bahais. This latter sect is not yet recognised by the law. The approximate number of these minority groups is as follows:

Cities	*Zoroastrians*	*Christians*	*Jews*
Tehran . .	1,508	25,877	14,453
Other Cities . .	6,872	25,787	24,296
Total . . .	8,380	51,664	38,749

The Armenians live mostly in Julfa, a big village, a suburb of Isfahan, Tabriz, Tehran, and the villages of Sultanabad (Erak). The number of their schools (all except one primary) was, in 1939, 6 in Tehran and 4 in the provinces. The Assyrians, followers of a Nestorian Church, are located around the south-west of Urmyah Lake. They had some primary schools in Rezaieh and other villages around. The Jewish community is dispersed in the big cities, such as Tehran, Isfahan, Meshed, Shiraz, Kashan, Hamadan, Kermanshah, and Sanandaj. They had 17 primary and 2 secondary schools before the war. The schools of " Alliance Israelite " were founded for both sexes at the beginning of this century in Tehran and Isfahan. The Zoroastrians, the old Persians who have kept their ancestral religion and customs since the sixth century, are concentrated chiefly in Yezd and Kerman, while hundreds of them, chiefly business men, now live in Tehran and other big cities. They have 4 schools in Tehran (2 secondary and 2 primary for both sexes) and 29 in the above-mentioned provinces (4 secondary and 25 primary). These schools are supported financially by their co-religionists, the Parsees, of Bombay.

Before the war a uniform programme for all the students in Iran was followed without exception. Students from these minorities were accepted in the public schools, and Muslim Iranian children were also accepted in the schools of the minorities. The religious doctrines of each faith were taught separately, but a uniform programme was followed for language, history, etc. The Christian

Armenians were strongly against this uniform syllabus and sometimes resisted it, though no objection was raised by the Zoroastrians, and the Jews were indifferent. The Bahais, too, had a few primary and secondary schools and may have had a special programme. They recognised certain days as holidays in accordance with their religious calendar, but this was absolutely against the uniform programme of Iranian education. Consequently many of their schools were closed in 1935. During the war these minorities enjoyed a new liberty, succeeded in renewing their programmes, and reopened their schools. The Armenians teach their own mother-tongue in their schools, whilst the Zoroastrians follow the same time-table for language, literature, history, etc., as the other Iranians. The Jews have the same official syllabus but pay more attention to foreign languages.

Schools organised by Foreigners

Foreign religious missions began to open schools in Tehran and some other provinces from the middle of the nineteenth century. Among them the American Mission in the north started an elaborate system of education.[1]

The British Mission in the south of Iran also established schools from the end of the nineteenth century, and here the principles of Protestant Christianity were taught. Elementary instruction in English, mathematics, natural sciences, general history, and geography was provided. Special attention was paid to physical education and morals, in order that young boys and girls might be educated for practical life. The Stewart Memorial College of Isfahan gained a high reputation. In 1927 all these missions agreed to follow the Ministry of Education's syllabus. But these beautiful buildings, which were well equipped with modern laboratories and libraries, had to close in 1939 due to the exaggerated nationalism prevailing at this time.

The French Jesuits also had religious schools for boys and girls in Tehran: Saint Louis and Jeanne d'Arc opened in 1906. The *Lycée Laique* in Tehran, which was formerly called *École de l'Alliance Française,* did a great deal to propagate the French language and culture. While the *Lycée Laique* still exists, the College *Saint Louis* has been closed.

The Arabic Language in Iran

There are some tribes of Arab origin scattered in various parts of the south of Iran. One cannot consider them as a separate

[1] The following dates are when the schools were opened by them: A boys' school in Urmieh in 1837 and in Tehran in 1891; a high school in Tehran in 1910; a college in Tehran in 1926, and a senior college in 1933; Alborz College of Tehran in 1935. They also had secondary schools in Tabriz and Hamadan, and primary schools in Resht, Meshed, and Kermanshah.

minority since they are faithful Shi'as and have a common religion and tradition with other Iranians. They speak a special dialect in which they combine Arabic and Persian, although their written language and educated speech are Persian. On the other hand, the influence of Arabic upon Persian culture is of great importance. After the Arab invasion of Persia in the seventh century, classical Arabic was amalgamated with Sassanid Persian in the same way as Latin was mixed with the Germanic languages. This combination produced a new language, which is the present tongue. It contains about 40 per cent. Arabic words and idioms. So the study of Arabic is essential to an educated Persian in order that he may read and write correctly. That is why the schedules of the Ministry of Education make the study of Arabic in secondary schools compulsory.

This language is a valuable treasury from which the present Persian language can enrich itself continuously. In the Faculty of Arts of Tehran University great importance is attached to the Chair of Arabic. In the Faculty of Theology and Philosophy practically all the texts are in Arabic. Good believers consider it a religious duty to recite the *Koran,* and the Holy Book is classical Arabic *par excellence.* Thus, at present, the Arabic language is regarded naturally as the second language. The highly developed Persian literature, which is twelve centuries old, has contributed to world literature hundreds and thousands of valuable works and is based upon the Irano-Arabic tongue. In the period just before the Second World War, when an exaggerated chauvinism prevailed in this country, a useless and vain effort was made to purify Persian from Arabic, but this was a failure. The idea was absolutely forgotten after the war.

Some Facts and Figures about Post-war Education

Seven years have passed since the new regime was formed and the educational system has undergone many important changes, from which I have chosen a few. There is no room here to enter into detail, but the following points seem important:

(*a*) *Physical Culture.* The development of modern athletics and sports is one of the useful features of the new civilisation. There has been a tendency for physical culture from the beginning of the twentieth century in Iran, and it appeared at the same time that modern schools were opened. From 1910 onwards an hour was scheduled in the school time-tables for Swedish gymnastics. In 1914 the Ministry of Education employed an Iranian gymnastic teacher, Mr. Varzandeh, who had graduated from a Belgian normal school and may be justly called the "father of modern physical culture in Iran." He began to teach physical exercises in the secondary schools of Tehran and at the same time to educate young boys in this field so that they might be future teachers. In 1933 the girls' schools also followed the boys' by having physical exercises.

His late Majesty took a keen interest in physical culture for the younger generation. When the writer of this article was Minister of Education from 1933 to 1938 the Ministry was able to encourage the formation of physical clubs and societies. Many modern stadiums were built, all the schools formed Boy Scout organisations, and athletic and sports competitions were held. In 1936, when the young Crown Prince, our present Sovereign, came home from Switzerland, he accepted the honorary presidency of the whole physical-culture organisation in this country, and this gave stimulus to the movement.

In 1941, when the reactionary parties held a certain amount of power, the movement was temporarily stopped and unfortunately the Scouts' organisations were closed and have not been reopened. After a while the love for sports in the young generation rose again with new vigour. Scores of physical clubs were formed for young people and, in consequence, they were able to take part in the International Olympic Games of 1948 in London.

(*b*) *Adult Education.* As early as 1907, the date of the new constitutional regime in Iran, there was high interest in the education of adults. The National leaders were always anxious to combat illiteracy. Private institutions and night classes were established in order to teach the ignorant. In 1936 the Ministry of Education began to fight "analphabetism" methodically. Evening classes were held in the buildings of the day schools. A proper and well-planned programme was prepared, according to which those who could not read had to study four hours a week for two years. Special textbooks were prepared for this purpose so that the illiterate could learn reading, writing, mathematics, and gain some general information about history, geography, etc. Over 93,000 adults studied regularly in these night classes all over the country. These valuable institutions were closed in 1941 as a result of the occupation, but were started again by the Ministry of Education in 1946, although in smaller numbers. There are now about 36,000 students studying in the classes.

(*c*) *Kindergartens.* In Iran some years ago one seldom heard about kindergartens, *Jardin d'Enfants.* These institutions, so popular in Europe and America, did not seem to be really adapted to Iranian conditions. As a rule Iranian mothers preferred to stay at home and take care of the children themselves. Furthermore, in Oriental cities the houses are relatively large and are usually provided with small gardens, hence children have sufficient room to play and sufficient air in their own homes. During the last twenty years, however, two great changes have taken place in social life, and kindergartens have become quite numerous. In the first place, one should mention the gradual emancipation of Persian women, who, after 1936, started coming unveiled into society especially, and, indeed, mothers began to look for jobs to add to the family income.

As a result such women had less time to care for their children and the need for kindergartens began to be felt. Secondly, capital and other big cities grew very rapidly. The population of Tehran, for example, has increased from 200,000 to 1,000,000 in the last twenty years. The lack of space for houses gave young architects, educated in Europe, an opportunity of building new buildings with many stories. This meant that thousands of families were forced to live in flats, where small children had no room to play, which made the kindergartens (*koodakestan*) indispensable. The number of them in Tehran is now about twenty-eight, where about 2,000 girls and boys, between 3 and 6 years of age, are taught in modern and pleasant ways.

(*d*) *The Cost of Education.* In general at the present time progress can be noticed in all the aspects of education, the whole nation shows a great thirst for learning. The middle classes without exception educate their children in the local schools. The primary and secondary schools are full of students, and each year new ones are opened. The upper classes send their sons and daughters to high schools and colleges in Europe and America.

The Ministry of Education is making tremendous efforts for the expansion of learning, increasing the number of schools, training a multitude of teachers, compiling new textbooks, furnishing modern equipment, and constructing solid and healthy buildings.

Here is a table giving the annual budget of this Ministry in seven successive years:

Seven Financial Years	*Total Budget in Rials*	*Budget of the Ministry of Education*	*Percentage*
1941 .	4,323,911,000	157,386,000	3·6
1942 .	3,137,795,000	147,480,000	4·7
1943 .	5,896,680,000	195,138,000	3·3
1944 .	4,098,075,000	126,984,000	3·0
1945 .	4,412,200,000	191,193,000	3·3
1946 .	6,095,273,000	398,561,000	6·5
1947 .	8,311,931,000	500,712,000	6·0

Note.—£1 = Rls. 130. The budget of the Ministry of Education comprises primary and secondary education, plus the expenditure on students in foreign countries.

The people also contribute morally and materially to this cause, and to the above expenditure should be added the big figures of donations given by generous individuals as well as by religious foundations (*waqfs*).

This new zeal and enthusiasm are due to the personal attention given by His Majesty, our young Shah, whose generous donations are a vivid example to his people. He never fails to advise his Government to support the Ministry of Education by increasing its budget. The general motto at the present time is "Bread, Health, and Education for All."

A. A. Hekmat.

CHAPTER SIX

PALESTINE

THE REVIVAL OF HEBREW

Recent History

THEODOR HERZL, the founder of modern Zionism, wrote thus of the Hebrew language in 1895 in *The Jewish State*: " After all, we cannot talk Hebrew to one another. . . . Which of us knows enough Hebrew to ask for a railway ticket? It is out of the question."

Herzl—who was steeped in European but remote from Jewish culture—imagined that in the future Jewish State there would be a multiple use of European languages as in Switzerland, and that the language which proved most useful would naturally emerge as the principal language.

When Herzl wrote *The Jewish State* in Paris, he was not aware of the Hebrew revival taking place in Eastern Europe and, more particularly, in Palestine. He regarded it as a dead Classical language, like Latin, used only for synagogue prayers, and it was only after visiting Palestine and meeting the Jews there that he changed his views.

The Jews in Palestine had come from all over the world, bringing a variety of languages with them. The Ashkenazic (European) section of the Jewish community mostly spoke Russian, Polish, German, or Yiddish; the Sephardic and Oriental sections of the community spoke Arabic, French, and Ladino. In this babel of languages, Hebrew was the only common tongue, not indeed as a medium of speech, but as a written language. It was Hebrew alone that could serve as a bridge between the Jewish past and Jewish national aspirations, between its religious history and its modern secular trends, between tradition and progress. It was the unifying factor among opposing spiritual currents, the common denominator for the greatly differing sections of Jewry that were meeting in Palestine.

A systematic attempt to introduce Hebrew as a vehicle of instruction was made in 1883 in the " Alliance " School in Jerusalem with the assistance of a group of teachers (among them Ben-Yehuda, David Yellin, and Joseph Meyuchas), who became largely responsible for the revival of the language. Only Hebrew subjects, however, were taught in Hebrew, other subjects being taught in French. Towards the close of the nineteenth century, the Anglo-Jewish Association opened the Evelina de Rothschild School in Jerusalem,

where, too, Hebrew was introduced for the teaching of Jewish subjects, general subjects being taught in English. Hebrew was used for the first time for teaching arithmetic in one of the new settlements (Rishon-le-Zion) in 1899. Then, within a very few years, it was adopted for history and nature study, and soon was in use for all subjects everywhere in the settlements. From there it spread to the first Hebrew secondary school in Tel-Aviv. In short, the movement which had begun in Jerusalem and had at first been confined to Jewish subjects spread to the settlements, embracing all the subjects taught in the primary school, thence to the new city of Tel-Aviv which adoped it for the teaching of all secondary subjects. In 1912–14 there developed a battle of languages. The Association of German Jews (*Hilfsverein der deutschen Juden*) decided to establish a technical college in Haifa, with German as the language of instruction. Taking up the challenge, the Teachers' Association rejected the suggested compromise that Hebrew be introduced gradually and organised a strike of students and teachers. The Zionist Organisation gave them its support and, with the defeat of Germany in the First World War, took over the Technicum and instituted Hebrew as the sole language of instruction.

After the Balfour Declaration, and with the setting up of the Civil Administration in Palestine, the Mandatory Government declared Hebrew, side by side with English and Arabic, an official language for use on coins, stamps, and official documents. When the university in Jerusalem was founded in 1925, Hebrew was accepted as the sole language of instruction in all subjects, thus assisting considerably in making it a precise language adapted to modern scientific needs.

Thus it may be said that Hebrew, which is now spoken by the 700,000 Jews of Palestine, has been revived, as far as most of its users are concerned, in our own generation. For a minority, indeed, spoken Hebrew is a legacy from parents or grandparents. Nevertheless, the revival of Hebrew is no more than a link in the chain of many generations of Jewish history.

The Present Position

At the present time, the Jewish schools in Palestine (kindergartens, primary, secondary, and vocational schools and teachers' colleges) contain about 125,000 pupils, of whom about 90 per cent. use Hebrew for instruction in all subjects and about 10 per cent. use Hebrew with the addition of another language, such as French in the "Alliance" schools, English in the Evelina de Rothschild School, Yiddish in those of the Agudath Israel, and Ladino and Arabic in a few antiquated "kutabs."

Palestine has nine Hebrew daily papers, apart from scores of periodicals dealing with industry, agriculture, medicine, education,

technology, biology, economics, trades of all kinds, radio, theatre, sport, art, etc. Hebrew alone is used in the theatre, the opera, and the cabarets of Jewish Palestine. About twenty publishing houses issue approximately 1,000 books a year—belles-lettres, scientific works, textbooks, children's books, religious books, and prayer books. In 1937 it was estimated that there were 285 Hebrew writers living in Palestine, constituting 75 per cent. of all the Hebrew authors in the world. Since then, their numbers in Palestine, both absolute and comparative, have risen further.

In lexicography and syntax, modern Hebrew is based on the Hebrew developed through the ages in the Bible, Mishna, Agada, the devotional poetry, the Prayer Book, the philosophy and poetry of the Middle Ages, Kabbalah, Hassidism, and Haskalah. It is estimated that 5,000 new words have been added to the language during the past two generations, some of them entirely new, some modern adaptations of old words.

As in the olden times, so now, Hebrew has been much influenced by two other Semitic languages, Aramaic and Arabic. Aramaic, like Hebrew, belongs to the northern branch of the Semitic languages, and its influence is to be seen in the Bible and to an even greater extent in the Talmud and the Zohar (the mystical "Book of Splendour"). It has also been drawn on for the creation of hundreds of new and adapted words in our own day. Arabic, which belongs to the southern branch of the Semitic languages, exerted a great influence on Hebrew thought and literature in the Middle Ages, and has had a smaller, though nevertheless appreciable, impact on the structure of the new Hebrew of the past two generations.

Problem of the Written Language

Hebrew writing consists of clear letters cut in simple geometrical patterns of circles, straight lines, arcs, and squares. There is as yet no uniformity or agreement as to the shape of the letters, and different sections of the incoming population use lettering which frequently shows a fair degree of variety. Many of the letters resemble one another closely and thus lead to difficulty in reading. The fact that the letters are not joined together in writing has led to suggestions that certain reforms be introduced making for optical and pedagogic improvements with regard to slant, alignment, letter formation, spacing, and quality of line. The problem is how to improve Hebrew script in such a way that reading can be continued for long periods without disturbance of visual acuity. Any such improvement must, of course, be a kind of graphic average of the various stages in the development of Hebrew writing, and should not involve a break between the past and the present.

Problem of Spelling

Modern Hebrew, like Classical Hebrew, has only consonants. In place of vowels there is a complicated system of pointing which causes difficulty even to those familiar with the language. This makes teaching difficult, and many attempts have been made to find an easier system by which the silent consonants would to some extent replace vowels. Another complication arises from the fact that although Hebrew spelling is basically phonetic—every symbol standing for a sound and every sound having a symbol—during the long period of the Diaspora certain sounds became obsolete, especially the numerous gutturals found in the Semitic languages, making Hebrew spelling, which was purely phonetic in Bible times, now largely historical-etymological. As a result, modern Hebrew spelling has become almost as difficult as English spelling.

Pronunciation and Grammar

Hebrew pronunciation underwent a change, particularly in Europe, as a result of the influence of the Slav and German languages. Life in the West obliterated the Oriental Semitic sounds, and the accent, which in most Hebrew words falls on the ultimate syllable, shifted to the penultimate. The question arises as to what extent it is possible and desirable for us in Palestine to reintroduce sounds which do, indeed, exist in Arabic, but which had fallen into disuse in the course of development of the language even at the time of the Second Temple, and in the kindred Aramaic, too. Whereas some hold that the ancient Hebrew pronunciation should be revived, the opinion is gaining ground that the new circumstances should be taken into consideration and the pronunciation aligned with that of the Mediterranean basin, though a fair connection with the Semitic family of languages should be retained. With regard to the accenting of the syllables, it is agreed on all sides to return to the old rule, and, indeed, in practice there is a strong tendency to place the accent on the ultimate syllable in the spoken Hebrew of our day.

Modern Hebrew syntax has not yet been placed on a satisfactory basis. It shows a natural tendency towards the co-ordinate structure common to all Semitic languages, grafted on to a Latin-European phraseology with its subordinates to the main clause.

As a result of the numerous foreign languages spoken by immigrants, many grammatical errors have crept in, more especially in syntax, prepositions, adverbs, and idiomatic phraseology than in nouns, verbs, and adjectives. Here, too, Hebrew pedagogues are faced with the problem as to how far they should bow to the inevitable. It is widely held that the time has come for a change to values based on functional grammar though purged of many irregularities, rather than on pure historical grammar.

Teaching of Hebrew Literature

The Bible is a major subject in all Jewish schools in Palestine, both primary and secondary. The children enjoy it and are greatly influenced by both its contents and its style. One sees in the schools thousands of children's drawings on Bible themes. From the point of view of language, modern Hebrew is not far removed from that of the Bible. Indeed, the language spoken to-day in Palestine is nearer to that of the Bible than to that of any other phase in its history. The children study most of the 930 chapters of the Bible; some study all of them. The text provides natural and pleasant reading matter. There is a certain difficulty in connection with chapters touching on sexual matters, but, on the ground that omission would be equivalent to emphasis, the teachers have agreed not to leave them out. Some schools regard the Bible not only as a Hebrew classic and a source of human and religious inspiration, but also as the basis of religious precepts, ritual, and dogma. This applies to more than a quarter of the schools in Palestine.

Agada is an important subject. The literal translation of the word—Legend or Mythology—does not describe its essential content. There is nothing here of the witches, princesses, step-mothers, castles, giants and dwarfs, angels and demons, war and murder which go to make up Greek, Roman, and Teutonic mythology. Hebrew legend knows nothing of the hero of European myths, the son of gods or kings, abandoned by his parents and brought up by shepherds, whose heroic deeds bring him to power and enable him to wreak vengeance on family and foe, or to forgive them when they acknowledge his supremacy. The complex of forbidden and suppressed emotions revealed in those legends and myths is not to be found in Hebrew lore. Here the legends are bound up with the fascinating stories, descriptions, and references of the Bible, fundamentally poetic and moral, clothed in concise and beautiful language, inferior only to that of the Bible itself. In form the Agada is homiletic, and therefore difficult to teach, and it constitutes a challenge to Hebrew pedagogues. But once the initial difficulties are overcome, the effort proves worth while.

Still greater difficulties are encountered in the teaching of the Talmud. The Talmud is a treasury which has enriched the life of the Jewish people throughout the whole duration of Diaspora. Its form, however, and, to some extent, its content, are strange to the modern mind. The Talmud is a kind of Herculaneum and Pompeii from which only expert hands can dig out forgotten glories. This great work calls for an immense effort on the part of the Jewish teacher if he wishes to revive for the younger generation of our day the riches that lie hidden within it.

One of the most difficult problems in the teaching of Hebrew literature in Palestine is caused by the fact that the greatest Hebrew

works of all periods have been religious in character, religious lyric poetry, or devotional thought, whereas the functioning, social type of Hebrew education in the Palestine of to-day is mainly secular. It is also far from easy to make a selection from a vast literature which ranges all the way from the Bible, the Apocrypha, the Talmud, the Commentaries, through the poetry of the Middle Ages, religious philosophy, Ethics and Kabbalah, to Haskalah, national and current literature. Since concentration is essential for educational purposes, it is preferable to cultivate one field thoroughly than to skim lightly over a dozen. It is this that has led teachers in Palestine to attempt to concentrate on the two chronological extremes, the Bible on the one hand and the secular and nationalist literature of the past century on the other. It has resulted, however, in neglect of the best of the religious writings produced by the Jews in the intervening period. Since all Hebrew schools in the country teach English language and literature, which also constitutes a subject for Matriculation, the children are able to compare theirs with the richest literature in the world. There are some among us who fear that such comparison may unnecessarily affect the self-esteem of our children unless we succeed quite soon in introducing them to those religious writings which express the Jewish genius of many generations. Others, however, feel no such anxiety, being rather of the opinion that English can have a stimulating influence on modern Hebrew literature and may enrich the pattern of its secular writings.

Basic Hebrew

The Jews, having lost five or six millions of their people in the Second World War, remain scattered over the face of the earth. More than ten millions of them still live outside Palestine, and a spark of affection, be it strong or faint, binds them all to the Hebrew tongue. The problem arises as to how to make Hebrew a *lingua franca* for the Jews of the Diaspora, an international language for Jews all over the world. For such purpose we must create a lingual apparatus which in every point offers the greatest facility to the greatest number. (This is what Jesperson called the "best type of international language.") A step in that direction has been taken by means of Hebrew word counts. Two thousand of the most frequently used words were chosen by the well-known methods recommended by Ayres, Thorndike, Horn, etc. A few attempts have also been made, though without marked success, to reduce the number of grammatical rules and to regularise the grammar. There is, however, one fundamental disadvantage inherent in the structure of the language which nullifies attempts to evolve a Basic Hebrew on the lines of Basic English. Basic English was made possible through the wealth of affixes (suffixes and prefixes) in the language, which gives it a remarkable degree of flexibility and

enables Basic English to manage with eighteen verbs (or " operators "). There is no such economy of verbs in Hebrew, since affixes are lacking. For the Basic English words " go—away, across, around, after, again, against, down, by, before, through, out, on, in, for, to, up, with," Hebrew has to employ seventeen different verbs. On the other hand, it has the advantage over Basic English that it presents no pronunciation difficulties.

Is the Standard of Instruction Jeopardised?

The difficulties we have cited in writing, spelling, pronunciation and phraseology, syntax and reading might well have brought about a lowering of the intellectual standard of Hebrew education in Palestine. Indeed, the danger was real enough. Hebrew was a halting tongue, unsuited to everyday life and to the needs of science. It was the national language but not a living, supple, mother tongue. There were no textbooks in the schools, and what the children learnt was from the teacher by word of mouth and from notes he dictated, these being as a rule poor and inaccurate. There were no reference books or general reading matter, so much more important in the development of the child than textbooks. The few books that existed were unsuited to children. They were mostly written by teachers of limited ability, lacking imagination, who wrote for children only because they had nothing to say to adults. The style was flowery and the content poor. Profusion of words covered up the paucity of matter. One could feel their authors' childish satisfaction at the very idea of being able to express themselves in Hebrew. Discipline and accuracy of language were lacking. This state of affairs was regarded with anxiety by thinking people, and the philosopher of the Hebrew revival—Ahad Haam—expressed a doubt as to whether it was worth while using the Hebrew language exclusively for all the stages of Hebrew education, particularly the higher grades, and he suggested that one of the European languages might be employed until such time as Hebrew would be fully developed.

The views put forward by people like Ahad Haam were not accepted, and Hebrew remained the sole language of instruction in the National Council schools. It may be said that all in all the standard was not seriously affected, and this for several reasons. Most of the pupils came from Eastern Europe, and in practice merely substituted Hebrew for Yiddish. The children of the Oriental communities changed from Ladino and Arabic to Hebrew. For these children who changed over from religious schools of the old type, the Hebrew school was an advance and not a step backward. And further, the Hebrew language had something to offer of dignity and grace since for generations it had been a decidedly literary language; its creative potentialities were evident. The young generation accepted with enthusiasm Hebrew as the lan-

guage of instruction, looking on it as pioneering work in the revival of the nation. The revival of the national language strengthened the national spirit, and was thus itself strengthened. It should not be forgotten also that the children constituted, in general, selected material, for the immigrants to Palestine were the pick of the Jewish people from Eastern Europe, and thus were capable of overcoming difficulties. The problem was satisfactorily solved in the primary schools, where there accrued a sufficient number of textbooks and readers for this age. But with the secondary schools the position was, and still remains, more difficult. There are not yet enough good textbooks in Hebrew, nor is the choice of reading matter calculated to bring out the undeveloped resources of this age. English is indeed taught in all secondary schools, but most of the children do not know it well enough to read with pleasure and understanding, and it is only the better children in the two higher grades who can do so. The lack of Hebrew books, of course, affects university studies, but this is more easily remedied, since every student is obliged to know well at least one European language (generally English). Therefore there is less dependence here on Hebrew books than is the case with secondary schools.

The struggle for an adequate educational standard is particularly difficult in the field of Jewish studies. It may be said in general that our children are at no disadvantage when it comes to teaching scientific subjects in Hebrew. Their standard is equivalent to that of children in Western countries. These subjects do not depend so much on reading material, and the books so far published for use in secondary schools are fairly adequate. The advanced pupils in the higher grades are able also to use English books. But our teachers in Palestine have not yet succeeded in making Hebrew an instrument for the teaching of humanities, such as Latin was for generations in the schools of the West. It needs time and extensive experience, just as the perfecting of Latin as an educational instrument took generations to achieve. The Hebrew school in Palestine is earnestly trying to solve the problem, and allots a considerable number of hours to Jewish studies. In the general primary schools they constitute 36·4 per cent. of all lessons, and in the religious schools of the "Mizrahi" 60·3 per cent. for Talmud and liturgy form a great part of their Jewish studies. In the secondary schools about 25 per cent. of the time is devoted to these subjects, and there is no doubt that this, too, is a considerable proportion. On the modern side of the French Lycée, for example, which stresses the cultivation of language and devotes more time to it than secondary schools elsewhere, French takes up 23 per cent. of all lessons. But a mere extension of the time allotted to Jewish studies does not in itself suffice to make them a basis for an education in the humanities. What is needed is bold

thinking on educational lines and strenuous intellectual effort. This is indeed a problem which we have not yet solved in Palestine, and its solution is a major task challenging our pedagogues. The danger of a lowering of standards is by no means past.

Conclusion

In the course of the past two generations, Hebrew has changed from a Classic tongue for use on special occasions to a living everyday language in Palestine. It is going through a natural process of organic development, and most of the Jewish inhabitants of Palestine and practically all the younger generation can express themselves more naturally and more easily in Hebrew than in any other language. While the speech of the past two generations derived from the literary language, the current life and language of Palestine is having an increasingly greater effect on the literary language. And even the beginnings of Hebrew slang are to be observed.

Anyone interested in the development of language should follow the process of this Hebrew revival in our time and not remain content with mere generalities such as the following, which I take from *The Loom of Language,* by F. Bodmer[1] (page 423): "Hebrew survived only as a language of scholarship and ritual, like Latin in mediæval Christendom. It never quite ceased to be written or spoken. Its uninterrupted, though slender, continuity with the past has encouraged Zionists to increase the difficulty of existence for Jews by trying to revive it as a living tongue."

We who live in Palestine and on whom this experiment has been made, are happy to have a language of our own which serves us faithfully in every walk of life and thought, as it served our ancestors in this country. We have again become a unit in Palestine through this very Hebrew language, which has served to weld into homogeneity the multitudinous immigrants with their scores of languages and not one common tongue among them. Human progress, moreover, does not follow the line of least resistance, and Jewish history has certainly never done that. It has always been hard to be a Jew. At the time of the Second Temple, a small section of Jewry advocated Hellenisation in order not to increase the difficulty of existence for Jews. But the people as a whole joined the Maccabees, who gladly shouldered the burden of Jewish survival. Were it not for them, there would have been no Christianity, and Western culture would probably have taken another course.

E. RIEGER.

[1] Published by Allen & Unwin, 1944.

SECTION VIII

DOMINIONS IN ASIA

Introduction

THE peoples of the Indian sub-continent dwell chiefly in villages, of which there are more than 650,000, and two-thirds of them get their livelihood directly from the soil they cultivate. This proportion is approximately what it was thirty or even forty years ago, and it may thus seem that the rate of industrialisation is slow. The fact is, however, that the population has increased so fast as to keep pace with the increasing number of places in factories, both big and small. During the last fifty years, indeed, it has become larger by about 50 per cent., while the average expectation of life has been raised from about 24 to about 32 years—evidence of improved command of the natural environment, although so great an increase presents the most serious and perplexing difficulties, which may well grow worse. In truth, it may be said that industrialisation is proceeding rapidly, especially if the word is taken to denote not merely the use of power-driven machines in specially designed factories, but the adoption of a type of social organisation in which industrial production is the decisive factor. More than three million workers are employed in the factories of the large urban centres, and five times as many on the looms or in the workshops of the villages—a situation which reminds one of the initial stages of the First Industrial Revolution in Europe. In mines and plantations rationalised and scientific methods are coming into use, while on the farms better tools and even machines are making their appearance. Already India ranks eighth among the manufacturing nations of the world. It should be remembered that these facts do not apply to the separate Dominions—Pakistan possesses a smaller share of industrial resources than the Indian Union.

Against the background of these social and economic changes, the movement for national independence heightened the patriotism of the people and awoke fervent loyalty to their cultural heritages. Its triumphant culmination in August 1947, however, laid bare and brought into prominence a mass of perplexing problems. First, of course, the communal issue. The self-awareness of the groups that live together in the peninsula had grown more intense during the struggle for independence, and the realisation that members of the religious communities had much in common was accompanied by a strong feeling of the differences that exist between their own groups and others; in a word, as the integration

of the groups became more perfect and more explicit, their feeling of distinctness from and even aggressiveness towards members of out-groups became stronger. In the end, it proved impossible to establish a national State for the whole of India, and two separate Dominions were formed.

Those responsible for the formulation of educational policy both in the Indian Union and in Pakistan are thus faced with the problem of developing rapidly systems of education which will, on the one hand, facilitate industrialisation and the healthy development of economic life, so that standards of material welfare may constantly improve, and, on the other, strengthen national unity and Dominion patriotism. In both States one finds much interest being taken not only in technical education but in generously conceived projects of basic or fundamental education. In addition, the importance of the second factor is fully realised, especially in Pakistan. Here, indeed, it is as yet far from certain that areas so different in so many respects as Western and Eastern Pakistan, separated by hundreds of miles, can be fused into a coherent and solid national unit. It is well to remember, however, that the task is scarcely simpler in the Indian Union, an area which has formed a single political unit only under British rule.

To begin with, the language situation is excessively complex. The two biggest groups of languages are the Dravidian of South India, which includes Tamil, Telugu, and Canarese, and the Indo-Aryan group, which includes 17 standard languages with 345 dialects spoken by about 230 millions. Apart from English, the *lingua franca* is Hindustani, a dialect of West Hindi, which developed in the bazaar attached to the court of Delhi and was thence taken everywhere. One form of Hindustani is Urdu, which uses a Persian script and has a strong admixture of Persian and Arabic. It is worth noting that from some points of view the linguistic regions of India are old enough and large enough to be considered as nations with deep roots in the soil and proud traditions.

Widespread literacy is essential to economic and social progress, but literacy campaigns are hampered by the difficulty and complexity of the scripts used. These, though alphabetic, often contain hundreds of different symbols. Romanisation would doubtless be advantageous, and many good judges see no real objection to it. There is here, evidently, a fertile field for the labours of philologists and language experts desirous of contributing to the welfare of their country.

The racial composition of India is as mixed and involved as its language situation. In the north-west, people are tall, long-headed, and fair; in the Eastern Himalayas they display Mongol features. In Central India, from Sind to Bengal, they are broad-headed and olive-complexioned. In the south, one finds long-headed and brown

Mediterraneans and in the interior there are Australoids. Happily, however, for many centuries there have been no racial conflicts as bitter as one meets elsewhere. The caste hierarchy was, of course, partly based on race differences but great tolerance was observed everywhere and, in any case, under simple rural conditions there is no occasion for racial conflict. Hindu-Muslim communal tension, at least in Eastern Pakistan, can in no way be considered as racial, and it is hard to see how it could grow into such.

The factors already mentioned as determining educational policy, namely economic change and nationalism, as well as the language situation, will exercise their effects whether or not the Indian Union and Pakistan, as well as Ceylon, ultimately remain as independent Dominions within the Commonwealth. If they decide to remain, the problem of adjustment will face not only the British Dominions but the three non-British ones, and it will affect education—as regards, for instance, the question of the retention of English as a second language. It is too early for assured prediction, but there is here an opportunity for most fruitful speculation, and Professor Saiydain discusses briefly this problem of adjustment, as does also Professor Chatterji. This, indeed, is scarcely less interesting a question than the connected one, which is: " What forms will be taken by a culture as old, as rich, as diversified as that of India when it has absorbed and learnt to use fully modern science and Western technology? " Some indication may perhaps be found by observing how the educational system which grew up under British rule and which, at least from the date of the famous Macaulay Minute, was very largely a foreign importation, a transplantation, gradually changes and transforms itself now that India and Pakistan are entirely free to direct their destinies.

EDITORS.

CHAPTER ONE

INDIA

LANGUAGE PROBLEMS

It may be asked which of these three have, in history, proved to be the most potent source of antipathy dividing man from man and making harmony and union difficult or impossible—viz. Colour, Creed, or Language.

The prejudice against colour is very old, but its intensity in ancient and mediaeval times would appear not to have been so acute, and this intensity certainly grew in volume and depth with the conquest, rule, and exploitation of the coloured races in America, Africa, and Asia by the colonising white peoples from the sixteenth century onwards. It is in its most pronounced form in those areas where economic, social, and political privileges (which are the result of the initial intellectual and organisational superiority of the conquering nation) are looked upon as the birthright of a white ruling people—the matter-of-fact assumption of the inferiority of the coloured people, accompanied by the imposition of disabilities, leading to a reaction from the other side which is apt to gain strength in direct ratio to the force and callousness of the imposition. Colour prejudice is not natural in man, but it dies hard so long as colour is thought to be connected with a higher or lower type of mentality and culture, and so long as the memory of military conquest survives, or is revived. Thus in India the institution of caste [1] has been a great leveller within the caste-group in the matter of colour, yet there is a lurking prejudice in favour of a lighter colour in the higher castes which have now taught themselves a theory of their "Aryan" origin.

Religious divergence, on the whole, was a less potent source of cleavage among groups of men or individuals, but certain forms of scriptural religion, pinning their faith on an infallible book, and on a blasphemy—which masquerades as piety—that they alone are in the possession of the whole truth about the Unseen, while all others are in error, have inculcated religious prejudice more than other forms of faith. The intensity of faith in a creed is sometimes able to rise above colour prejudice, but only within certain limits; and occasionally credal differences are put in the background in a particular colour group to present a common front against another,

[1] The English term "caste" is of Portuguese derivation. The Indian (Sanskrit) name is *varna*, "colour."—Editors.

either for retaliation, or for exploitation, or for defence. Religion, after all, is a product of civilisation or culture; and colour, by association with another race, and by complete change of language and religion, as well as by education, may lose its original racial and cultural *milieu* and its psychological atmosphere.

Language is not more fundamental than race or colour—it is not always a primary inheritance. It is, of course, a primary cultural product, and it is a very noteworthy and quite obvious characteristic which at once marks off man from man and people from people, presenting a barrier far more effective than colour or creed. In fact, it was on the basis of language that ancient man in different parts of the world divided mankind into two groups—*themselves* ("the people," "the noble people," etc.), whose language could be understood, and *others,* whose language could not be followed: e.g. *Arya* and *Mleccha,* Aryans and "Mixed Peoples," in India; *Hellenes* and *Barbaroi,* Greeks and "Jabberers," among the ancient Greeks; *Thiuda-* and *Walxa-,* "the People" and "Foreigners," among the primitive Germans; *Slav* and *Niemets,* the "noble people" and the "men of no language," among the Slavs; *Benim Israel* and *Goyim,* "Sons of Israel" and "Gentiles," among the Jews; *'Arab* and *'Ajam* among the Arabs; *Horo* and *Diku* among the Kol or Austro-Asiatic peoples of India, etc.

The original barrier of language was sometimes more potent than the barrier of sea or mountain; but the interdependence and fundamental unity of human culture soon got over this barrier, and the tradition of learning each other's language was established simultaneously with the dawn of human civilisation. In the wake of barter and commerce came the urge for material and intellectual as well as higher "spiritual" culture, and the language of a people more advanced than their neighbours became most naturally a thing to acquire and to benefit from. The purely cultural, historical, and sentimental reason also came in: Semiticised Babylonians retained the study and knowledge of the old Sumerian speech even when the latter became obsolete as a spoken language—in the training of the Assyrio-Babylonian priesthood we have perhaps the earliest example of the use of two languages in education.

As a legacy of the past, with some nations being intellectually and culturally in advance of others and that advance being registered in their literature, and with the accumulated knowledge and wisdom of the past being preserved in the earlier, so-called "classical" languages, and, further, as a result of political reasons, we find bilingualism or multilingualism to be a common enough thing in the education systems of the different nations. So that we have in the modern world not only a series of ancient "classical" languages, the study of which is an inheritance from the days when these languages were actually current (like Latin and Greek in Europe

or Eur-America, and Sanskrit, Pali, Classical Arabic, Classical Tibetan, and Classical Chinese in Asia, with Hebrew among the Jews and among a restricted number of Christians as part of their higher theological course), but also a number of "modern" languages which are taken up for thorough study by people who do not speak them as their mother tongue (e.g. English, French, German, Persian, Russian, Dutch, Spanish, Portuguese, Hindi, Urdu), for both utilitarian and purely cultural aims.

The innate conservatism of the old religio-humanistic systems of education which was in vogue for long centuries in the different countries of Asia and Europe, systems which were rooted in the past and had no use for anything excepting the vanished glory of the past, put a premium on linguistic and literary studies alone. Scholarship meant a close acquaintance with the literature in the classical or sacred language or languages studied (Latin and Greek and Hebrew in Europe, Classical Arabic among Muslim peoples, Sanskrit among the Hindus, and Pali among the Southern Buddhists, particularly on the religious side), and a certain ease in handling them. The study of the physical sciences being in its infancy, these being mostly in an ancillary relationship to the various arts and crafts and to certain pseudo-sciences like astrology, a literary training in one or more classical languages was, in the countries of Europe as much as of Asia, the be-all and end-all of education. New factors have gradually come to alter this state of things: the growth of science and the necessity for exclusive study and research in it, and the rise of the modern languages with their distinctive literatures claiming equality of status with the classical languages—these have destroyed the monopoly of the old classical literary tradition in the field of education. The pre-eminence of the more advanced nations in the different branches of science necessitated the learning of each other's languages, and for higher science at least three modern languages became indispensable, English, French, and German. Where there was no interest in science, political and commercial needs made it obligatory to have some knowledge of a great modern language, like English in Africa and India and in China and Japan. And since the English or some other modern European educational system could be imported ready-made, particularly into the non-European countries, which were still under their old, classical, literary traditions in education, provided that the pupils took the trouble of just acquiring the language of the system, education through the medium of English, French, or Dutch became established in the Near East (e.g. the American College at Beirut), in India and Burma, in Siam, in French Indo-China, in Dutch Indonesia, in China (various American and other missionary schools and colleges), and in Japan (State or private colleges and universities). It was only in the dependent or semi-dependent countries like India, Java, and Syria, and even in some independent countries

like Turkey and Siam and China, that the medium of this foreign style of education (i.e., for these countries, the *new* style of education) was also the connected foreign language, the language imported or used by the teachers themselves. In countries which were *de facto* independent, national sentiment, which could freely express itself, could not favour the imposition of a foreign language, and consequently the foreign language, if considered indispensable, was nevertheless relegated (at least formally) to a secondary place: e.g. in Greece, in Rumania, in Yugoslavia.

Language should not normally present any problem in education, because the acquirement of it is for the fulfilment of an objective which the student has placed in front of himself. In other words, when the study of a language other than the mother tongue is voluntary, there cannot be any room for complaint. Force of circumstances sometimes makes a person study many languages without his or her being aware of any exertion, or finding it very irksome, e.g. in areas where people speak more than one language. During my student days in London in 1920–2, I had a friend from Yugoslavia who presented a remarkable case of polyglottism. He was Jewish, and his people originally came from Spain, his ancestors being forced to leave the Peninsula early in the sixteenth century and to migrate to Salonica; and from Salonica there was a second migration into Bosnia. At home he spoke a kind of archaic Spanish, and he had to know the Yugoslav speech which was the language of the country where he was born and of which he was a citizen. German he had to learn as it was the most important language in the school and in the university of Zagreb—the administrative and cultural language of the old Austro-Hungarian empire, in fact. Latin and Greek he studied through German in his school and in the university. In addition to these three languages, he found it easy, because of his mother-tongue or home-language Spanish, to acquire a little Italian and a considerable amount of French, and his knowledge of Yugoslav enabled him to read Russian and other Slav languages. When I first met him in London, he did not have more than a few words of English: in three months he was perfectly at home in it. A year later, I met him in Paris, and he told me he was learning Arabic, as he intended to settle in Palestine. And all this time he had been reading Hebrew at home, his father as a good Jew having had his son taught the sacred language of Israel at a Rabbi school in Zagreb. My friend was perhaps exceptional in taking to all this linguistic study as a matter of course, and even with some enthusiasm; but there is no doubt that the peculiar circumstances in which he found himself, and his great good fortune in learning several Indo-European languages in his home and at school, and one Semitic language, Hebrew, for religious (and sentimental) reasons, laid the foundations of his becoming quite a linguist in his future life. On the other hand, I found an Irish boy

in London whose linguistic *milieu* was not at all so propitious. He was English-speaking at home, he was reading Latin and French for his London Intermediate, and he used to attend Irish classes in London out of a desire to become 100 per cent. Irish. My interest as a student of linguistics in Irish formed a special point of contact with him, and he admitted that he was finding his Irish difficult, and he had realised that, excepting for some spiritual value about which he was becoming doubtful, there was no practical purpose in his reading Irish. I suspected his living in London, far away from the Irish atmosphere, and in an environment unsympathetic for things Irish (those were the " Black and Tan " days in Ireland, with a considerable amount of bewildered antipathy against the Irish in England), was slowly undermining his enthusiasm for Irish, and the process was helped by the inherent difficulty of modern Irish in its orthography and grammar, and by bad methods of teaching.

Linguistic problems in education are to be seen in all their variety and complication in many parts of the world, particularly in countries like India, China, and Malaya; and the situation in one country will be easy to parallel in the others. In India, for a long time, there was not much of a linguistic problem, either in education or in practical life. In Hindu India, the upper classes studied and used Sanskrit, and the masses did not matter, as in most other lands—they were content with their songs and ballads and religious discourses through their spoken dialects. The modern Indian languages were still in the background. A fairly intense literary life in them started from the sixteenth century, and they came into the forefront only from the second half of the nineteenth, demanding a certain recognition *vis-à-vis* Sanskrit on the one hand and Persian and English on the other, which came to be established as languages of administration and higher culture after the setting up of Turki-Afghan rule in the thirteenth, and British rule in the eighteenth to nineteenth centuries. Before the introduction of English education in India (the teaching of English started on the initiative of Indians themselves in Bengal and elsewhere), the average boy of the middle classes received some elementary education in the mother tongue, with a little arithmetic and accounting along the traditional methods, and that was about all that the larger percentage could receive. This was enough to enable the youths to read whatever literature was available to them in manuscript—printing came rather late in India, and cannot be said to have become well established in the Indian languages before the first quarter of the nineteenth century. Those who wanted to study further had to take a course in Sanskrit among Hindus and in Persian and Arabic among Muslims—a course which was essentially mediaeval in content and form, comparable to the trivium and the quadrivium of Western European Latin universities and to higher literary and theological studies in Latin. The English in India started the Fort William College in Calcutta in 1799 to teach

classical and modern Oriental languages to the officials and officers sent out by the East India Company to carry on the administrative and other work of a growing empire, and Arabic, Persian, Sanskrit, Hindustani, Hindi (Brajbhasha dialect), Bengali, and the rest were taught to young British officers coming out to India. For Indians, the East India Company at first thought it enough to continue the old traditional Hindu and Muslim learning in Sanskrit and in Persian and Arabic, and they extended their patronage to the old system by founding the Sanskrit College and the Perso-Arabic Madrasah in Calcutta in 1824. But intelligent Indians, particularly those who had dealings with the English (among whom was the illustrious Raja Ram Mohun Roy, "the Father of Modern India"), realised the value of English and European culture, and in Calcutta, through Indian enterprise alone, was started the Hindu College in 1816, which later on was transformed into the Presidency College of Calcutta. Thomas Babington Macaulay, the English historian and poet who came out to India as a judicial officer, gave a different orientation to the English official attitude towards the education of the Indians by establishing the policy of teaching English (and European learning through it) to Indian boys, his primary aim being to train up Indians to collaborate with the English rulers in the subordinate services under the Government and in English business firms. This was in 1835, and schools teaching English to Indian boys began to be started on the model of English high schools in different parts of Bengal from 1840 onwards—schools which were manned by Indian teachers and were financed by rich Indians; and Christian missionaries also began to start their institutions, which often served as models for the purely Indian ones. The Hindu College of Calcutta in the thirties and forties of the nineteenth century became the most important centre of English culture for Indians, and its Certificate Examinations had the value of university degrees. Indian boys took to English studies with enthusiasm, and they frequently were intoxicated by the new learning, being cut off from all knowledge of Sanskrit and from the study of their mother tongue, which they got into the habit of despising. A new type of Indian intelligentsia was created when scholars of the Hindu College and the missionary Duff College as well as other institutions came to be known as "Young Bengal"—an intelligentsia which dominated the Indian educational and cultural scene for some three generations. In the forties and fifties this intelligentsia, nurtured in the atmosphere of English literature and English philosophy alone, totally lost its bearings and was anxious to become English to the marrowbone and, as one of them is made to say in a well-known Bengali drama composed in 1866, they "spoke in English, thought in English, and dreamt in English."

We have thus in India, at the middle of the nineteenth century, a repetition of a phenomenon (noticed earlier in other countries) of a

complete ignoring of the mother tongue in education, e.g. among a good many Romans in the early days of the Empire, in early Muslim Iran, in early nineteenth-century Russia. The practical and economic importance of English during the English regime gave a great impetus to concentrating on the English language and literature, in the system of education that became increasingly popular in India from the second half of the nineteenth century, and a Bengali proverb summed up the situation: "He who studies (i.e. studies English) rides in his horse-carriage." This restriction to English alone gave rise to a kind of mentality which has been amply ridiculed in Bengali and other literature from the second half of the nineteenth century: a mentality which found nothing or very little of value for mankind anywhere outside the thought and culture of England and Europe, and heartily subscribed to Macaulay's sweeping statement, when he pleaded for the initiation of Indian youth into European learning, that "a shelf-ful of English books was worth the entire literature of Arabia and India." The psychological effect of this mentality in most cases was an utter mental and spiritual helplessness when the blinkers of the English language and the atmosphere of English were withdrawn. The reaction of the Indian public, not attuned to the spirit of English and European literature and culture, to these extreme types of Anglicisation was analogous to that expressed in Elizabethan England—"an Englishman Italianate is the Devil incarnate."

Fortunately the founding of the first three universities—those of Calcutta, Bombay, and Madras—in 1857 (there are two dozen of them now in India) brought in a certain amount of necessary balancing in the courses of studies, particularly on the linguistic side. These universities were largely modelled on that of London, and a boy or girl had to pass through the gamut of a high school course followed by the Entrance or Matriculation Examination, and then a regular college course of four years, two years for the "First Arts" or Intermediate Examination and two for the Bachelor of Arts Examination, with a year and a half (subsequently two years) for the M.A. Following the curricula of the University of London, a classical language (Sanskrit, Persian, or Arabic) was made compulsory for the Entrance and First Art stages (in lieu of Greek or Latin in England), and a short paper on the "vernacular." English still remained the pivot of all high school and university studies: the examinations in all subjects except the mother tongue were in English, and from the First Arts or Intermediate onwards in the colleges, all lecture work and class work was also in English. The English were very much the arbiters of the destiny of the people whom they ruled in India, and hence their language had a prestige and precedence, in the first instance: and the superior cultural value of English in the modern world was also recognised. As a verse in the dialect of Rajputana put it at the beginning of the nine-

teenth century, when Maratha influences which were so long strong in the political field were being ousted by those of the English:

> Full value for (English) *here* and *there* (*hiyar, deyar*);
> Three-fourths for (Hindustani) *idhar* and *udhar*;
> Half value for (Marathi) *ikdé* and *tikdé*;
> Quarter value for (local) *athé* and *bathé*.

But this acceptance of the superiority of English never found favour with the old-fashioned Sanskrit and Arabic scholars, and the gradual rise of Indian nationalism brought a new value for Indian languages. From the seventies, this sentiment in favour of Indian languages and against paying so much practical homage to English began to take a definite form in Bengal. Nationalistic endeavour to free the country from English cultural influences as well as English economic and political control of India entered a most intense phase from the first decade of the twentieth century, after the partition of Bengal and the *Swadeshi* Movement (a movement to use religiously nothing but Indian-made articles). A passionate love of the mother tongue, with a great output of literature in Bengali and other languages, then started: but no one as yet thought seriously of restricting, much less eliminating, the use of English in education, although pleas were put forward (by Rabindranath Tagore, among others) to educate the people—the masses outside the narrow limits of the upper classes and the *bourgeoisie*—through the mother tongue alone. The English tradition had become too deeply engrained in our education.

As always happens in the case of a linguistic revival, it was from the learned coterie and the university that the idea of giving the neglected if not suppressed mother tongue its due recognition spread to the average citizen. The national movement, of course, gave a great impetus—the necessary moral and emotional support. Researches into linguistic and literary history preceded a wider recognition of the mother tongue in the university. In 1918, M.A. Degree Examinations in Indian modern languages were established in the University of Calcutta, and other Indian universities slowly followed suit. In 1941 English was replaced by four recognised Indian languages, viz. Bengali, Assamese, Hindi, and Urdu, at the option of the candidate, as medium for the Matriculation Examination in the University of Calcutta; and now everywhere the movement has started to teach and examine all arts and science subjects up to the highest examinations through one or the other of the recognised modern languages of India. The Osmania University of Hyderabad in the Nizam's Dominions from its inception (1918) has been employing Urdu as its medium of teaching and examination all through, but Urdu as the compulsory language of education for all classes in Hyderabad State is an anomaly, as it (including also several Hindu dialects) is the mother tongue of only from 10 per

cent. to 11 per cent. of the people, the rest speaking other languages totally different in spirit and cultural content from the Muslimised Hindi speech that is Urdu (48 per cent. Telugu, 26 per cent. Marathi, and 11 per cent. Kannada, according to the census of 1931).

After the formal declaration of Indian independence on August 16th, 1947, the need for replacing as quickly as possible, even if not immediately, English by the major Indian languages in the entire system of administration as well as in education was proclaimed from hundreds of platforms and scores of institutions, but it is now being realised that the matter is not so easy as it seemed. The Indian languages are not yet ready with a suitable vocabulary of general as well as special terms. Scholars have been toying with the finding and preparation of the required technical terms, in Sanskrit for most of the Indian languages, in Arabic for Urdu; but no serious effort has yet been made on a pan-Indian basis. The Government of India does not, as yet, know its own mind, hampered and harassed as it is by internal and external troubles. The English language has so closely accommodated itself in the texture of the administration and in the higher intellectual make-up of the Indians that a sudden wrench or dislocation is impossible, despite a number of problems, practical as well as psychological, which the adoption of English has created in India.

All the problems, which have arisen in India, are more or less paralleled by similar ones in other countries which do not enjoy the privilege of the more fortunately situated nations where linguistic questions do not occur, since all citizens get the highest education they want through their mother tongue. In China the old system of education in the classics has now been replaced by a modern system in which the study of English (or, in a smaller number of cases, of some other European language) has an important place. The introduction of the Chinese National Language, which is just a form of the Northern Chinese spoken language (Mandarin) in a new guise, has not yet proved fully successful. The Old Wen-li or Classical Chinese in the provincial pronunciations still survives, and the National Language still continues to be a language addressed to the eye more than to the ear. Learning of the National Language (*Kuo-Hua*, or *Pai-Hua*, or *Gwo-yeu*, i.e. *Kuo*^{2}-*Yu*^{3}) has proved to be a new burden for speakers of the coast dialects of Central and Southern China like Fu-Chien (Hokkien), Cantonese (Kwang-tung) and Hakka, from which in its phonetics and recent development Northern Chinese differs a great deal. As an interprovincial language, particularly in the coastland areas, English has fulfilled, and is fulfilling, a real want in China still. A Chinese boy from Canton, who has to learn his characters in their North Chinese (National Language) pronunciations, is practically learning a new language: with English he has therefore three languages to

speed him on or hamper him in life—his local home dialect of Cantonese, his acquired Kuo-Hua or Gwo-yeu, and his English. Various difficulties are frequently ignored in the case of those who speak a "dialect" (the term may mean anything—from a true dialect not much different from a standard speech to quite a distinct language which arbitrarily or through force of circumstances is attached to some other language, all serious literary cultivation of it being abandoned by its speakers in favour of the "standard language" adopted by them) and get their education in a connected literary speech. A Provençal-speaking boy is forced to be bilingual when he reads French: so is a Bhojpuri- or Marwari- or Garhwali-speaking boy, when his education is all through High Hindi, or a Plattdeutsch-speaking boy when he learns nothing but High German at school. Such a situation is fairly common in the present world.

Linguistic problems in education can be illustrated from the educational career of the present writer which is typical of an average Indian school- and college-going person of the present day, and in its essentials it will certainly be more or less paralleled in Beirut, in Tiflis, in Batum, in Kabul, in Tehran, in Bokhara, in Singapore, in Batavia, in Manila, in the cities of China, among the Quechua- and Aymara-speaking Peruvians, among the Maya- or Aztec-speaking Mexicans, among Irish-speaking Irish in West Ireland, among French Canadians, among the Bantus and other Africans and the Afrikaans-speakers in South Africa, among those Americans in the United States who have not yet become 100 per cent. American, still sticking to their old speech in the home, and elsewhere in the various parts of the world. The present writer speaks Bengali at home in its standard spoken form, which is the accepted standard conversational form of the language current among a population of over sixty millions. But written and printed Bengali show two styles—one, the standard spoken form, and the other the standard literary form of the language, which, however, is only a little archaic and a little fuller in its grammatical forms and affects a more learned, Sanskrit, vocabulary: the relationship between the two, the standard spoken and the literary forms of Bengali, would be like that between educated southern English and a kind of English, used only in writing serious or ordinary books and letters, employing an archaic grammar like Chaucer's English and a highly Latinised vocabulary as in Dr. Johnson's English, if such a thing could be conceived as actually being in use. This literary Bengali is the same for the whole of Bengal, and we never felt it much of a burden, except that we had to learn all the "higher" vocabulary of our language from it. A boy from some other part of Bengal, say Dacca or Chittagong, had to take some pains in acquiring the Calcutta or standard colloquial, if he were to avoid being laughed at for speaking with a provincial ac-

cent: so for him this was certainly an additional burden, particularly if he were a newcomer in the standard colloquial area. Not infrequently, the jibes of his class fellows for his accent would be a sore tax on his temper, and so a handicap: but he had to put up with this. On the other hand, the boy who could feel "the language we use at home is the real Bengali" would gain an assurance that he could move with ease everywhere. But after nearly half a century of the tradition of schooling, and a very large degree of interprovincial migration, helped by the public stage, the cinema, and the radio in recent years, the Standard Colloquial accent is not at present much of a difficulty to the average school-going boys and girls all over the Bengali-using area. We may now say that, generally speaking, one single speech is taught in the schools of Bengal, which is the Standard Literary, strongly coloured in pronunciation, idiom, and vocabulary by the Standard Colloquial.

But the case is rather different for millions of children in the "Hindi (or Hindustani) area" in India. The Hindi or Hindustani speech is based on the home dialects of Western United Provinces and Eastern Punjab as well as North-Western Central India Agency and Northern Central Provinces, and is the standard speech for some 40 millions only of the 140 millions all over Northern India from Western Punjab to Bengal who use it (in either of its two forms High Hindi and Urdu) as their language of education and literature. A boy speaking Maithili or Bhojpuri or Malavi or Punjabi at home has practically to learn another language in Hindi at school in the place of his mother tongue, and for such a boy Hindi is a burden, though he has been taught to regard it as his mother tongue. The result of this unconscious feeling of irksomeness in being always at pains to avoid their actual home dialect interfering in their correct use of Hindi is shown frequently enough in a queer way, which psychologically is understandable: they become the most intransigent champions of Hindi, swayed also, no doubt, by the political and other benefits accruing from the possession (no matter at what cost) of a language current among 140 millions and used as a *lingua franca* by 250 millions. Except for a little literature in unimaginative matter-of-fact prose, and some poetry which is at times passable versification, there has not been any spontaneous poetic or imaginative self-expression among those for whom Hindi is a language acquired at school. For idiomatic, nervous, and really poetic Hindi, we have to look to the home districts of the language, although a number of writers outside these home districts have through meticulous care acquired the idiom correctly and can use it effectively. A Bengali or a Telugu or a Marathi speaker's love for his mother tongue is something natural and spontaneous; with a very large percentage of Hindi-users and persons educated through Hindi, it is a language acquired at school.

Serious schooling begins at 6 years: previous to that the child

may start to know his alphabet at home. At school, with the complicated nature of the Bengali script, with its ligatures or compounded letters, it was a two-year business to learn to read and write Bengali with ease. All this time some elementary arithmetic was being taught. Now the methods have considerably improved, and through the kindergarten system the dry-as-dust quality of the old-fashioned spelling-book has been greatly mitigated. From the third year of our schooling we were taught English, from that old-fashioned primer which taught several generations of Indian boys in Eastern India their A B C—Peary Churn Sircar's *First Book of Reading.* Practically, from 7 or 8 years of age, we had to accept English as our own speech. The methods were old-fashioned, the objective was to make English take the place of the "First Language" in life. There was very little chance of meeting an English-speaking teacher for the average boy: my Scottish missionary teachers, and a Welsh professor, were the first English-speaking masters under whom I studied when I joined the General Assembly's Institution (now the Scottish Church College) in Calcutta after passing (1907) the Entrance Examination at the age of 16 years. Yet we managed to get along, largely through our own exertions. The prescribed "reader" in the class, the grammar and composition lessons, were supplemented by reading "out-books," and my father encouraged us very much to develop a taste and a habit for reading in English. We were at liberty to read any book, provided it was in English: and apart from poetry and fiction and a little travel and lots of translations or adaptations from the Sanskrit, there was very little literature of information in Bengali, and hardly any books for young boys. Fiction in Bengali was taboo: it was thought immoral to read Bengali novels, like smoking, and I remember having read stealthily at dead of night the novels of Bankim Chandra Chatterji when everyone—and especially my father—was asleep. At the age of 12, I revelled in the novels of G. A. Henty and the *Boys' Own Paper* at the Y.M.C.A. for Bengali Boys which I joined; and later, with some friends with a taste for reading, we used to enjoy together Hugo's *Les Misérables* (in an English translation), the Speeches of Swami Vivekananda, a good deal of Scott, some Dickens, and a number of colourful and sensational English novels by W. M. Reynolds in a cheap series ("Dick's edition") in very minute letters with vivid woodcuts. And there were the English newspapers published in Calcutta. The result of this kind of indiscriminate reading brought us into the swing of the English language, and when I joined my college, except for anything highly technical, English did not present any difficulty.

But although we would get our mental pabulum mostly from English, we could not say that we were really bilingual. Of course, if I analyse my thought process, I find I do my thinking in both

Bengali and English—this English, doubtless, has frequently to be eked out by Bengali. It is wonderful how one can torture one's mind into the frame of a different language: and the smaller the vocabulary, the greater the strain, no doubt, as I found later in using the little French I had to employ in Paris and in giving talks in Hindi in India. English remained at the best an acquired language with us, because the home and social environment was all through Bengali, and, after the national movement which started from 1905, aggressively Bengali. Then a great period of Bengali literature commenced with this century, and Rabindranath Tagore's poems and short stories and novels, and the short stories and novels of Prabhat Mukherji and others (their line is still flourishing and with greater vigour in Bengali), were eagerly awaited by all of us in the periodicals. We listened spell-bound not only to the eloquence of Surendranath Banerji in English, but also of Bipin Chandra Pal (who hailed from distant Sylhet, then in Assam) and a dozen others in Bengali. With English, psychologically speaking, we were not sufferers in any way, as the bases of our mental make-up were Bengali, and English gave us only the intellectual and aesthetic food not available through the mother tongue. We acquired a large vocabulary together with the connected ideas from English, and frequently piquant turns of expression. The only approach to bilingualism is on the formal side, consisting of a large mass of loans which form part of our Bengali vocabulary, so to say, from English. During our school days, when the national movement made a fresh start, we would occasionally form ourselves into little clubs, for the mere fun of it, to avoid mixing our Bengali with English vocabulary and to get into the habit of speaking pure Bengali undefiled by English, and fining ourselves an anna or a pice when we used an English word: but we had mostly to give it up in despair.

There were a few unfortunate Indian families which aimed to become English-speaking entirely, even when the *entourage* was Bengali or Hindustani. They succeeded in producing a culturally and also mentally stunted group, and as the fashionableness of this kind of aberration was never generally recognised, it met its natural death. Members of such groups would feign ignorance of Bengali and would affect only the bad Hindustani of the servants—low-caste Hindu and Muslim nurses and valets—in English families. To one such Bengali young man, whose people were known to Rabindranath Tagore, the poet is said to have observed: "You are in a funny situation: you have forgotten Bengali, and you don't seem to have learned English properly. How would you speak to people?" It was a case of 1840 Young Bengal reincarnated in 1920.

That the teaching of English to Indians and the tremendous influence of English literature upon the mind of Indian students was

not harmful, is apparent from the fact that all this was fully assimilated. This is clearly borne out by the quality and quantity of Bengali and other Indian literature which was largely the production of men trained in English. The "English-educated" Indian who was not cut off from his own language group was on a different plane from those Indians who have been living among persons speaking a different language from theirs. Such people are neither wholly of one language group, nor of the other; and when they are losing their grip over their own language, after generations among other peoples, it is sometimes pathetic to see their anxious effort to maintain their linguistic heritage. It was more difficult in the olden days, when communication was neither easy nor safe. The institution of caste helped to segregate speakers of a particular language in a different language area: a Bengali Brahmin settled in the United Provinces could marry his son or daughter only in a Bengali Brahmin family, and a Marwari Vaisya in Bengal must have his matrimonial circle similarly circumscribed. Quick travelling in the present age has made communication easier, and with the opening of special schools as far as is practicable, an attempt is made to retain the old language. But new forces are operating, which will unquestionably, in the long run, force families domiciled in a different language area to merge linguistically and socially with the surrounding population—the totalitarian policy that is being envisaged in forcing the local language upon all who have settled in a particular area, and the disintegration of caste. But so long as this does not happen, the genuine bilinguals who are almost equally familiar with two languages, and yet are in danger of forgetting their original one, are said to be in real mental and spiritual unrest. Their lot is not understood, much less sympathetically viewed, by the people in their new domiciles.

Indians are now dreaming dreams and seeing visions that as they have already proved their capacity in literature their own languages will be employed sooner or later in all stages of education, and that they will rival English, French, German and the rest in science, the arts, and in philosophy. They feel it a humiliation to be forced to rely so much upon a foreign language; and this psychological factor is in conflict with another in the minds of many, viz. national pride should not lead to losing the chance for international co-operation and amity through a linguistic medium like English which has already established itself as a unique vehicle of world-culture. A compromise is being proposed: the mother tongue for all up to the highest stage, but English with or without some other great language for the intellectual *élite*.

There is another factor which is exercising the imagination and thought of Indians and which is intimately connected both with education and with politics—the adoption of an official National Language for India, a Pan-Indian Speech. Bitter controversy had

arisen over this question: the Muslim form of the great Hindi speech of Northern India, viz. Urdu, was put forward by the Muslim minority, in the Punjab and the United Provinces particularly; and Hindus all over the country almost universally supported the Hindi language, written in the native Indian script, the Devanagari, and taking its culture words from Sanskrit, the classic speech of India, and own sister to Persian and to Greek, Latin, Slav, Germanic, and Celtic. Some Bengalis also put in a plea for their own language. A Pan-Indian National Language, in order to be truly national and pan-Indian, must agree in its spirit, and as far as possible in its vocabulary content, with the main provincial languages of the country. The Urdu form of the Hindi language, with its Perso-Arabic script and its Persian and Arabic words, eschewing as far as possible words of pure Hindi and Sanskrit origin, stands on quite a different footing both from the chief Aryan languages of the North (Bengali, Oriya, Assamese, the Bihari dialects, Kosali or Eastern Hindi, Western or Standard Hindi, Nepali, Punjabi, the Rajasthani dialects, Sindhi, Gujarati, and Marathi) on the one hand, and on the other from the cultured Dravidian languages of the South (Telugu, Kannada, Tamil, Malayalam), and even some other minor non-Aryan languages which take the lead from the main Aryan languages (e.g. Mundari, Santali, Khasi, Manipuri, and Newari). It has also been suggested—and the eminence of an English Sanskritist, Prof. F. W. Thomas of Oxford, gave additional force to this suggestion—that Sanskrit, which has served Indian civilisation as its chief vehicle for thirty centuries, may once more be made the National Language of India. That might be ideal: for Sanskrit is the natural nurse and feeder of all the Indian languages (including the Dravidian ones), like Latin for the Romanic languages; and with Sanskrit one can be an Indian in the widest sense of the term, while with the modern languages like Bengali, Panjabi, Marathi, Assamese, Gujarati, Telugu, Malayalam, and the rest, and even with Hindi, which is largely interprovincial, one remains a provincial. But the elaborate grammar of Sanskrit will not be found suitable for a modern and progressive people, and the Muslims will not find it attractive. So the next best thing to Sanskrit is found in Hindi, as the representative of modern Indian speech which is understood by the largest number of people in India, written in the same script as Sanskrit at the present day, and sharing with Bengali, Marathi, Gujarati, Nepali, Kannada, Telugu, and the rest, the same common words taken over from Sanskrit or inherited from it. Such a National Language as Hindi as the first among equals can be a source of strength for all the provincial languages of India. It is now looked upon by a great many nationalists as a vital problem to find for Hindi its proper place in Indian education. Many agree that compulsory Hindi for the high school stage, in the interest of pan-Indian cultural unity, should go

hand in hand with a balancing compulsory Bengali or Marathi or Gujarati or Telugu or Kannada or any other main Indian language for high school boys and girls within the Hindi area.

In this connection mention may be made of the revival and educational use (as medium of instruction) of Hebrew in Palestine and Irish in Ireland. The stress on Hebrew is a necessity in Palestine for the Jews, as it is attempting to combine Jews from different parts of Europe and Asia speaking different languages into a single-speech unit, and seemingly the miracle of reviving Hebrew as the language of the home has been achieved in Palestine. But to what extent and in what manner a German- or Polish- or Spanish-speaking boy or girl reacts to the use of only Hebrew in the classroom, the present writer has no information. Is Hebrew successful in replacing German or Polish or Spanish, or is it just used for decorative purposes? I must say that I was agreeably surprised to find two young Jewish students (one was a German-speaker at home, and the other's language was Russian) talking to each other in fluent Hebrew, while travelling through Switzerland. The attempt to revive Irish outside the Gaeltacht or Irish-speaking areas is another planned linguistic experiment, the success or failure of which we are watching with interest. The desire to replace a language of such tremendous power as English by Irish is ambitious, in spite of the idealism that lies behind it. The work is proceeding according to a fixed plan in Ireland, and we are not yet in possession of exact information about the success or otherwise of the movement, particularly in making English-speaking youth switch on to Irish in their serious educational work, apart from learning the language properly.

The setting-up of a " National Language " in a polyglot country must be linked with the trend of the country's linguistic history, and this is what we see in the case of some new languages of this category which are coming into prominence with a new political significance or importance in these countries. Hindi in India is at the end of a long chain of Indo-Aryan linguistic history: the speech of the " Midland " in North Indian Aryandom, the language of the present-day Hindi area, has always had a special pre-eminence in India. So Malay, as the national speech of Indonesia, to the exclusion even of more highly cultivated speeches like Javanese and Balinese, is a legacy of nearly two hundred years of Dutch regime, and even earlier; the Chinese National Language is the modern transformation of the Old Kuan-Hua or Mandarin, the all-China official speech; and Burmese was more or less accepted in pre-British times by the various non-Burman groups of the country like the Mons, the Shans, the Karens, the Kachins, and the Chins. In the future educational and cultural life of India, Burma, China, and Indonesia, these languages can only be expected to take a pre-eminent part.

In a wider political field, one might also think of Hindi as the

National Language of India (since it is already the language of education, literature, and public life for over 140 millions and the most natural *lingua franca* for 250 millions and more of humanity), and as the third language of the world in point of numbers (coming after Northern Chinese, and English) being accorded its proper place in the comity of nations—Hindi in the international Roman Script will fall in line most easily with its cousin Indo-European speeches—English, French, German, Spanish, and Russian—and with its great neighbour Chinese, as one of the first seven great languages of the world.

In spite of a general similarity of the linguistic problems in education in the different countries, there are special points which are unique for each people. A Rumanian or Turkish student in the higher stages cannot do without French or German, since the specialised technical literature may not be available in Turkish or Rumanian. In making a language like Urdu (which is the speech of an intellectually backward class, in comparison with languages like English, French, and German, for instance) the medium of instruction for the highest classes in a university established among peoples speaking various languages other than Urdu, the primary aim of a university in imparting exact knowledge has not been much advanced, even by going to an enormous expense in getting standard English, French, and German works in the different science and arts subjects (History, Economics, Philosophy, etc.) translated into that language. I have been told that the students follow the English books better, as the atmosphere, so to say, is there already in English and it has not yet been developed in Urdu. The same observation will also hold good for other languages in a similar stage. One is reminded of the humorous poem of Rabindranath Tagore on the invention of footwear: King Simpleton was anxious not to soil his feet with dust, and Minister Idiot first recommended sweeping the whole earth with brooms to clear the dust, and when this acted in a contrary way, he wanted to cover the roads with leather: and then an old leather-worker recommended that each individual might better cover his own feet, and thus they invented the shoe. In other words, it is not necessary to go in for a wholesale replacing of English or an accepted language of higher culture, and set about translating as much as possible of the entire literature in a particular subject. Up to a certain stage, teach only or mainly through the mother tongue or the accepted literary language; in the highest stages, through both, and failing the mother tongue, through the internationally accepted language. But whenever feasible the mother tongue is to be employed. The present writer may mention a bit of personal experience. Following the practice of giving class lectures in the English language, he was in the habit of using only English for teaching Bengali and other Indian linguistics to M.A. students in the university, students who

were also all Bengalis like himself. This was certainly an intriguing, and to some extent an exasperating situation: a Bengali professor lecturing in English to Bengali students on the history of their mother tongue. The students, however, were given the option to write their answers in the examination in either Bengali or English, but they were warned that their Bengali must not be a mixed jargon using English technical terms. The lecturing in English was done deliberately with a view to keeping up familiarity with English, as there is still a mass of literature on Indian linguistics in English which has not yet been translated and which students cannot ignore. But from 1948, at the request of the students themselves—a good many of whom confessed their difficulty in following a lecture in English and in taking down notes in English—the knowledge of the English language has largely deteriorated with the spread of education, it must be confessed, particularly as the students are gradually divesting themselves of the notion that the learning of English is the be-all and end-all of education—he has been lecturing to them in Bengali—not without a little regret at the passing away of a tradition under which he had himself grown up.

But it may be questioned—how far was the average student benefited by the use of a foreign medium like English? And here my own experience agrees with the general sentiment—the time and energy spent in learning a difficult foreign language like English can generally be more profitably employed in getting a real education through the mother tongue. When learning in a foreign language which is badly taught and imperfectly understood, most school students simply try to memorise, for as close a reproduction as possible, their history or geography or geometry lessons. In Bengal, side by side with "High English Schools," there are "Vernacular Schools" where up to a certain standard (fourth year before Matriculation) everything is taught through the mother tongue. Boys who come from such "Vernacular Schools" join a "High School" in the fourth class, to read there for four years before sitting for the Matriculation. When the writer was promoted to the fourth class, some new boys from outside were admitted into it. They were from "Vernacular Schools," and my co-pupils and I found to our anger and dismay that they were much better than ourselves in all subjects—Bengali, History, Geography, Mathematics, and Elementary Science, whereas we could only pride ourselves on our better knowledge of English.

A progressive replacement of the foreign language by the mother tongue should be the only proper way to bring in a saner educational system, retaining the foreign culture-language in the higher stages for some time to come. India and Burma, Indo-China and Indonesia, and the non-Russian States of the Soviet Union, are in a different situation from China and the Near Eastern countries

and the countries of Eastern Europe, as in the former group some great foreign language—English, French, Dutch, or Russian—is already the language of higher education and culture.

The principle of gradual replacement of the foreign culture-language for general education being accepted, without tabooing it for students who go in for higher scientific and cultural studies, the first matter to attract the attention of educationists should be the preparation of the required technical vocabulary. In India there are points of view in conflict with each other. One is in favour of wholesale Indianisation, to the extent of translating *Calcium-naphthol-sulphonate* as *Cūrnātu-Uttailava-S'ulbayīya* and *Nitro-chloro-benzene* as *Bhūyanīra-dhūpēnya.* The other recommends the retention of certain indispensable international words, especially those referring to articles and processes not known before, and having our own translations of words which involve a thought-process, and would leave international expressions like the above chemical formulae intact. The conflict can be resolved only by coming to a decision as to how far the demands of patriotism can compromise with internationalism and with educational efficiency for an interim period as well as for the future.

With our civilisation becoming a world-civilisation, our education systems must recognise, in the case of those who would go in for intellectual pursuits, the necessity for learning two or more languages over and above the mother tongue. The problem of the minorities in different parts of the world, who will have to study one language in addition to their home language, will continue, at least for some time, so long as they have the inclination and the necessity to retain this home language. Based on a thorough acquaintance with one's mother tongue and ability to use it properly in speaking and writing (or with the connected language accepted in lieu of the actual home language), even a most intensive study of one or more foreign languages, as experience has amply proved it in India and China (to mention two important non-European countries) and elsewhere, will not lead to any psychological harm, but will on the contrary help greatly to enrich the cultural life of humanity as a whole.

SUNITI KUMAR CHATTERJI.

CHAPTER TWO

THE INDIAN UNION

THE CHALLENGE OF FREEDOM

In dealing with the educational problems of India, one must start inevitably with two facts: firstly, that India, like the rest of the world, has recently passed through the harrowing and revolutionary experience of the greatest war in history; and secondly, that after many weary decades of political subjection and struggle, she has at last attained her freedom. The future lies before her to make or mar, subject, of course, to the limitations which the trends of the international situation place on the future of all nations and the limitations which her own lack of clear and progressive purpose might impose. There can be no doubt that this newly won freedom offers a great opportunity and a great challenge to the Indian people, for *this* is the critical time—dividing the past and the future like a watershed—when the right pattern of their social and cultural life has to be determined.

Effects of the War

So far as India is concerned, the war did not affect the educational system directly to the same extent as it affected many other countries. But because of its far-reaching repercussions on Indian economy as a whole, and on the minds of the people, it has altered profoundly the socio-economic framework within which, and with reference to which, education has to be organised, and thus indirectly it has had very important reactions.

The first impact of the war led not to a quickening of the process of educational expansion and development, but to its arrest and interruption. With the diversion of an ever-increasing proportion of the national budget to war purposes, money was not forthcoming for any new educational schemes that had been under contemplation. Moreover, a large number of temporary—and comparatively much better-paid—war-time jobs, active as well as clerical, became available and they attracted men from all professions, including the teaching profession, which was, perhaps, the lowest paid of all. Thus it became increasingly difficult even to staff primary and secondary schools. The Provincial Governments, established under Section 93 of the Government of India Act, were preoccupied with the war effort; they had neither the will nor the imagination to attend to the educational problems, and consequently they stopped all expansion.

But there was an increasing and widespread realisation that this war would profoundly alter the shape of things and it would be necessary to adjust education to the new circumstances. It was felt that time had come to plan, boldly and imaginatively, for the reconstruction of education along new lines which would be in harmony with the socio-economic situation in the country as well as the new national ideology. While a great deal of discussion and debating had been going on in conferences and in the educational publications for many years, there was an air of unreality about it because ideas of reform did not impinge on the actual educational practice. A new and decisive lead was given, in this, as in many other fields, by Mahatma Gandhi, who convened in 1937 a conference of nationalist workers in the field of education and invited them to examine, with fresh and unclouded eyes, the entire educational situation and reforge its links with life. This conference and the committee that was subsequently appointed by him under the distinguished chairmanship of Dr. Zakir Husain, have largely determined the direction of educational thought about mass education and they resulted in the formulation of the Scheme of Basic National Education. This general desire for educational reform was further canalised and given official countenance through the efforts of Sir John Sargent, then Educational Adviser of the Government of India, who was the first official to realise clearly the need to visualise and face the tremendous educational problem of India as a whole. With the help of the Central Advisory Board of Education, he prepared a plan for Post-war Educational Development in India—popularly known as the Sargent Scheme—which attempted to place the whole educational picture—from the nursery school to the university and the technological institute—with its financial and administrative implications, before the Government and the people. These two schemes—the Basic Scheme which deals with education at the mass level, and the Post-war Plan which covers the whole field of education—are epoch-making in the history of Indian education, and it would, therefore, be useful to summarise briefly their main features and recommendations. To appreciate their far-reaching significance and implications, it is necessary to bear in mind the background of the existing situation, which has been described in the preceding volumes of this YEAR BOOK. Without a knowledge of that background, these proposals, which are really revolutionary, may appear rather tame if compared with what is being done in some educationally advanced countries.

Basic Education

Stated in bald outline, the scheme of Basic National Education formulates the following proposals:

(1) Free, universal, and compulsory education should be provided for all boys and girls between the ages of 7 and 14.

(Remember that proposals for compulsion had been derided in the past as impracticable "for the present." Mahatma Gandhi's insistence was precisely on the "here and now." Remember also that the existing primary schools usually provided only three or four years' schooling for most of the children!)

(2) This education should be imparted in the mother tongue of the child and English should not be taught at this stage.

(Remember that, even to-day, there are many schools, including the primary schools, which start teaching English and through English from the very first class!)

(3) All education should centre round some basic craft chosen with due regard to the capacity of the children and the needs of the locality. The committee suggested spinning and weaving, card-board and wood work, kitchen gardening and agriculture as obviously suitable crafts.

(This proposal to make productive work rather than the book the centre of education is a bold and radical departure from the traditional view of education, which was academic, theoretical, and book-ridden.)

(4) The selected craft should be so taught and practised that it will make children into good craftsmen and enable them to produce articles which can be used and which may be sold to meet part of the expenditure on the school.

(There was considerable difference of opinion on this last point, some holding such an approach to be undesirable, others as impracticable. Note, however, the difference of emphasis that the suggestion implies: what is postulated is not just a little handwork by way of a hobby or a diversion but real work providing genuine educative experience. One of the finest statements about the real significance of "work" in education that I have come across anywhere occurs in an address given by Dr. Zakir Husain at the Basic Education Conference in Delhi in 1940, and I cannot do better than quote a few sentences from it (in translation) in order to bring out its characteristics adequately.

> All work is not educative. It is educative only when it is preceded by mental effort. . . . You have first to plan the work in your mind, then to think out ways and means of doing it, then to perform it actually and finally to assess the results and compare them with the guiding plan. . . . But even when all these four steps have been gone through, it does not follow that work would prove educative. It would certainly give some *skill*, mental or manual, but skill by itself is *not* education. . . . Only that work is genuinely educative which serves some value, higher than our selfish ends, and to which we are devoted. He who works for his own ends may become skilled; he does not become educated. In the service of values, man does not seek his own enjoyment but strives to achieve perfection in his work, to improve his character and to become a real human being. . . . This educative quality can be found in handwork as well as in mental work—and both can be devoid of it! The real "school of work"

trains children to think before they take up an activity and to test and assess results when it has been completed so that they acquire the habit of doing their very best whether engaged in manual or mental work. Let those who wish to make work the medium of education remember that work is not purposeless, that it is not content with *any* results that may follow. Work does not mean the passing of time by doing any haphazard things, it is not amusement; it is not play; it is work, it is purposeful striving. Work sits in judgement on itself with the strictness of an enemy and when it passes the test, it yields joy, unparalleled and unsurpassed. Work is worship.

In this linking up of work with the service of great values is one important contribution that India can make to educational ideology, and it offers a valuable corrective, and a criterion, for judging the significance of a great deal of " work " which is being carried on in many activity schools and project schools all over the world.)

(5) This craft was not to be taught mechanically, but its "why and wherefore," its social and scientific implications, were to be studied side by side.

(This was meant to provide for fruitful interaction between manual work and mental work.)

(6) In this craft-centred education all the subjects to be taught were to be integrally related to the selected craft or the child's physical and social environment. Any subject-matter which could not be related intelligently to one or the other of these three centres was likely to be either unrelated to the child's genuine needs or not important enough and could, therefore, be deleted without any harm.

(Does it not provide a new and refreshingly unconventional criterion for the selection and exclusion of subject-matter, which has been generally governed by purely arbitrary considerations?)

This fresh approach to the educational problem opens a new chapter in Indian educational history. A careful study of the scheme and its ideology and objectives, as discussed in the Zakir Husain Committee Report, brings out certain points of general interest which will repay perusal, because they show the relationship of educational reorganisation to the wider problem of social reconstruction. Thus, for instance, it is obvious that the success of such a scheme is bound up with, in fact it imperatively demands, a far-reaching social, political, and economic reconstruction of the country. That is so, not only because an educational venture of this magnitude cannot possibly be put through without increasing enormously the wealth of the country through industrialisation and a more effective utilisation of its natural resources, but also because once education of this kind has been provided for this great mass of people they cannot be kept in poverty and ill health or exploited by vested interests. They will demand, and get, their legitimate economic, social, and cultural rights, and thus "education will prove a long-range investment, paying its dividends in the

shape of happier, healthier, and more enlightened men and women."[1]

Again, the scheme makes a conscious attempt to link up education with the socio-political realities of life. It envisages the school not as a training-ground for certain services and professions meant for a small section of the urban population, but as an agency for the practical and social education of hundreds of millions of the rural population in whose life the central and significant factor is work, which is made the centre and medium of education, thus breaking down the artificial walls dividing the school from life.

It is inspired in its ideology as well as its methods and contents by a certain vision of society based on co-operation, truth, non-violence, and social equality. Mahatma Gandhi was emphatic in the view that this Basic Education was not to be regarded as just a new technique of teaching, but as a way of life which tried to realise certain values held as supreme. It is too early to assess how far Basic Schools have, in practice, succeeded in achieving these objectives, but there is no doubt that, during its early stages when the attitude has often been experimental and the number of schools limited, these objectives have determined to a noticeable extent the pattern of work and activities in Basic Schools.

Post-war Educational Development Plan

The Post-war Educational Development Plan, which has been approved by the Government of India in principle, is slowly—to my mind, too slowly—shaping the educational policies and programmes in the various provinces. An idea of the magnitude of the problem which it sets out to solve may be gathered from the following figures, which cover both India and Pakistan, which formed, at the time, one political unit:

(1) Provision of universal, free, and compulsory education for over fifty million children between the ages of 6 and 14.

(2) Provision of pre-primary education for one million children between the ages of 3 and 6.

(3) Provision of a diversified system of secondary education for over 7 million children.

(4) Provision of adult education for over ninety million illiterate adults.

(5) Provision of university education for about 250,000 students.

(6) Provision of commercial, technical, and art education for 75,000 students.

The Report makes proposals as to how and in what stages this stupendous undertaking is to be carried out and how the many other relevant problems are to be tackled, e.g. the training of teachers and their conditions of service, provision of recreational facilities for youth, vocational guidance, school health service, edu-

[1] Saiyidain in his Introduction to *Post-war Education in India* (Padma Publications).

cation of defective children, the setting up of an adequate administrative machinery, etc. The whole scheme is proposed to be implemented in eight stages of five years each, i.e. in forty years. Its approximate financial implications have also been worked out, showing that in the first five years—which will be years of planning and training of teachers—the increase over the present budget will be about 10 crores of rupees (i.e. about seven and a half million pounds), and towards the end of the period the increased cost will be of the order of 300 crores (i.e. about £225 million). It is necessary to bear in mind that the present expenditure on education from public funds is about £20 million only! The Report recommends that education should be given top priority and the increased expenditure should be met, for the present, from available surplus revenues and out of loans raised specifically for this purpose and, eventually, by increasing the total national wealth through the scientific development of agriculture and industries.

What is the wider significance of this scheme? It is the first comprehensive scheme of national education; it does not start with the assumption, implicit in all previous Government schemes, that India was destined to occupy a position of educational inferiority in the comity of nations; it is based on the conviction that what other countries have achieved in the field of education is well within the competence of this country. The mere formulation of such a scheme ensures that no other scheme which proposes any half-hearted, piecemeal changes or merely tinkers with the idea of expansion can ever be seriously entertained.

Secondly, it is inspired by the desire to provide equality of opportunity at different stages of education. At the primary stage it envisages not merely the provision of free schooling but also of other facilities without which the poorer children cannot fully avail themselves of the educational opportunities—midday meal, books, scholarships, medical inspection and treatment. At higher stages, free places and scholarships are proposed for all bright and deserving students. This is by no means that full measure of educational equality which an enlightened sense of social justice demands, but it is certainly a welcome step forward towards that goal and would be a great improvement on the existing situation.

Thirdly, it stresses in clear terms the importance of the teaching profession and makes proposals for increasing its miserable standard of salaries and poor conditions of service. It lays down a minimum national scale of salaries, and provides for its adjustment in accordance with the rise in the cost of living. This national scale has already been accepted and given effect to in many Provinces (with certain modifications, not always favourable to teachers), but it has not had as bracing and stimulating an effect on the profession as was expected—because the rise in prices has been quicker and steeper than the rise in salaries!

The war has had another far-reaching reaction on the national mind—it has quickened the tempo of change to a remarkable degree. When the scheme was first published, many persons expressed doubts about the feasibility of putting it through in forty years. To-day there is growing criticism of the fact that the scheme will take too long and people are not prepared to wait till the end of the century to achieve a degree of educational advance which many Western countries possess to-day and find entirely inadequate! The Education Minister of the Government of India, Maulana Azad, has himself given expression to this feeling recently, and the Central and Provincial Governments are considering how the pace can be greatly accelerated, and problems like that of Adult Education tackled within five to ten years. Similarly, Provinces are going ahead with their schemes of compulsory primary education as fast as their resources permit and, though the actual implementation is slow, necessary legislation has been passed in Bombay, Bihar, Madras, and United Provinces. The reconstruction of secondary and higher education has been even slower, because the incidence of emphasis has been on primary education. Recently, however, a committee was appointed which has surveyed the problems of secondary education, and a Universities Commission is to be appointed shortly to examine the place of the universities in national life and to suggest how they should be reorganised so as to contribute dynamically to its all-round development and enrichment. It is also a significant fact that these measures are being taken by the Central Government (with the co-operation and concurrence of Provincial Governments, of course), although, technically, education is a "transferred" Provincial subject. This shows a growing realisation of the fact that the larger problems of policy and programme have to be dealt with on an all-India basis, and it is the duty of the Central Government both to assume educational leadership and to provide financial assistance.

Industrial Development and Technical Training

As an indirect result of the war, with which we have to reckon, a new impetus has been given to industrial development and technical training. In the pre-war years, India's industrial development was always guided by, and its pace controlled with reference to, the dominant needs of the British industry. But in the stress and urgency of war, all countries had to be mobilised for the maximum production possible and, as a consequence, Indian industry expanded considerably. Moreover, technical training at different levels—from mechanics and masons to aeronautical engineering—was made available to thousands of Indian youths. This has naturally had its repercussion on the educational system and there is a steadily increasing demand for scientific and technical education

up to the highest standard and for adjusting the educational system accordingly. This demand has been met in two ways. During the last few years, the Central as well as Provincial Governments have been sending several hundred scholars abroad every year—mainly to Great Britain and America—to receive technical education in the different fields in which their services are likely to be required for industrial development in the country. Secondly, the Government has decided to open four higher technological institutes on the lines and of the standard of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, so that India may not have to depend on foreign countries indefinitely for the training of her higher technical personnel. It is only the unusual stress of political complications and preoccupations which has so far held up their actual establishment.

Ex-servicemen and Refugees

The war has precipitated—in India as in other countries—another grave psychological and administrative problem: the return of the demobilised soldiers to civil life. It gave a new and broader experience and outlook to tens of thousands of persons, and through it they had their first taste of a higher standard of living. When they were demobilised, the question of their rehabilitation and training for civic life, where conditions have become much more exacting and difficult, assumed great urgency, and the Education, as well as other, Departments have been trying—with limited success—to readjust them to it. But that is only one side of the picture. Their active participation in actual modern warfare, their training in the "art of killing," their personal experience of the horrible destruction of life and property which war entails—all these have tended to undermine (here as elsewhere) that innate reverence for life which feels revolted at injuring even one human being. There is always after every war—as a sort of nemesis—an increased disrespect for law and disregard of civilised values. But after the last war of total destruction, in which the atom bomb figured as an unholy climax, this tendency raised its ugly head higher than ever. Under normal conditions, the civil authorities and the good sense of the established order are able to curb such tendencies. In India, the war was unfortunately followed by political disturbances of unprecedented magnitude and, as an aftermath of partition, it developed into a sort of brutal "civil war." Under such circumstances lawless elements always come to the surface, and I have no doubt that, in the blood-bath which attended the birth of India's freedom, such elements, stimulated and exploited by vested interests on both sides of the border, played their unsavoury part.

Closely connected with it is the problem of the refugees—numbering several millions in India and Pakistan—whose trials and

sufferings have created a very poignant social and psychological situation. Caught up in the whirl of forces which they can neither understand nor control, they find themselves uprooted not only from their hearths and homes but also from the ideals, values, and traditions which they had cherished, consciously or unconsciously, for ages. In the vicious circle of reprisals and counter-reprisals which developed, particularly in the East and West Punjab, many—*not* all, thank God—have lost their moral anchor, and the problem of rehabilitation is not just physical or material but also moral and psychological. So far Governments have been so overwhelmed by the sheer magnitude of the task of feeding and housing them that the deeper problem has not received adequate attention—except, of course, at the hands of Mahatma Gandhi, for whom the moral issue invariably took precedence over all other issues and who courted a noble martyrdom in the cause of humanism and inter-communal harmony, fighting valiantly and non-violently against the forces of reaction and fanaticism which might have otherwise created not only a political but a moral chaos.

Thus it will be seen that the main problem in Gandhi's India to-day, in the political as well as the educational field, is to strengthen the sense of social solidarity, to inculcate the spirit of communal harmony, and to arrest all those tendencies which threatened to disrupt her sorely needed unity—unity without which it is impossible to undertake successfully the great tasks of national reconstruction. There is at present a clash in India between genuine nationalism, which seeks to build a democratic, secular, just, and equalitarian social order, and the narrow communal outlook which is dominated by ideas of revivalism, exclusiveness, and the domination of the minorities by the majority. The situation is paralleled by a similar, though less sharply defined, clash in Pakistan, where the minority communities are much smaller, and the two have been acting and reacting on each other in a harmful manner. Luckily, however, the forces of reaction and obscurantism have not been having it all their own way and, thanks to the epic performance of Mahatma Gandhi, the tide has been rolled back. Many of India's topmost leaders have assessed the situation in a clear-eyed manner and are determined not to allow the heritage of India's cultural tradition and the humanism of Mahatma Gandhi to be jeopardised. They are trying hard to grapple with this issue and, though it is difficult to wipe out quickly the cumulative results of circumstances dating back more than a hundred years, the rising fury has been checked and there is a slow return to sanity and reason. It is, however, obvious that if we are to bring about lasting peace and security and reassert our devotion to civilised values it will be necessary to use all the resources of education and the mass media of propaganda for this purpose. There are already certain proposals under way in this

connection—the syllabus of basic schools has been considerably modified, co-operative and social activities are being increasingly introduced, communalism in schools is being resolutely rooted out, and even the films and the radio are showing better social consciousness. I have, personally, no doubt that this ideology will eventually prevail even though it may have an uphill fight for some years to come.

Education for Democratic Citizenship

The Communal problem as such is, however, only a part of the wider problem of training the people for democratic citizenship. Democracy in its political sense is new to modern India. Under any circumstances, it is the most exacting form of government, in view of the responsibilities that it entails on all citizens, and it is peculiarly difficult in its early stages. We have also to remember that democracy and widespread illiteracy and ignorance (such as we find in India) do not make good companions. Yet another complicating factor in the Indian situation is the existence of "Plural communities," with all their advantages and disadvantages. It has not the uniformity of race or language or religion which characterises some other countries and reduces the possibility of internal tension and conflicts. Within its boundaries many languages are spoken and many religions professed; its peoples belong to many different races and different levels of culture which constitute, on the one hand, its richness and create, on the other, its many complications. In this matter, India is a microcosm of the whole world, and the problem of both is to create unity in diversity. In conformity with her genius India must strive towards an ever-increasing unity and fellowship without sacrificing the individuality and the diversity of her groups.

The attainment of this aim, difficult enough in any case, is rendered far more difficult at present because the recent communal conflict has cast its sombre shadow in many directions and it has given a handle to those who are intolerant or totalitarian in their cultural outlook. By way of illustration let us take the question of the multiplicity of languages. It is obviously the part both of statesmanship and of cultural tolerance to allow full freedom to all languages to develop naturally and not let extraneous considerations hinder their growth. Yet there is a school of thought which looks askance upon Urdu, one of the richest and most polished languages in the country, because of its close association with the Muslims! Similarly there is a school of thought in Pakistan which is reluctant to grant Bengali, another rich and powerful language, the position which it deserves. The question of the adoption of a common national language has been similarly complicated by rather irrelevant considerations. Hindi, with its closer dependence on Sanskrit, is preferred by many groups as a *lingua franca* to Hin-

dustani, to which Hindi and Urdu have both contributed and which has drawn freely upon Sanskrit as well as Persian and Arabic sources. This tendency to " purism " in language is only one facet of the revivalist movement to which I have already referred, and which might hinder the growth of that abiding and genuine political unity which is strong enough to tolerate and encourage full cultural autonomy in its constituent groups. In some Provinces, like Madras and Bombay—if they are not split into smaller Provinces on a linguistic basis—there is obviously a case for establishing schools teaching through different languages. But care will have to be exercised that this does not result in the development of a narrow " regionalism," to the detriment of a broad-based and broadminded nationalism—a danger which is already visible on the horizon. From this point of view also, the adoption and the development of a suitable common language is urgently necessary, so as to bring people of different regions and provinces into understanding contact with one another. So long as services and professions as well as political activities were confined to a small section of the upper and middle classes, English formed an interprovincial link. But now that these opportunities are to be thrown open to all, English cannot possibly serve this purpose, and it is only a commonly accepted and well-developed language like Hindustani which can fill this rôle. English will always occupy a position of special importance amongst foreign languages, and serve both as a vehicle of higher studies and a means of international contact. But it cannot possibly continue to usurp the place which should belong by right to the most commonly spoken and understood Indian language.

It is against the background of all these complex facts that we have to tackle the problem of providing education for democratic citizenship, and this has to be done even before the liquidation of illiteracy has been completed, which may take many years. This is not, however, an impossible task and, with the help of the modern media of mass communication—the radio, the film, the theatre, and other visual aids—and a well-conceived and broad-based programme of " Social Education," it *is* a practicable proposition to raise the standard of knowledge, efficiency, and civic understanding of the masses. There is a growing realisation of this fact and attempts are being made by Government and private agencies to work out ambitious plans of social education. There are also many progressive schools where programmes are being worked out to train children in the ideals and practices of good citizenship. Thus if an approach is made on a mass scale both from the school end and the adult end, considerable success is likely to be achieved and the democratic experiment that is being worked out may not be endangered by demagogy and the machinations of vested interests.

International Awareness

The war has had one other important impact on the Indian mind: a keener realisation by it of the forces and movements operating in the international field and of the need for international co-operation and goodwill. It is a matter of some satisfaction, in this age of nationalism run amuck, that even in its most militant days Indian nationalism never ran counter to, or ignored, internationalism and, thanks to the vision of her great leaders of thought and action, like Tagore and Iqbal, Gandhi and Nehru, the Indian people as a whole have been firmly devoted to the cause of internationalism and peace and have disassociated themselves emphatically from all movements which tended to disrupt international law and order. Her most serious political clash, in the international field, was with Great Britain, which had so long dominated her as conquered territory. But now that wiser counsels have prevailed and India has become free, there is a greater measure of goodwill towards Britain than there has ever been in the past.

The direct credit for giving this orientation to the national movement and for making India international-minded should go largely to Jawaharlal Nehru, who never lost his true world-perspective in the welter of national politics and who always insisted that we must place all our national problems in their proper international context. But, obviously, in these days of acute international tension and the crafty games of power politics, mere passive goodwill is not enough. It is necessary to create an active mentality for peace and world order which will definitely bias national policy in that direction. It cannot be claimed that much direct instructional work is being done in schools and colleges in this connection, but a new orientation has been recently given to school syllabuses (particularly in social studies) in many Provinces and, in spite of occasional disillusionments, there is increating interest in the activities of organisations like UNO, UNESCO, FAO, and WHO, and if these organisations play their part properly and use their educative and propaganda devices effectively, India will be found willingly co-operative in their work.

The Changing Pattern of Indian Education

This brief survey of certain important educational problems of the Indian Union high-lights only a few of the crucial issues which are engaging the attention of educationists. There are many other connected problems which have not been touched upon, nor has it been considered necessary to describe the existing educational system. For this system is in a state of flux and it is likely that within the next few years its pattern will be profoundly modified by the stress of forces, to some of which I have referred. There is a new awareness of the dynamic relationship between

education and the realities of the socio-economic situation. This was visualised and voiced, with directness and simplicity, by Mahatma Gandhi, and Indian educationists are busy to-day breaking down the isolation in which the school had entrenched itself, aloof from (and indifferent to) the pulsating currents of life. This accounts for the projected reconstruction of primary and secondary education, for the launching of social education plans, and for the encouragement of technical education, etc. On the other hand, there is the new political situation created by the attainment of freedom and the establishment of a democratic State which postulates an equality of opportunity in the educational field and demands an ideological reorientation which will help to educate children into democratic, co-operative, peaceful, and socially alert citizens. Both these tendencies are responsible for the proposed expansion as well as the qualitative reconstruction of education. Indian freedom is barely a year old, and this year has been one of constant anxiety and strain. It is, therefore, no wonder that much of educational reform is in the stage of "proposals." But there is a noticeable and growing impatience with the time-lag between planning and execution, and there is reason to hope that, with the return of normal conditions, Government will address itself resolutely to the building up of a spacious and progressive educational system, which is essential for the success of democracy and forms the only bulwark against forces of reaction and disruption.

K. G. Saiyidain.

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CHAPTER THREE

PAKISTAN

ISLAM AS A BASIS FOR UNITY

NEW States are not born out of a vacuum. Even when their birth is preceded by a violent, destructive revolution, as in the case of Soviet Russia, they seldom start with a *tabula rasa* on which to inscribe the desired pattern of their existence. They inherit a legacy from the past which, however burdensome and valueless, cannot be repudiated and flung aside all at once.

The legacy which Pakistan has inherited on the extinction of British rule in India is, like the curate's egg, good in parts only, and it will be the task of its statesmen to preserve and foster what is good and to throw away what is bad in strict conformity with its professed ideal of a modern Islamic State based on democratic principles.

The existing educational structure of Pakistan is the same as of India and consists of the following three stages—primary, secondary, and university. In fundamentals it has changed but little since 1854 when Sir Charles Wood, in his memorable dispatch, outlined the new educational policy for India which emphasised the importance of primary education and declared the Government's determination "to combat the ignorance of the people which may be considered the greatest curse of the country." The curse still remains even after the lapse of nearly a century, and its proportions are as formidable as ever. Over 85 per cent. of the total population of the pre-partition India were illiterate. In the case of Pakistan the percentage is bound to be somewhat higher, as it comprises some of the most educationally backward areas.

The tables at the end of the article give statistical data relating to the number of the various types of educational institutions in Pakistan and the number of scholars studying in them. These figures relate to the year 1944–5, before the partition of the Punjab and Bengal. It may be assumed that 60 per cent. of the institutions in these provinces have fallen to the share of Pakistan. Disturbances in the Punjab and the consequent large-scale migration of population between the two Dominions have greatly confused the position. When conditions return to normal, a fresh survey will have to be undertaken to compile up-to-date educational statistics.

The entire system of education is based on the assumption that all who join the primary schools will, regardless of their aptitudes

and abilities, ultimately proceed to the universities. From this assumption have ensued some of its stark evils—its top-heaviness, its over-literary bias, its preoccupation with examinations and "marketable" qualifications, its enormous wastage at various stages, its dullness and lack of diversity, and above all its remoteness from the vital issues of life.

Thoughtful minds were profoundly disturbed by the presence of these evils, and during the interval between the two wars there poured forth from universities and public platforms a spate of criticism which plainly demonstrated that the system had become so outmoded that nothing short of a radical reconstruction was required. A significant lead was given by Mr. Gandhi who, in the columns of his weekly journal, *Harijan*, set forth his ideas on education which, in 1937, under the guidance of Dr. Zakir Husain, were formulated into what is known as the Wardha Scheme of Education. The outstanding features of the scheme were its emphasis on education through craft and manual (i.e. productive) activity, and the provision of an integrated seven-year course of education from the age of 7 to 14, which should be made self-supporting mainly through the production of saleable articles. The Central Advisory Board of Education of the Government of India also earnestly tackled the various problems of education through a number of committees, and in 1944 produced its report on Post-War Educational Development in India which is popularly known as the Sargent Plan, after Sir John Sargent, Educational Adviser to the Government of India. This report has been aptly described as the blue-print of India's education, for it embodies the first concerted effort to plan for a national system of education, suited to the requirements of a country aspiring to be a full-fledged, progressive democracy. While it is outside the purview of this article to discuss the plan in detail, it will not be amiss to indicate the main lines of development suggested in it, for they have as much relevance to Pakistan as to India. They are:

(1) Adequate provision of pre-primary instruction in the form of nursery schools.

(2) Introduction of a system of universal compulsory and free education for all boys and girls between the ages of 7 and 14.

(3) Provision of a six-year high school course and the adoption of the selective principle in the matter of admission.

(4) Division of high schools into two types: (*a*) academic, and (*b*) technical.

(5) Revision of conditions of admission to universities, with the object of ensuring that all students are capable of taking full advantage of a university course.

(6) Provision of a three-year university degree course.

(7) Establishment of an efficient system of technical education at all stages.

(8) All-out drive for the liquidation of illiteracy.

(9) Establishment of new schools and colleges for the training of teachers and improvement of their emoluments.

It was hoped that soon after the end of the war, the Government would embark upon an extensive programme of development in which education would receive a high priority. But before the various post-war development schemes could be finalised and co-ordinated into an over-all plan, constitutional discussions between His Majesty's Government and India began and, after several dramatic vicissitudes, culminated in the establishment of two separate Dominions of Pakistan and India.

No sooner was Pakistan born than it was overwhelmed by a tragedy of unparalleled magnitude. Large parts of the two Dominions were convulsed with disturbances resulting in destruction of life and property on a vast scale. The sudden uprooting of millions of men, women, and children, and their consequent migration to either Dominion, confronted the Government of Pakistan with problems of bewildering complexity. All its energies and resources were, and are still, directed towards the speedy resettlement and rehabilitation of refugees. In the sphere of education the impact of these disorders was also severe. Immediate arrangements had to be made to enable refugee boys and girls to resume their studies in existing institutions. The Central Government of Pakistan opened within the short period of one and a half months a number of schools in Karachi to accommodate nearly 5,000 children of its employees, while the three universities of Pakistan—West Punjab, Dacca, and Sind—offered generous concessions to refugee students and suspended some of their regulations to absorb them in colleges under their jurisdiction. The Government of West Punjab, which had to bear the main brunt of the problem, immediately took over institutions vacated by non-Muslims for the benefit of refugee Muslim teachers and students, in the same way as Muslim institutions in East Punjab were taken over for the use of non-Muslim refugees. Life in the Punjab, which prior to its partition was educationally one of the most progressive provinces, has been so severely dislocated that it will be some time before its educational institutions resume their normal functioning.

All-engrossing as the refugee problem is, it has not been allowed to overshadow the need for long-term planning. With commendable promptitude the Pakistan Minister for Education convened, towards the end of November 1947, an educational conference which was attended by the Provincial and States Education Ministers, Vice-Chancellors of Universities, Directors of Public Instruction and other eminent educationists, including women and representatives of minority communities. The object of the Conference was not so much to formulate a plan of educational

development, which the Sargent Plan rendered unnecessary, as to assist the Government in evolving a comprehensive policy and determining a plan of action appropriate to the special requirements of Pakistan. The agenda of the Conference covered a wide variety of problems, some of them of a fundamental nature. These included the determining of an ideological basis of education, the liquidation of mass illiteracy, the provision of free compulsory primary education, the reorganisation of school and university education, the development of technical education and facilities for scientific and industrial research, the adoption of a medium or media of instruction and a *lingua franca* for inter-provincial communication, and the promotion of cultural contacts with foreign countries. In view of their comparative backwardness due to a variety of causes—mainly social—the education of women received special attention.

The *raison d'être* of Pakistan is the passionate urgeamong the Muslims to have the freedom to live their lives in accordance with their own traditions. These traditions bear the unmistakable impress of Islam, which its followers regard not as a set of dogmas and ritual but as a positive philosophy of life, pervading all aspects of human activity. It is, therefore, natural that so fundamental an activity as education should be inspired by the spirit of religion. The fundamental weakness of the Sargent Plan, in the eyes of its Muslim critics, was that it ignored the spiritual element of education, especially when the basic aim of education was acknowledged to be the formation of character and the sustenance of the spiritual and material needs of the community. The policy of strict religious neutrality adopted by the British and the consequent emphasis on the provision of a purely secular education is understandable and can be justified on grounds of expediency, but the practical effect of this policy was that it defeated the very end of education and impoverished the moral fibre of society. The reluctance of the Sargent Plan to base on a religious foundation what purported to be a national system of education was all the more surprising when even the West, which had clung so long and so tenaciously to scientific materialism, was insisting on incorporating Christian morality into the fabric of education and the acceptance of religion as a safeguard against the increasing barbarism of modern times. It is the neglect of spiritual values which to-day is threatening the disintegration of human civilisation. The answer to the challenge of the atomic bomb is not *more* but less secularisation of education. If education is to train men for democracy, it must have a sound ideological basis conducive to the growth and practice of democratic virtues such as fellow-feeling, tolerance, social justice, charity, protection, and succour of the weak and the oppressed. These virtues are not the monopoly of Islam, but they are of cardinal importance in its moral code,

Accordingly, the Pakistan Educational Conference unanimously resolved that the educational system in Pakistan should be inspired by Islamic ideology, emphasising among many of its characteristics those of universal brotherhood, tolerance, and justice. The most heartening feature of the discussion at the Conference was the enthusiastic support which so distinguished a representative of Christianity as the Rt. Rev. G. D. Barne, Bishop of Lahore, and other leaders of minority communities, gave to the resolution. They were equally enthusiastic in their support of a subsidiary resolution which provided for compulsory religious instruction for Muslim students in schools and the granting of similar facilities to other communities in respect of their religions should they so desire.

The general educational backwardness of Pakistan has been briefly touched upon. The present rate of progress in elementary education is so painfully slow that unless the State resorts to compulsion and assumes direct responsibility for this basic national service, Pakistan will never be able to achieve universal education. The cost of providing compulsory free elementary education on a nation-wide scale may well prove beyond the resources of the richest State, and Pakistan, with its predominantly agricultural economy, is assuredly not a rich State. But education is a fundamental civic and human right, and no State can withhold it from its citizens without endangering the health of the body-politic. The Pakistan Educational Conference, while fully endorsing the need for a system of universal, free, and compulsory education, realised the prohibitive nature of the expenditure involved, and accordingly recommended to the Provincial Governments the levying of a special tax for the purpose.

Allied to the problem of universal elementary education is the problem of mass illiteracy. The presence in a State of large numbers of illiterate, unenlightened men and women is incompatible with its profession of a democratic faith. They act as a drag on national progress and are a potential menace to the country's peace and security. India has lately awakened to the need for obliterating the blot of illiteracy but, welcome as this belated awakening is, attempts hitherto made have been sporadic, haphazard, and even half-hearted. What is required in Pakistan is a crusading zeal in which the State, the universities, and the intelligentsia must co-operate with singleness of purpose. Reliance on private voluntary effort is necessary, but it is not enough. Initiative and direction must come from the Government. The existing dimensions of the problem are frightening, for, apart from that bugbear of all Governments—finance—there are several other difficulties to contend with, such as poor communications and the consequent isolation of rural communities in small pockets, dearth of trained teachers, suitable literature, buildings, and other equip-

ment. But as the experience of Russia, Turkey, and other progressive countries has shown, given determination and dynamic leadership, difficulties can be surmounted.

There has been for a considerable time an insistent demand for a radical reorganisation of the present system in schools and colleges so as to enable students, on the completion of their secondary education, to be diverted to occupations or to separate vocational institutions. This, it was considered, would relieve unemployment, reduce congestion in colleges, and help universities to raise their standards of admission. The excessive preoccupation of the universities with the Matriculation Examination left them with little time to devote themselves to their legitimate functions, such as the maintenance of high intellectual standards and the advancement of learning through original research. There was some justice in the popular stricture that universities were little better than sausage machines which year after year turned out graduates whose marketable value decreased in proportion to the increase in their numbers. For as long as there were enough Government jobs available in the country—and it must be remembered that in an industrially backward country like India, Government is the largest employer—university education served its limited purpose well by producing a steady stream of "quill-drivers." But when once the saturation-point was reached, India came to face the grim reality of unemployment among the educated, which hit the middle classes hardest, for it is they who took so avidly to education as a passport to Government service. The problem became so grave that in 1934 the Government of the United Provinces appointed an Unemployment Committee, under the chairmanship of Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, to investigate the causes of unemployment among educated young men and to suggest remedial measures. It was quite a common experience in the 'thirties to find young graduates in hundreds wandering disconsolately in search of jobs whose remuneration was as low as Rs. 30 per mensem. Ironically enough, it was the last war which provided a solution, albeit temporary, of the problem by absorbing educated and semi-educated young men in thousands in the various branches of the expanded Defence Services and the vast proliferation of Government offices. The problem is bound to raise its ugly head again, and its permanent solution lies partly along the lines of reorganisation suggested in the Sargent Plan and partly in the rapid industrialisation of both Pakistan and India. Meanwhile, the Government of Pakistan, on the recommendations of the Education Conference, is establishing a Central Advisory Board of Education and the Inter-University Board, which will devote themselves to the various problems of educational reorganisation.

Technical education has been the Cinderella of India's education. To its long neglect are due the industrial backwardness of India

and Pakistan, the primitive state of their agriculture, their helpless dependence on foreign countries for technical personnel as well as machinery, and their pitifully low standard of living. In the absence of any large-scale industrialisation, the growth of technical institutions in India was slow and halting, and far from forming an integral part of the general system of education they were completely outside it. Engineering colleges, for instance, were set up in certain provinces to cater for the needs of the Public Works Departments and are under the administrative control, not of the Provincial Education Ministries, but of the Ministries of Public Works. Other institutions, such as the Indian Institute of Science, owed their existence to private munificence, and it is only in recent years that some Indian universities have established departments of applied chemistry or chemical technology. But, taken by and large, these institutions are grossly inadequate and constitute a parody of the industrial requirements of a country of the size and economic resources of India. Time and again in the wake of the general criticism of the Government's policy of masterly inactivity in regard to industrial development, the need for diversifying the content of education and making adequate provision for technical education was emphasised, but in the end it all came to so much sound and fury signifying nothing. In 1936 the Government of India invited from England two experts—Messrs. Abbott and Wood—to advise on certain problems of educational reorganisation, particularly on problems of vocational education. In the Report on Vocational Education (1937) they recommended the much-needed bifurcation of secondary and high schools into academic and vocational schools, and dealt comprehensively with the scope, content, and duration of courses which should be provided in the different types of technical or vocational institutions. Save for the establishment of a polytechnic in Delhi, little action was taken on their recommendations. Meanwhile the storm-clouds that had been gathering thick and fast on the political horizon of Europe burst, and in 1939 India found herself at war with the Axis powers.

It was during the war that the industrial weakness of India was felt most keenly, especially in relation to the urgent requirements of the Defence Services and industries engaged on war production. In 1943 the Government of India in the Labour Department initiated the Technical Training Scheme, under which a large number of training centres were set up through the country, and, with the help of British specialist instructors, trainees were given a short intensive course of training in a number of engineering and building trades. By the end of the war over 100,000 technicians had been supplied to the Defence Services. The Technical Training Scheme was, however, a purely emergency measure, and it was realised that persons trained under it would need reconditioning to fit them for employment in civil industry.

Pakistan, like India, is rich in raw materials and other natural resources which need to be scientifically exploited under a rational, well co-ordinated plan of economic development embracing agriculture and industry. In such a plan the first place in the order of priorities must inevitably be accorded to the training of scientific and technical personnel. As a result of partition Pakistan has been deprived of facilities for technical education at many first-rate technical institutions now located in India. Its first concern, therefore, is the immediate expansion in the scope of the few technical institutions it possesses, and the establishment of as many as may be required by its own needs. It is widely felt that in the initial stages it will have to depend on foreign countries for the training of its technical personnel. A goodly number of its nationals is already undergoing advanced scientific and technical training in the U.K. and the U.S.A. under the Overseas Scholarship Scheme which the late Government of India had started, but the scheme will need to be modified in the light of Pakistan's development plans. As a first step in this direction the Government of Pakistan has appointed a Scientific Man-power Committee, which is engaged in assessing the requirements of scientific and technical personnel in the Dominion. Its recommendations will undoubtedly provide a valuable basis for a planned programme of technical education which the Pakistan Education Minister is anxious to undertake soon. In this connection the Pakistan Educational Conference has recommended the establishment of a Council of Technical Education, whose objects will be:

(1) To advise the Government of Pakistan on matters relating to the advancement of technical education at all stages.

(2) To survey the existing facilities for technical education in Pakistan, especially in the higher stages.

(3) To prepare a comprehensive scheme for the reorganisation and development on modern lines of technical education in all its aspects suited to the economic needs of the country.

(4) To draw up a five-year-plan for the training in technical subjects of scholars at home and abroad.

The formation of the Council is now under the active consideration of the Government.

The Scientific Research and Technical Education Committee of the Educational Conference pointed out deficiencies in the following branches of technology and engineering, and urged the establishment of appropriate institutions—Mining Engineering, Petroleum Engineering, Marine Engineering, Chemical Engineering and Technology, Power Engineering, Aeronautics, Textile Technology, Geological Institute, and Fuel Technology.

Serious as are Pakistan's deficiencies in technical education, even more serious are its deficiencies in facilities for scientific and industrial research. Out of 87 research institutions which were

functioning in India in 1945, only six are located in Pakistan and these are not of a very high standard. One cannot help suspecting that in determining the location of these institutions, areas which were predominantly Muslim were deliberately ignored, otherwise the justification for the establishment since 1945 of five important research laboratories, of which not a single one is in Pakistan, is difficult to find. Even the universities of Pakistan, of which there are three against eighteen in the Indian Dominion, are neither staffed nor equipped adequately to undertake research on certain specific problems as is done by university laboratories in other countries.

The Pakistan Educational Conference took a grave view of the situation, and urged the Government to make every effort to promote (*a*) fundamental, and (*b*) scientific and industrial research in Pakistan. Fundamental research is to be organised and concentrated in universities and other educational institutions, which should receive adequate grants. The institution of research fellowships and scholarships, deputation of workers to foreign universities for specialised training in research, and appointment, if necessary, of eminent scientists from abroad to guide research are the additional measures suggested by the Conference.

As regards scientific and industrial research, the Conference recommended the establishment of a Council of Scientific and Industrial Research with the object of promoting, planning, financing, and supervising such research and ensuring that the economic resources of the country are utilised to the fullest possible extent.

TABLE I

NUMBER OF EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS (1944–45)

	N.W.F.P.	*Baluchistan*	*Sind*	*Punjab*	*Bengal*
1. Universities . . .	—	—		1	2
2. Arts and Science Degree Colleges :					
(i) for men .	5	—	4	35	41
(ii) for women	1	—	—	8	10
3. Intermediate Colleges :					
(i) for men .	—	1	—	9	23
(ii) for women .	—	—	—	—	4
4. Professional Colleges :					
(i) for men .	—	—	2	11	20
(ii) for women .	—	—	—	8	2
5. Engineering Colleges	—	—	1	1	1
6. High Schools :					
(i) for boys	47	—	63	445	1,492
(ii) for girls	6	—	21	70	126
7. Middle Schools :					
(*a*) English Middle Schools :					
(i) for boys .	30	9	133	185	2,243
(ii) for girls . .	10	4	9	23	257
(*b*) Vernacular Middle Schools :					
(i) for boys	194	7[1]	—	2,786	11
(ii) for girls	23	1[1]	—	234	2
8. Primary Schools :					
(i) for boys	733	98	2,235	6,230	33,572
(ii) for girls	168	9	384	2,270	5,990
9. Training Schools :					
(i) for men .	1	1	1	9	134
(ii) for women . .	1	—	6	16	10
10. Recognised Institutions :					
(i) for men .	1,010	115	2,518	9,853	41,978
(ii) for women . .	209	14	425	2,656	6,504
11. Unrecognised Institutions :					
(i) for men . .	74	—	564	3,634	1,387
(ii) for women . .	26	—	45	2,387	135

[1] Anglo-Vernacular Middle School.

TABLE II

AREA AND POPULATION

	N.W.F.P.	*Baluchistan*	*Sind*	*Punjab*	*Bengal*
Area in square miles	14,263	54,456	48,136	99,089	77,442
Population [1]:					
(i) males .	1,651,214	294,516	2,494,190	15,383,656	31,747,395
(ii) females .	1,386,853	207,115	2,040,818	13,035,163	28,559,130

[1] 1941 census.

TABLE III

Number of Students under Instruction in Recognised Institutions (1944–45)

	N.W.F.P.	*Baluchistan*	*Sind*	*Punjab*	*Bengal*
1. Research :					
(i) men	—	—	—	16	19
(ii) women	—	—	—	—	3
2. Post-graduate :					
(i) men	—	—	140	642	1,881
(ii) women	—	—	23	84	357
3. B.A. or B.Sc. Classes :					
(i) men	266	—	616	5,741	7,716
(ii) women	1	—	144	709	882
4. Intermediate Classes :					
(i) men	801	—	1,801	14,435	23,373
(ii) women	59	—	427	1,431	2,350
5. Professional Colleges :					
(i) men	103	—	227	2,215	7,147
(ii) women	61	—	5	822	128
6. Engineering Colleges	—	—	202	379	394
7. High School Stage :					
(i) boys	3,776	510	7,038	51,083	94,422
(ii) girls	259	77	1,955	3,382	4,239
8. Middle Stage :					
(i) boys	13,298	1,101	19,986	181,072	233,828
(ii) girls	2,106	299	5,394	23,041	15,524
9. Primary Stage :					
(i) boys	81,998	7,081	134,710	795,766	2,379,188
(ii) girls	21,022	1,879	52,329	191,555	678,580
10. Training Schools :					
(i) boys	103	25	209	864	3,714
(ii) girls	61	—	167	594	216
11. Total number of Scholars in Recognised Institutions :					
(i) males	100,290	8,717	167,142	1,141,112	3,015,231
(ii) females	23,508	2,255	60,945	253,528	745,344
12. Total number of Scholars in Unrecognised Institutions :					
(i) males	2,166	—	6,743	79,668	57,170
(ii) females	741	—	2,300	61,210	12,137

M. A. Latif.

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SECTION IX

SOUTH-EAST ASIA

Introduction

SOUTH-EAST ASIA appears to have been designed to make communication and travel between its various parts easy. Most of its land mass lies within two hundred miles of the coast, while the rest consists of a multitude of islands—the Philippines alone number over seven thousand—stretched from west to east in a great arc three thousand miles in length. The whole area lies within the tropics, the land is fertile and well watered, the rich crops are easily raised even by simple methods. Small-scale and often rather primitive cultivation is usual, though plantations of rubber and sugar have become very important. Modern technology has made little impression so far, but primary industries are being developed. The timber trade is a source of wealth in Burma, Siam, and Indo-China; tin ore is mined and smelted in Malaya, with the help of Chinese labour; gold, chromium, copper, manganese are obtained from the Philippines; petroleum-mining and refining play a great role in the economy of Burma and the East Indies.

The area was occupied by the Japanese for three and a half years and in many countries there has been fighting since then, varying in intensity from sporadic outbreaks of terrorism to full-scale war. Material damage was heavy in Burma and in the Philippines, elsewhere comparatively light, though wrecked bridges and devastated villages are seen far too often. These disturbances are a serious set-back and have slowed up industrial development, thereby diminishing the capacity of the countries concerned to establish and to maintain adequate educational systems.

The various countries of South-East Asia are at different stages of political evolution. Siam has always been independent; Burma and the Philippines have recently attained independence; Indo-China and the East Indies will presumably attain it, though retaining rather close association with France and the Netherlands. In each of these countries the spirit of nationalism is strong, especially among the educated classes and the town-dwellers, though in each there are backward tribes still living and thinking much as in past centuries.

The ease of travel between the various parts of the peninsula and the islands, as well as from all of them to India and China, is reflected in the composition of the population. It is seen, too, in the cultural pattern: visitors from India, in particular, are constantly

reminded of their homeland by the prevailing architecture, by the temples, by the names. In Burma there are more than a million Indians, and Indians form more than half the population of Rangoon. Just north of that town one even finds colonies of Tamil settlers, descendants of men who crossed the Bay of Bengal three hundred years ago. Everywhere, too, one finds Chinese communities: there are 3 millions of them in Siam (out of 18); 2½ millions in Malaya and Singapore (out of 5½); 2 millions in the East Indies (out of 70). In former times, such ethnic communities would gradually have been absorbed. Nowadays, supported by their Press and by official agencies such as the Ministry of Overseas Chinese, they often demand a certain degree of cultural autonomy, including their own schools, and assimilation is thereby slowed. Such demands provide puzzling problems to educational administrators, and they tend to bring the minorities into conflict with the awakening nationalism of the surrounding population.

It is well to bear in mind that the presence of Indians and Chinese in these lands is no new thing. All through history successive waves of invaders and settlers have come from the north-west and north-east. Often they have established independent principalities, but in the end they have always mingled their blood with that of the original population. The Burmese show the mark of their Mongol, Siamese, and Indian ancestors; the Siamese belong chiefly to the Thai group of peoples, stemming originally from South China and East Thibet, to which belong also the Shans of Burma and the Laos of Indo-China. Filipinos, Indonesians, and Malays are ethnologically closely related, but they are certainly not " pure ". Incidentally, many authorities hold that the Malays of Malaya are themselves comparative new-comers to the land they occupy.

The religious pattern of South-East Asia reflects the diversity of cultural influences that have been brought to bear. Buddhism came long ago from India, and wherever it went brought with it Indian influence. Islam came from Ceylon and India between five and eight hundred years ago. Christianity, for the most part, is even more recent. All these religions are found everywhere. Buddhism is dominant in Burma and Siam; the Malays and Indonesians are mainly Muslim; the Filipinos, Christian. But there are nearly three-quarters of a million Muslims in the Philippines and an equal number in Siam. Cambodia and Laos draw inspiration from India, while the Annamites follow Confucianism and Taoism.

In each country, a national language has been adopted and is widely used and taught. Nevertheless, in each country, too, there are numerous tribal communities who use their own dialects. In Burma, for instance, they number four million, more than a fifth of the population. Whether these people should be taught in their

vernaculars or not is a difficult question of policy, the solution to which will undoubtedly prove financially costly. The experience of Mexico in this connection is relevant. In the East Indies, the position of the Dutch language in education remains to be settled. In the Philippines, Tagalog has been adopted but English is widely used, and there are even some who still cling to Spanish.

Racial conflict is, happily, absent from the area though there are, of course, problems arising through the presence of many persons of pure or mixed Dutch, French, and British origin. The tension between Chinese or Indians on the one hand and the indigenous populations on the other is at worst cultural or national, and is not properly described as racial—at least not yet.

EDITORS.

CHAPTER ONE

BURMA

EFFECT OF THE WAR ON EDUCATION

THIS article reviews educational developments in Burma from 1939 to the present day. Ten years is a long stretch of time to be condensed into a paper of this length. When these ten years include a devastating war, with two military campaigns fought over the length and breadth of the country, and these two campaigns are further sandwiched between changes of Government implying different outlooks and political orientation, the task of selection and presentation is indeed difficult. A bare account of the vicissitudes of education, without the background of social and economic life and the political creed of the Government in power at the time, would not be fully intelligible. This article has accordingly been given the form of a simple narrative against the background of the war and its aftermath, and comments have been added only in relation to problems and matters of educational policy.

In Burma, as in other countries directly affected by the hostilities in South-East Asia, the schools were among the first casualties of the war. The interruption of educational activities began with the closure, owing to the declaration of war against Japan in December 1941, of schools in Rangoon, the capital, which at the time had 190 schools of all types and grades attended by 40,000 pupils. The bombing of Rangoon by Japanese planes on December 23rd and 25th, 1941, started an exodus of the citizens which went on till all vehicular traffic to and from the city ceased two months later.

Along the direct line of the enemy's advance in the Tenasserin, schools rapidly closed one after another as the population of the towns and larger villages dispersed to the countryside for greater safety. As the military operations swept northward, all educational activity came to a standstill in the rear of the advancing forces owing to the seizure of school buildings by the army of occupation and the dislocation of social and economic life. It was only in the Delta of the Irrawaddy, which was by-passed by the advancing forces in the first onrush, that a few schools continued to function till the end of the school year on March 31st, 1942.

This is a general picture, in brief, of the conditions till attempts were made to revive education under the aegis of the Japanese Military Administration in October 1942. In accordance with a scheme drawn up by the Burmese Ministry of Education and approved by the Japanese Military Administration, provision was

made for the opening, in the first instance, of 3,000 primary schools, 300 middle schools, and 100 high schools. The three pre-war systems of schools, viz. English, Anglo-Vernacular, and Vernacular schools, were replaced by a single uniform type of school in which the main language and medium of instruction was Burmese. This was not merely a measure of necessity imposed by the shortage of facilities due to the war. It was a logical step in the development of the pre-war tendency to approximate and unify as far as possible the three parallel systems which had ceased to have distinct functional value as a valid ground for continued differentiation. Before the war, this process of approximation of the curricula of the three systems was slow and difficult, owing to various impediments, chief among which were vested interests, deep-seated prejudice, and different values attached to the different systems. The war not only wiped out the old systems, but made a clean sweep of such obstacles and ushered in conditions that favoured the setting up of a wholly unified type of school.

A new curriculum was introduced which was an improvement on the old in some respects. The contents of education were brought into closer touch with life. A greater integration among the subjects was effected. Training for civic life was introduced as a new subject. Drawing, music, hygiene, and general science took their places among compulsory subjects in all schools. The curriculum as originally proposed included English as a compulsory additional subject for middle and high schools, i.e. from the fifth year, and Japanese as an optional subject from the third year of school instruction.

Notwithstanding the provision for the teaching of the Japanese language wherever competent instructors were available, the retention of English did not please the Japanese military, who forcibly stopped the language in many places. On the other hand, the Japanese units seldom failed to send someone to impart at least the rudiments of their own language to all pupils indiscriminately in the school of the locality where they happened to be quartered at the moment. Apart from such efforts on the part of the army units to popularise the Japanese language in schools, strong efforts were made at the higher level by the Japanese Military Administration to introduce the language as a compulsory subject in all schools from the primary stage. This pressure was firmly resisted by the Burmese Administration on educational grounds. The problem was resolved by the temporary omission of both English and Japanese from the curriculum of the ordinary schools and by the provision of separate Japanese language schools, open to all without restriction of age or sex, in which the Japanese language was the only subject taught. Steps were taken later to provide for the teaching of English or Japanese, or some other modern language, as an optional second language in the post-primary stage according to

the choice of pupils and facilities available. But the proposal could not be put into effect owing to the mounting tempo of war.

The target figures given in a preceding paragraph of schools proposed to be opened during the Japanese Military Administration were not attained for various reasons, even though they approximated only to less than 50 per cent. of the pre-war total. Nearly all school buildings were occupied by the military or used for military purposes. Most of the school furniture was removed by the military for their own use or looted by bad characters. There was a dearth of textbooks and stationery everywhere. Teaching degenerated into " chalk and talk." Even the chalk grew less as the months passed. With rising prices in the disrupted economic life of the country, parents found it to their immediate advantage to allow the labour of their children to be used by the military for various purposes. In consequence, there was a serious decline of attendance in schools. In the months that followed, when Allied bombing became more widespread and frequent, military preparations in the vicinity of schools kept children away.

Matters did not improve after the grant of nominal " independence " to Burma. The Burmese Government increased educational provisions substantially; but the conditions of schools went from bad to worse with the growing intensity of Allied air attacks. Inflation and a dearth of most luxury and even essential commodities, including food and clothing, made petty trade, shop-keeping, and production of consumer-goods attractive as they yielded quicker returns than normal occupations. Many teachers left their profession to take up more remunerative occupations, some through dire necessity, as mounting inflation affected the fixed-income groups most, and some by choice, and there was an acute shortage of teachers by 1944 and 1945 which persisted till after the reoccupation of the country by the Allied troops.

The Burmese had for a fairly long period been accustomed to a life of peace, security, and comfort, and the sudden break-up of the established order left them in some confusion about matters of ultimate interest to them. But their intelligence did not leave them in doubt as to the real nature of the " independence " the Japanese had granted to them. They were not blind to the effective control exercised by the Japanese "advisers" at all levels of the administration. The declaration of independence did not therefore give the quietus to their political and national aspirations. The humdrum and less adventurous engaged themselves in occupations which were most likely to secure the immediate and pressing needs of life. But the more intelligent and spirited found in the underground organisations of the resistance movement the needed opportunity for advancing the cause of their own country and the means of allaying their sense of frustration. Hence, education was at a discount and only a very small percentage of youth remained at school.

The effects of the Japanese invasion were profound. To appraise them properly, however, it is necessary to consider them analytically from military as well as non-military aspects. The military victories of the invader and the sweep of the contending armies twice over the face of the country broke up the old-established order so thoroughly that the like of it would never return. The Burmese were brought into contact with the Japanese in a manner that had never taken place before. The widening of horizons due to this contact was a result that would endure. But in so far as this was due to the quickening of thought brought about by the war, it was a part of the universal upheaval occasioned by the Second World War. In the non-military aspects, in the sphere of language and civilisation, art and culture, the effects of the occupation were ephemeral and did not survive the flight of the invaders.

From the first, the Burman remained unimpressed by the culture and civilisation of the conqueror. The average peasant, who was not well informed, had thought that a stream of cheap Japanese goods would come in the wake of the invaders. He also believed that as self-styled co-religionists the Japanese soldiers would respect his property and his religious feelings. In this he was quickly disillusioned by the shabby dress and equipment of the invaders and their inability to supply him with the essential commodities of civilian life. On the contrary, the inroads they made into his slender resources and stock of food, the forced labour they exacted, in addition to the requisitioning of his carts and bullocks, and above all, the scant regard with which they treated his person and his deep-rooted religious susceptibilities, made the Japanese contemptible in his eyes. The Japanese language was eagerly learnt by opportunists, the counterpart of whom are found among all peoples in occupied countries, but their number was not really large and the Japanese language and culture did not make a deep impression.

Education during the war was necessarily affected by the social and economic condition of the people. The comforts of life were absent and there was much hardship, even destitution and plain misery. Owing to the natural richness of the country and abundance of food crops, there was no actual famine anywhere, as communications, though slow and difficult, never broke down completely for any length of time, and the rivers flowed serenely throughout. But the standard of living was greatly lowered by the decline of internal trade, complete absence of external trade, and inflation of the Japanese currency. Hundreds of commodities that were part and parcel of daily life before the war disappeared. There was a serious decline of health owing to shortage of medical supplies. Skin diseases were common and malaria of virulent types took heavy toll of both children and adults. Indeed, between the aerial menace from the Allied bombers and the irritating restrictions and extortions of the Japanese soldiers, life for the Burmese

was certainly not normal and schools did not have the atmosphere or facilities necessary for effective teaching.

Drab and dreary as most of the schools were during the Japanese occupation, it would nevertheless be a mistake to create an impression or to present a picture of unrelieved gloom, stress, and strain. The Education Department and the teachers in schools which continued to function faced the trying conditions with courage and tenacity, and did all they could to make the best of the situation and to keep education alive as a vital concern of the community. The school children shared with the adults that innate cheerfulness which is a characteristic trait of the Burmese. Signs of nerves were few, and even amidst the din and destruction of crashing bombs, their sense of humour rarely failed to find some incidents to amuse them and sustain their spirit.

One of the greatest losses due to the war was the loss of the libraries in Rangoon—a fate shared with most of those in Burma. But the libraries outside Rangoon were usually small, except in a few large towns like Moulmein and Toungoo; and the circulating or travelling library system had not yet made a real start. The Bernard Free Library, Rangoon, and the libraries of the university of Rangoon were considered to be among the finest in the East. The former had over 20,000 volumes and a number of valuable manuscripts in Burmese and Pali. The latter contained some 100,000 volumes, including works of great value on all subjects and a unique collection of books and manuscripts on the history of Burma, Far Eastern history and related subjects, including a valuable collection of Chinese literature dealing with Burma. The volumes that remain of the former are mostly religious works and works in Pali and Sanskrit. Of the latter, about a tenth was recovered in the post-war salvage operations of the Education Department which Sir Alexander Campbell, then Director of Public Instruction, organised with great foresight and energy immediately upon his return to Burma.

The progress of post-war educational reconstruction has been hindered by many difficulties. On the recovery of Burma by the Allied Forces, the British Military Administration introduced a necessarily limited scheme as a first step towards restoring the normal educational facilities. It provided for a single homogeneous system of schools with Burmese as the main language and the principal medium of instruction. This scheme met with strong disapproval from the schools and the public. It was criticised as a strait-jacket scheme too limited to embrace all the schools which had been revived with the return of peace, or to ensure adequate staffing in the limited number of those selected for recognition and aid. Moreover, inequalities in the pay and emoluments of teachers, characteristic of the diverse pre-war systems, continued in the single homogeneous system now adopted. It had to be explained to the

public that the Education Department during the British Military Administration period was, as were other departments of the Government, financed from the war-impoverished British Treasury, and that the system of education was only provisional and subject to revision in the light of public opinion.

The criticism of the scheme was, however, so strong and widespread, and the clamour for a thorough study of the post-war educational needs of the country so persistent, that the Government appointed a Committee of Inquiry in February 1946 to ascertain public opinion in regard to an educational policy that would suit the post-war conditions of Burma. The committee submitted a number of recommendations relating to the introduction of a scheme of free and universal compulsory primary education, the system and grading of schools, media of instruction, and the control of education. The recommendations were receiving the consideration of the Government at the time this article was written.

Burma has become an independent sovereign republic since the above committee submitted their report to the Government, i.e. January 4th, 1948. What the declared educational policy of Independent Burma would be it is premature to hazard an opinion. But there are certain unmistakable trends to indicate the direction in which educational policy has been veering in recent years. One of these has been the growing insistence on the unification of diverse systems which have lost their distinct functional values and remain differentiated only on the basis of the unequal opportunities open to their products. The democratic tendency of the people is strongly in favour of a single homogeneous system of general education with provisions for bifurcation towards technical and vocational institutions at appropriate stages.

The education of the country has suffered in the past from excessive decentralisation of control in regard to both finance and administration. There was a very large measure of local self-government before the war which included the sphere of education. But conditions which favoured the growth of a powerful and effective public opinion to watch, criticise, and guide educational control and check its abuses were absent. As a reaction to the evils of the past, opinion has swung powerfully towards complete control of education by the State. Burma is a country with a diverse physical configuration and an uneven distribution of population and natural wealth. The belief that a country with wide stretches of sparsely populated areas and poorer districts and areas with uneven distribution of population and wealth is best served by a centralised system of education, is an additional consideration in favour of State control.

Another trend in the sphere of policy has been the increasing importance attached to the use of Burmese as the medium of instruction. In the Anglo-Vernacular schools before the war in

which English was used as the medium of instruction, education had come to be regarded as almost synonymous with the knowledge of English, and school instruction as something removed from the environment of children. In 1941 the Government of the day recognised the pressing need for the use of the vernacular in instruction and appointed a large and representative committee of educationists to explore ways and means of accelerating the adoption of Burmese as the medium of instruction, not only in the schools and the university, but also in technical and vocational institutions and the professional schools maintained by Government to recruit employees for various technical services. The far-reaching recommendations of that committee were, however, eclipsed during the period of Japanese occupation by the total omission of English and the full adoption of Burmese as the medium of instruction. In the post-war educational reconstruction, the use of English as the medium of instruction was revived in certain subjects in which textbooks in Burmese were either non-existent or inadequate. But Burmese has retained its position as the principal medium. Though English will undoubtedly remain as a compulsory second language in the post-primary stage, its role as a medium of instruction appears to be doomed, at least in schools controlled and financed by the State.

The suggestion was offered to the Committee of Inquiry already mentioned that bilingualism in English and Burmese might be adopted with advantage. The suggestion was prompted by the traditional importance attached to English and the undoubted fact that English will of necessity continue for many years to be the medium of study at the university stage in arts, science, medicine, engineering, and other technological branches despite all efforts to vernacularise instruction in the university. The importance of English as the language of higher studies, foreign trade, and international contacts has received universal recognition in Burma, and its retention as a compulsory second language at least in the post-primary stage appears to be certain.

But bilingualism in these two languages from the earliest stages of school instruction was considered incompatible with the national spirit and the need for further consolidating Burmese as the language of Burma for the sake of national solidarity. A further difficulty in the matter of bilingualism is the existence of other indigenous vernaculars like Karen, Mon, Shan, Chin, and Kachin. If the claims of these vernaculars are to be met, as they must be, bilingualism in the case of these races would be either in the vernacular concerned and Burmese, or the vernacular and English. Even among the Burmese proper, the conditions which favour the development of true bilingualism, viz. the use of the two languages side by side with equal facility in all social strata in the ordinary intercourse of the people, are absent.

The question of the medium of instruction brings us face to face with the vexed problem of languages. Burma has been a racial melting-pot from the earliest times. The census report of 1931 gives a list of 126 languages and dialects spoken within the borders of the country. The most important of the language groups into which its 17 million people fall are Burmese, Karen, Shan, Kachin, Chin, and Mon, in the order of numerical strength, the actual number of people in each group varying from nearly 10 million (Burmese) to some 300,000 (Mon). In addition there are nearly 200,000 immigrants speaking Chinese languages and over a million immigrants speaking various Indian languages.

The problem of languages is, however, considerably simplified by the fact that Burmese is easily the main language of the country. It is habitually used by 70 per cent. of the people and another 20 per cent. use it with greater or less facility. The solution of the problem through a natural process of assimilation was hindered before the war by the encouragement given to a multiplicity of vernaculars in the school curriculum. A curious feature of that curriculum was the recognition of seven foreign vernaculars—mainly those of Indian immigrants—as compared with only two indigenous vernaculars—Burmese and Karen—commonly taught in schools. The foreign vernaculars have been virtually dropped since the reorganisation of education in October 1942. The chances of their restoration in Independent Burma are slender owing to the increasing recognition of the need for preserving the homogeneity of the people.

The problem, in so far as it relates to the indigenous languages, is not without difficulties. The Karens and Mons in particular have been insistent on preserving and developing their own languages as instruments of racial culture. This insistence, fortunately, is tempered by the recognition of Burmese as the national language of the country. The complexity of the problem is further reduced by the fact that while the Burmese have a literary heritage unsurpassed by that of any other race of South-East Asia, other indigenous languages are less developed and their literature is less in extent. Burma has achieved an unexpected measure of unity as an independent State because the Burmese have shown a remarkable spirit of accommodation towards the minorities and their political aspirations. In keeping with this spirit embodied in the constitution they will probably attempt to solve the problem of languages by granting the option to use the indigenous vernaculars as the main language and medium of instruction along with the compulsory teaching of Burmese in the primary stage of instruction.

An urgent problem which Burma has in common with many other countries is to relate education to the needs of life. All the pre-war school systems had placed great emphasis on examinations. Teachers had subordinated their instruction to syllabuses and text-

books. And for the pupils, education was an unhealthy pursuit of certificates and degrees. That education touches but lightly the life of the people has been a valid criticism of the university as well. While public demand has been largely to blame in this respect, and the reluctance of graduates to return to rural life is also responsible for this state of affairs, the single-track curriculum leading to the bottle-neck of the university and almost total absence of facilities for bifurcation towards technical and vocational education must bear their share of blame. The school system of the past not only left most pupils almost wholly unfitted for any work except clerical duties and subordinate appointments in Government service, but hampered the work of the university by forcing through its portals those who would have attained greater success and happiness in life by following useful vocations more suited to their abilities and aptitudes.

At present there is a serious shortage of Burmans trained in professions, crafts, and industries. Medical services are understaffed. Large numbers of trained chemists, engineers, and mechanics are needed, as also research workers in agriculture, forestry, industrial chemistry, and natural sciences. The need is now felt more keenly than ever owing to the attainment of political independence. The provision of technical and vocational courses has been receiving the attention of the Government for some time. But the procurement of equipment and other materials, the recruitment of competent instructors, and provision of adequate finance are difficulties which cannot be easily surmounted.

On the material side the reconstruction of education presents great difficulties. Hundreds of school buildings have been gutted by fire or demolished by bombs during the war. Of the rest, too, the majority have lost most of their furniture, equipment, and books. The dearth of labour and materials, uncertain finances, and other post-war conditions hinder rehabilitation. A definite policy, careful planning, and years of unremitting effort backed up by generous financing will be needed before all schools can be satisfactorily housed, furnished, and equipped.

If the material damage inflicted by the war has been severe, the moral damage has been no less great. Even before the war school strikes and threats of strike had been all too frequent. Much of this was due to lack of purpose in education, a faulty sense of values, and general decline of parental control. It was aggravated by the divorce of education from the realities of life and the growing tide of nationalism which overflowed the adult world and flooded the schools through the university. A catastrophic war following these circumstances might have compensated for the suffering and havoc it wrought by drawing out the higher qualities of human nature had patriotism, endurance, courage, and determination been the only qualities needed for survival. But, alas! the conditions in

which the war was fought brought out also the darker traits of human nature. Opportunism and self-interest stirred up by the privations of the war were rampant among the vulgar and the morally degenerate, and could not fail to influence the school children for the worse. The greatest damage, however, was the after-effects on youthful character of the resistance movement against the enemy, which struck deep at the roots of law and order and respect for authority. Though the object of the movement has been achieved by the expulsion of the Japanese invaders and the winning of independence, the moral effects persist. These, buttressed by the strong individualistic traits of the Burmese, are likely to remain the chief problems for teachers and heads of schools for some years to come. Discipline and respect for properly constituted authority will eventually be restored, and a sense of citizenship of an independent State with all its attendant responsibilities will be generally inculcated among the children and youth of Burma in time, but only by a slow and difficult process of regeneration directed by a purposive education, a truer sense of values, a healthier home and community life, and by successfully meeting the expanding social, cultural, and economic needs of a young and virile nation.

U'CHO.

CHAPTER TWO

SIAM

EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM

THE educational system of Siam dates back to the year 1937. It is a modification of a yet older scheme, but more extensive in its scope, with provisions under the following headings:

(1) Pre-primary, up to 7 years of age.
(2) Elementary education, up to 11 years of age.
(3) Secondary education, up to 19 years of age.
(4) Vocational education.
(5) Higher education.

We will consider each under separate headings.

Pre-primary Education

From about 3 years of age (not anywhere definitely specified) to about 7, children attend private schools available almost everywhere. It was considered wholesome and good to put mischievous children where they may learn to play, to read, and to count, a preparatory step towards admission to elementary schools. The three R's in a dull form were the staple of instruction. It is now generally accepted that besides formal instruction in the three R's, the inculcation of sound habits is necessary. Along with the older type of pre-primary schools there is now a consolidated type of kindergarten. This new orientation was due to official lead, and is being gradually followed by private schools. Materials are provided by a Government workshop and teachers are trained in a special training school attached to the Government Model Kindergarten Laor-Utit School in Bangkok.

Elementary Education

Elementary education is free and compulsory. According to the Primary School Act put into force in 1921 every child between 7 and 11 years of age must attend school. Compulsory elementary education is provided by a system of local schools—run by provincial administrative bodies at the expense of the Government—where children are given education free of charge, or by private schools where, of course, fees are charged. There are at present 2,081,414 pupils (948,124 males and 1,133,290 females) going to 18,670 local schools, engaging 62,028 teachers (50,523 males and 11,505 females).

The supply of elementary school teachers has always been a big

problem. The attempt to cope with it is made through three means:

(*a*) By Government training centres in various parts of the Kingdom. The elementary training centres provide training in three stages: the preliminary stage (Local School Teachers' Certificate course) consists of a three-years course; the intermediate stage (Provincial Certificate course) of another two years; and the final stage (Primary Teachers' Certificate course) of another year.

(*b*) By a special course, where only teachers are enrolled. Here they attend a course of the final stage for one year in evening classes, and then sit for the Primary Teachers' Certificate.

(*c*) By refresher courses or vacation courses, arranged by the provincial educational authorities occasionally.

Secondary Education

The primary age ends or should end at 11, and all teaching beyond that age is post-primary or secondary in character. The instruction is general and does not include technical instruction or vocational training. It is not compulsory. The course ranges between eight school years, and is divided into three stages:

(*a*) The first stage, consisting of three years.

(*b*) The final stage, of another three years.

(*c*) The pre-university stage, of yet another two years.

The secondary schools provide education in general subjects: Siamese, English, history, geography, mathematics, science, civics and morality, arts (drawing and handicrafts for boys and drawing with elementary domestic science for girls), and physical education. At the pre-university stage, however, the course branches off somewhat, and students do an intensive course either on the arts side or on the science side in view of their future studies at the university.

There are at present 155,466 pupils enrolled in the 212 Government and 1,569 private secondary schools. Included in these there are 55 schools, both private and Government, which offer the pre-university course in the school curriculum.

Courses of training for the teachers of secondary schools are provided at the various training colleges in Bangkok. These training colleges for men and women may be classified into two grades: the junior or post-primary grade, consisting of a three-years course, and the advanced or full secondary grade, of another two years. Besides these training colleges a diploma in Education is granted by the Chulalongkorn University of Bangkok.

There are also special teachers of arts, domestic science, and physical education supplied by special training courses attached to vocational schools, and by the Physical Training College of the Department of Physical Education.

Vocational Education

Vocational education denotes training of less than college grade, designed to fit the individual to earn a livelihood in skilled occupations. Vocational education is divided into three grades of proficiency.

(*a*) The elementary grade, which is generally a two-years course and meant to direct means of livelihood for the school population after the elementary school years.

(*b*) The intermediate grade, of generally a three-years course, intended for those who have finished the first stage of the secondary school course.

(*c*) The higher grade, also a three-years course, intended for those who have already completed the final stage of the secondary school course.

There are now seventeen branches fostered by the Department of Vocational Education through 176 Government vocational schools providing for the education of 9,625 children. The more important branches of training offered are: commerce, engineering, building construction, arts and crafts; carpentry, tailoring, leatherwork, agriculture, weaving, hair-cutting, modelling, boat-building, blacksmithery, basketry, metalwork, and women's craft.

Besides the Government vocational schools mentioned above, there are various private schools which provide a special type of education, generally modern languages (English as a rule), typewriting and shorthand, and women's craft. A good many of these schools are evening continuation classes.

Higher Education

Higher education is provided by various higher institutions and colleges. There are at present five chartered higher institutions, all in Bangkok.

The *Chulalongkorn University* (also generally known as the University of Bangkok) has five faculties: arts, science, architecture, engineering, commerce and accountancy, and a department in education. There are at present 2,150 students, both male and female, attending. It is to be noted that there are strikingly more women than men in the arts, science, commerce, and accountancy courses.

The Chulalongkorn University provides a four-years course for the first degree, corresponding to a bachelor's degree. Master's and doctor's degrees are also granted for more advanced post-graduate students of special ability. There are also three-years courses for diplomas in architecture and education.

Other higher institutions are:

The Institute of Moral and Political Sciences.

The Institute of Agriculture.

The Institute of Medical Sciences.

The Academy of Fine Arts.

Colleges.—There are also colleges giving post-secondary education. This group of special schools does not come under the control of the Ministry of Education and they are run by various authorities, viz:

(1) The School of Forestry (under the Forestry Department).

(2) The Railway School (under the Railway Department).

(3) School of Geodesy (under the Survey Department).

(4) The School of Dramatic Arts (under the Fine Arts Department).

(5) School for Public Administration (under the Department of Interior).

(6) The Military College (under the Ministry of Defence).

(7) The Naval College (under the Ministry of Defence).

(8) The Police School (under the Ministry of Interior).

Types of Schools

Schools are of four types:

(*a*) Local schools, run by provincial administrative bodies out of primary school budget.

(*b*) Municipal schools, run by municipal authorities out of primary school budget and municipal incomes.

(*c*) Government schools, run by the Ministry of Education out of the national budget.

(*d*) Private schools are run by private enterprises and organisations. Under this heading we have the Chinese language schools, the various missionary schools, and the purely Siamese schools. Private schools are owned and run by private persons in accordance with the Private School Act, but they may be eligible for grants-in-aid from the Government and may also gain Government recognition when their affairs are managed satisfactorily and the standard of instruction is up to the level of the Government schools.

Textbooks and Examinations

All textbooks used in schools must be approved by the Department of General Education through the Bureau of Educational Technique.

The Ministry of Education supervises and controls the examination at various important junctures:

The Final Primary School Certificate Examination.

Various teaching certificates.

Final examinations for every vocational school course.

The Final Secondary School Certificate.

The Pre-University Certificate Examination.

Certain examinations are controlled by the local education

authorities, and others by the Bureaux of Educational Technique of the Department of General Education and the Department of Vocational Education. Admittances to the various universities and colleges are made by special competitive entrance examinations.

The Youth Movement

There is a Boy Scout Movement incorporated by His Majesty King Rama VI which gained much popularity before the war but has been left dormant during the war years. It is now to be revived. Through this, boys are taught the spirit of practical self-help, keen observation, and comradeship through instruction and activities in the open air.

For the girls there is a kindred movement: the Junior Red Cross Organisation, whereby the habits of economy, public utility, fellow-feeling, health, and sanitation are inculcated. Instruction in first aid along the line of the Red Cross principles is provided.

The Education of Women

Women do not lag behind in education in any way. Wherever there is a chance for education they have come up to the front rank and virtually eclipsed men in their energetic fervour for knowledge. They go in for law and jurisprudence; they go in for medicine, for the teaching profession, for arts and science. The figures in recent years show an overflux of women students in many faculties of the Chulalongkorn University and a depressing dwindling of men students.

M. L. MANICH JUMSAI.

CHAPTER THREE

MALAYA

POST-WAR POLICY IN EDUCATION

THE Federation of Malaya with its new constitution came into being on February 1st, 1948. After the Liberation, the first civil Governments set up in Malaya were in Singapore (the Colony of Singapore) and in Kuala Lumpur (the Malayan Union). The Malays would have nothing to do with the Malayan Union, claiming that the Malay rulers had been browbeaten into agreeing to it. They led, through the United Malays National Organisation (U.M.N.O.), their political organisation (a post-war development, for pre-war the Malays were not politically conscious), furious opposition to the Malayan Union, until after negotiation a new agreed constitution, the Federation of Malaya, was set up. This recognised the special position of the Malays in the country while providing for a Malayan citizenship for those of the immigrant races who regarded Malaya as their home and the undivided object of their loyalty and affection. Thus the new constitution restored to the Malays the privileged position they had previously enjoyed, and removed the strongest objections the Malays had had to the Malayan Union constitution, namely, that it put the Malays and immigrant races on a footing of equality.

The Federation of Malaya consists of the whole of the Malay Peninsula except Singapore. It is in area about the size of England without Wales, and in population is about five millions. It includes two Settlements and nine Malay States.

The Settlement of Penang comprises the island of Penang and Province Wellesley (the part of the mainland opposite Penang). Penang was the earliest British Settlement in Malaya, but the Settlement of Malacca has a more notable background with its chequered history, as it became successively a Malay State, a Portuguese and then a Dutch possession, and finally a British Settlement. These two Settlements before the war were included with Singapore in the Crown Colony of the Straits Settlements.

The nine Malay States are the four States that previously formed the Federated Malay States—Perak, Selangor, Negri Sembilan, and Pahang—and the five States of Johore, Kedah, Trengganu, Kelantan, and Perlis, each of which formerly had separate and distinct administrations but which were known collectively as the Unfederated Malay States.

It is important to appreciate the complexity of the political framework. One of the accepted aims of the new constitution is to

form a strong central government. So far as education is concerned, therefore, there is a Director of Education in charge of education throughout the Federation. But it is yet to be seen if his writ will run in fact as well as nominally through all the States and Settlements. Under the pre-war organisation each of the Unfederated Malay States had its own education policy, while each of the Federated Malay States, though these States nominally had a common education policy, sometimes introduced divergencies from the agreed policy. There is now to be a general educational policy, but the officers in the various States and Settlements are officers of those States and Settlements, and it is not yet possible to predict if the application of the policy can be ensured. Much must depend on the co-operation of the State and Settlement Governments, the tact and foresight of the Director of Education, and the good sense of the education officers. It is clear that though the Federation knits together the constituent States and Settlements, yet it is a political patchwork that may provide problems for the educational administrators, in common with all the other administrators involved.

But still more pressing problems arise from the striking racial and linguistic diversities to be found in the Federation. On this account it is an advantage to have Singapore for a time separated from the Federation. Short as has been the history of Malaya, it has been abundantly clear that Singapore and the rest of the Peninsula are inextricably linked in their political, social, and educational development. Nevertheless, it may be a benefit to have this separation of Singapore from the Federation while the pattern of the new educational carpet is under consideration. For, in the first place, Singapore is racially a predominantly Chinese city, and, in the second place, it is a great mart of trade. These are the two directions in which Singapore differs from the Federation: they are two factors which must and should influence the educational programme of Singapore. It is as well that the Federation should be able to plan its educational programme without having to include exceptions, or perhaps suffer its general programme to be modified, to meet the special circumstances of Singapore.

Let us look at the chief problems of the Federation, which are, as we have stated, due to racial and linguistic diversities. Unlike Singapore, there is no one race numerically preponderant. The Malays and the Chinese, almost equal in numbers, represent over 80 per cent. of the population. There is a by no means negligible Indian minority. Finally, there is also in the Federation a polyglot collection, a remarkable representation of a wide diversity of races, mainly Asian, such as can possibly be found in no other country in the world.

What was the educational policy before the Second World War? Briefly, it was to provide a free basic four-year school course in the Malay schools for the Malays, to give small financial aid to Chinese

and Indian schools, and to restrict the numbers receiving secondary education in English, but to make generous provision for this English education in aided as well as in Government schools. These aided schools are chiefly mission schools. The missionary bodies, probably on account of the linguistic problems, have concentrated on education in English and have paid very little attention to education in the vernacular. It should be added that the Government and aided English schools of Malaya hold a good record of efficiency. Examination results are not themselves sufficient proof of progress, but they provide a useful yard-stick. The results in the Cambridge School Certificate Examination have been outstandingly good for many years: in December 1946, in these results Malaya led the Empire.

Education in the Malay school was, and is, free and compulsory. The compulsion has been merely nominal. There has never been any need to apply any artificial stimulus to get good school attendance. The difficulty has always been lack of accommodation. This has been specially so with the more backward States, which lacked the funds to provide for school buildings and to pay the teachers. The result, on account of these factors, and on account of the basic Malay school course being only four years in duration, is that the percentage of Malay children of a school-going age attending the Government free schools was before the war about 50 per cent.; lower, that is, than the parallel percentage of the Chinese children who attended the aided fee-charging Chinese schools. It should be added that there are many more boys than girls attending all schools, vernacular or English. While, in the beginning, girls had to be persuaded to go to school, to-day all are ready to go but the schools are lacking.

Let us now examine the approved post-war educational policy. Below is given Council Paper No. 53 of 1946 that sets out the policy:

The short-term objective of post-war educational reconstruction was to restore schools as quickly as possible to their former condition and to make provision for all who were deprived of education owing to the war. The long-term objective is to reconstruct the educational system so as to ensure the fullest educational development for every section of the community. Before the programme for this long-term objective can be prepared, it is necessary to decide upon the general educational policy that is to be followed. This policy is outlined below.

2. The main educational developments in the policy now outlined are:

(1) there will be free primary education through the mother tongue in Malay, Chinese, Tamil and English;

(2) English will be taught in all schools;

(3) full educational privileges will be extended to girls no less than to boys.

3. It is proposed to provide:

(*i*) Free Primary Education for all girls and boys in a minimum school course of six years, with the mother tongue as the medium of instruction and with English as one of the subjects of the curriculum in schools where the mother tongue is not English.

The Primary School will consist of Malay, Chinese, Indian and English sections according to the mother tongue of the children. In every possible way the essential unity of the various sections of the Primary School will be stressed so that the school may provide a preparation for united service for the country and for the creation of a sense of common citizenship.

(*ii*) Post-Primary Education for girls and boys, in school courses varying from two to seven years in duration in accordance with the course taken.

The Post-Primary Schools will consist of:

(*a*) schools in which English is the medium of instruction with the study of the mother tongue continuing;

(*b*) schools in which the mother tongue remains the medium of instruction with the study of English continuing.

There will be a generous provision of free places for pupils selected by merit from the Primary School, in addition to the provision of places for paying pupils who reach the prescribed standard of attainment for admission to the schools.

The transfer of free and fee-paying pupils from the Malay, Chinese and Indian sections to English schools will take place when pupils have completed three years in their Primary School.

As at present, subject to the accommodation available, if their parents so desire, children whose mother tongue is not English need not go first to a vernacular school but may go direct into the primary class of an English school as fee-paying pupils.

4. The syllabus and curriculum of all schools, Primary and Post-Primary, will be arranged in the light of modern educational practice and research. Practical subjects and vocational education will be included in accordance with the recommendations of the 1938 Report on Vocational Education in Malaya, with provision for technical education at an appropriate stage in the Post-Primary Schools. The work and organisation of the highest classes will be linked to the university courses of the College of Medicine, Raffles College and the Technical College.

5. Primary and Post-Primary Schools will be Government schools or aided schools. Teachers of the aided schools will be placed on the same salary scales as Government teachers of similar qualifications.

6. As soon as possible the Primary and Post-Primary Schools will be staffed by teachers trained in Malaya. For teachers of those schools for whom no training facilities at present exist in Malaya, a system of local training through normal classes will be instituted immediately, pending the establishment of training colleges.

7. In order to enable Malayan teachers of proved merit to qualify for the highest posts, suitably qualified teachers will be selected to take higher courses overseas.

8. The long-term policy with regard to Higher Education and Adult Education (including Mass Education) is still under consideration, but the various colleges and the adult evening classes, educational and vocational, are to be restarted as quickly as possible.

9. For the introduction of the policy outlined in paragraphs 2 and 3 above it will be necessary to prepare a programme spread over a number of years in accordance with (*a*) the funds that can be provided, (*b*) the supply of trained teachers, and (*c*) the school accommodation available. To advise Government on this programme, it is intended to appoint a Central Advisory Committee on Education which will be as representative as possible of the chief educational agencies and influences in Malaya, as well as including representatives of the administration of the Advisory Council. This Central Committee will be assisted by such other local and special committees as may be found necessary.

For the first time in the history of Malaya, it is declared that all races shall receive free primary education and that the primary education shall be in the mother tongue (it should, more correctly, be described as "the home tongue"). This decision is a great step forward. It is not so many years ago that there was an official proposal to exclude Chinese and Indian education from all Government assistance, on the ground that only the English and Malay languages should receive financial aid. That proposal, fortunately never implemented, was contrary to the general educational principle that the early stages of instruction should be in the home tongue of the pupil.

The duration of the free primary course was not fixed at six years because six years were regarded as in any way a final aim or goal. It was fixed for two reasons. First, because six years were regarded as providing the minimum duration for a school course designed as a campaign against illiteracy; and secondly, because it set a target that it was considered could be reached within one or two decades.

A most important change in the pre-war policy is to be seen in the inclusion of English in the vernacular school curriculum. This is regarded as having a twofold advantage. First, the key to Western knowledge is provided, and that in itself will involve a broadening of the vernacular school curriculum. Secondly, English will form an important unifying factor among the diversity of races and tongues. There is yet a third benefit: there will be a linguistic, as well as a general educational, criterion for the selection of those vernacular school pupils to be awarded scholarships to the English schools. (It should be explained that, in Malaya, a school in which the medium of instruction is English is called an English school.)

It will be observed that instruction in the mother tongues figures in the English school curriculum. That is a natural corollary to the inclusion of English in the vernacular school curriculum. This change had already begun, with Government blessing and encouragement, before the war. It had long been felt that there was something wrong in a system that made it possible for girls and boys to complete their school education without studying their mother tongue and without obtaining the key to the rich treasures of their own cultural and linguistic heritage.

One provision in the policy now introduced is open to criticism on educational grounds, namely the continuance of pre-war arrangements whereby parents on payment of school fees can send their children, even if their home tongue is not English, to the English school. This amendment to the original proposal, under which all children were required to have their early education in the home tongue, was made on the insistent representation of parents, particularly of those Chinese parents whose families have

been in Malaya for generations and who, while they may not use English as the home tongue, look to England rather than China as their cultural home. These parents were supported by other parents who regarded the question from a purely utilitarian standpoint: they considered that the child could not progress sufficiently well, or sufficiently rapidly, in English unless he entered the English school at the earliest possible age. They wanted their children to go to the English school at the age of six in order to get the best preparation for vocational competition. If parents want to do this, they are allowed to do so provided they pay fees. It is not regarded as educationally sound, but it is considered to be unreasonable to deny parents a choice, on payment of fees, that had been theirs ever since English schools had been in existence in Malaya. There was a proposal that the parents should choose the school and the children be granted free education in that school, vernacular or English, that the parents selected. Such a proposal was accepted by the Singapore Government. In the Federation of Malaya this has so far been resisted, and the conditions agreed upon are as they were pre-war, namely, that parents of children whose home tongue is not English may send their children to English schools, up to the limits of accommodation available, on payment of school fees. In the predominantly commercial city of Singapore many parents will, on vocational grounds alone, be likely to choose English schools for their children because English education will be considered a more certain avenue to employment. But English education costs four times as much per pupil as vernacular education. Furthermore, while six years in the vernacular may ensure literacy it certainly will not be sufficient when a foreign tongue is the medium. So far, the Federation of Malaya has been saved from a decision that is educationally unsound and economically impossible. The Singapore arrangement may succeed if English becomes the language of the Colony: it must involve, if it is to succeed, the ultimate extinction of the other tongues. Except by a few political doctrinaires, it has never been suggested that English should be imposed on Malaya to create a common citizenship. While there is a choice between English and vernacular education, there may be numbers who will choose English education on utilitarian grounds. But one day there will be an awakening. It will be discovered that the mother tongue is being neglected. That does not mean as much to Chinese and Indians, for China and India will always preserve their mother tongues. But the Malays are in a different position. On racial and national grounds, they wish Malay education to continue and to improve. They agree to the introduction of English into the Malay school curriculum, and they press for scholarships to enable Malay school pupils to transfer to the English schools because of the educational advancement that will result. They know that educational progress is inextricably

linked with political and economic progress. The policy adopted by the Federation of Malaya will give them this progress without endangering the disappearance of the Malay language.

There is strong national and racial feeling in Malaya. It is the right national feeling. It is pride in the race and the language of the race. There is no question of opposition or antagonism to other races.

The two attitudes, pride in the national tongue and the desire to encourage the study of English, were evidenced in the maiden speech of the Honourable Enche' Puteh, the only Malay woman member of the Federal Legislative Council. At the March 1948 meeting she addressed the Council on the subject of Malay education. She is a capable English speaker. While permission may be obtained to speak in Malay, the speeches are normally given in English. She created a stir by being the first speaker to ask for permission to speak in Malay. Part of her speech was devoted to a plea for greater facilities for Malays to enter English schools and for English to be taught in the Malay schools. It might on first consideration appear paradoxical that she should plead in Malay, instead of in English, for English to be taught in Malay schools. But she was faithfully interpreting the attitude of her own people, for by speaking in Malay she emphasised their pride in their mother tongue, and by pressing for attention to English in the Malay school curriculum she stressed their desire to be educationally equipped for the battle of life.

The statement of educational policy shows that "practical subjects and vocational education" are not to be overlooked. Before the Second World War, Malaya had made plans for this and had already begun on its programme. It was realised that vocational education must find its roots in practical subjects in the ordinary school curriculum. Already in the Federation of Malaya the pre-war "trade" schools are being converted into junior technical schools by the broadening of their curriculum and by the closer linking of these schools with other other schools, that is by their integration into the general educational system. There had formerly been a tendency for these "trade" schools to be isolated islands of refuge for less-equipped children, rather than channels of opportunity for every child whose gifts and talents find chief outlet and expression in hand and eye, in craft and craftsmanship.

In this same section of the statement on policy, reference is made to higher courses of education. The Technical College and the College of Agriculture have already been raised in status, and their courses are being widened to meet the needs of the new Malaya. The position of the two colleges in Singapore is the subject of a recent report by a Commission, under the chairmanship of Sir Alexander Carr-Saunders, that visited Malaya in 1947. The Federation is very anxious that the Malayan nature of the colleges should

be appreciated. About two-thirds of the students come from the Federation, and one-third from Singapore, and the proportion is likely in the future to be more heavily weighted in favour of the Federation, which must have, on account of its area and its potentialities, an expanding population. The Commission made a number of notable recommendations. First, it was so impressed with the work and standing of the two colleges that it recommended their immediate fusion and expansion, not into the university college that was generally expected, but into the University of Malaya. Secondly, it recommended that the university should be taken away from the mart of Malaya, which is in population, atmosphere, and conditions so widely different from the rest of the Peninsula, and be placed in the truly Malayan environment of the Malay State of Johore. Yet the university will be sufficiently close to Singapore to benefit from those contacts with the wider world that a great port enjoys.

From the point of view of the general educational programme, the recommendation of the Commision that is of special importance is that for raising the standard of admission to the colleges. It will be necessary for the English schools to provide a minimum eighteen-months post-School Certificate course. The Commission praised the co-ordination of local needs with general educational standards, and regarded the Cambridge School Certificate, with the Malayan modifications incorporated in it, as providing a suitable examination and useful yard-stick for measuring local standards of attainment. But it was proposed that the university should conduct locally the entrance examination following the post-School Certificate course, possibly with help from the Cambridge Syndicate in the early years.

The report of the Commission is a memorable document planning wisely and with great vision so that the new university will exercise a pervasive influence on the growth and development of the new Malaya. Conditions are such, with the clamant calls for rehabilitation of industry, the acute shortage of building materials, and a depleted national exchequer, that the new programme can be introduced only by degrees. Yet much has already been done, as is shown, for instance, by the fact that the total school enrolment of 260,000 in 1941 has been more than doubled. But public opinion demands acceleration of the programme. People of all races and of all places, in the backward and less developed parts of the country no less than in the larger centres of population, clamour for education. It requires no prophet to declare that the provision of increased educational facilities, either in accordance with, or by extension and reform of, the policy that has been adopted, will be one of the main planks in the programme of every party that may arise as a result of the new constitution of the Federation of Malaya.

H. R. CHEESEMAN.

CHAPTER FOUR

SINGAPORE

A POLYGLOT POPULATION

To the general reader the political mosaic known conveniently as "Malaya" has always been somewhat confusing. Prior to the Japanese war it consisted of the Crown Colony of the Straits Settlements (in the main, Singapore, Penang, and Malacca), four "Federated Malay States" (Selangor, Perak, Negri Sembilan, and Pahang), and five "Unfederated Malay States" (Johore, Kedah, Perlis, Trengganu, and Kelantan). Since the liberation a new political grouping has emerged: Singapore has been constituted a separate Crown Colony; while the two other Settlements, together with the nine Malay States, have become (February 1st, 1948) the Federation of Malaya.

These political changes have had their educational counterpart. The Director of Education of the former Straits Settlements was also Adviser on Education to the Federated Malay States, and gave advice when requested to the Unfederated States. It was therefore in the pre-war period not inappropriate, though not entirely satisfactory, to review Malayan education problems and policy as a whole.[1] Post-war developments have, however, recognised that while in many respects the educational needs of the island of Singapore and the mainland of Malaya are closely related, there are local problems demanding local solutions, possibly on somewhat divergent lines. There are now separate Education Directorates in the Federation and in the Colony, and it will therefore be appropriate in the present volume to survey their problems separately, though many of these problems are interrelated.

Singapore, while a community of many races, is very largely a city of Chinese. The 1947 census of the island reveals a racial distribution of its population of nearly a million as follows:

Chinese . . .	728,523
Malays	116,583
Indians	71,300
Europeans and Eurasians .	17,802
Others	6,548
	940,756

[1] *Vide* YEAR BOOK OF EDUCATION, 1934–8, contributions by the present writer—J. B. N.

This racial diversity is further complicated by the division of Chinese (and to some extent other) elements into "Straits-born," whose families have for one or more generations made their homes in Malaya and who are predominantly "local" in outlook, and "Overseas" or immigrants who in political, cultural, and educational outlook identify themselves (more or less) closely with their mother country or some district or political party or faction therein.

The educational challenge of this growing polyglot population, with its divided political allegiances, has never been easy to meet. Surveys of the problems and of the stage of educational development reached prior to the recent war have been given in some detail in previous volumes of the YEAR BOOK.

In brief the pre-war background to our post-war problems was as follows:

During the century and a quarter of Singapore history since its "refounding" by Stamford Raffles in 1819 there developed two main branches of education: (i) The "English School" system of fee-paying Government, aided, and private schools for pupils of all races, with English as the medium of instruction, and (ii) The Vernacular School system of separate Malay, Chinese, and Indian vernacular schools, giving instruction through a vernacular medium—Malay, or *Kuo Yu*[1] or Tamil respectively; the Malay schools being maintained by Government and the others being private schools, of which the more efficient received Government grants-in-aid.

The English school system included primary, secondary, and some vocational education, and prepared students for admission to the higher colleges—Raffles College and the King Edward VII College of Medicine. The vernacular schools, with the exception of a few Chinese high schools, were primary institutions.

In 1941, on the eve of the Japanese war, there were some 72,000 pupils attending schools of all types in the Colony, 27,000 of these were in the English school system, and the demand for English education was everywhere increasing. About one-third of the total pupils were girls. The civil population was then estimated at some 600,000 and, presuming normal conditions of prosperity, it was reasonable to anticipate the early achievement of at least primary education for all children through English or a vernacular medium.

The Japanese occupation dealt a grave blow to this growing educational structure. In the spheres of both child and higher education it was a period mainly of suppression and, for the rest, of distortion.

The actual destruction of school buildings during hostilities and occupation was not great. Some ten schools in all were destroyed, about half of which were small rural buildings. But practically

[1] Chinese National Language.

all the three or four hundred registered schools suffered to a greater or less extent from damage to, and theft of, furniture and equipment, or its removal for war or other uses. School libraries vanished, as did all science, trade-school, and other vocational equipment and materials. Many of the school premises (as well as the higher colleges) were used for Japanese military or administrative purposes.

The Japanese began to reopen schools within a month or two of their conquest of Singapore, and such education as was given was administered ultimately by the Municipality with a Japanese director and small local staff. All the former European teachers and some local teachers were interned. Of the rest, probably about one-half were employed at one time or another in schools under the Japanese regime; many sought other means of livelihood. Many died or disappeared.

Such of the former English schools as reopened became "Japanese public schools" and were renamed according to the streets in which they were situated. The teachers (like all public servants) were given rapid courses in the Japanese language, as official policy forbade the teaching of the English language and aimed at its ultimate abolition in schools. But the medium of instruction had perforce to be English until teachers had acquired a sufficient knowledge of Japanese, and in practice English continued to be used to a greater or less extent in schools throughout the occupation and was often taught surreptitiously. The destruction of English school textbooks was ordered, but there was widespread concealment: after the liberation considerable supplies appeared in mushroom second-hand bookshops at black-market prices!

The enrolment at these former English schools was but a fraction of the pre-war total. There was general reluctance to sending, in particular, older children to schools which were potential recruiting grounds for forced labour, and few children above the age of 12 or 13 attended. There was no secondary education, apart from a few Japanese night classes. In an effort to encourage attendance fees were waived entirely after a few months, but it is estimated that there were never more than six or seven thousand pupils enrolled, and this number dwindled until perhaps only a few hundred were attending in 1945. The schools held morning session only. Physical drill, as well as some gardening where practicable, were followed by Japanese songs, Japanese reading and writing and propaganda, arithmetic, and nature study. As the teachers were in general only a few words ahead of their pupils in their knowledge of Japanese, the average level of progress and enthusiasm was low.

The Malay vernacular schools (mainly rural) continued, though with smaller enrolments, almost throughout the Japanese occupation period. The teaching of Malay was permitted, but Japanese

was here also the official language of instruction and propaganda and, in general, the standard of work was extremely low. Drill and games, always popular with Malay pupils, were the high-lights of the curriculum. The Chinese vernacular schools functioned under similar limitations. The staffs were compelled to learn and teach the Japanese language and propaganda; the teaching of *Kuo Yu* as a subject being permitted at first for four and later for only two periods a week. The ever-resourceful Chinese made these *Kuo Yu* periods the last lesson of the morning and lengthened it usefully, so that progress was made in Chinese in a number of schools. But, as with other types of schools, general achievement was low; and attendance dwindled steadily in Chinese schools as the occupation continued. A few Indian vernacular schools opened under the Japanese regime, but were mainly propaganda instruments of the Indian Independence movement.

The general picture of education in the occupation period is one of ill-attended primary schools working in an uneasy atmosphere, the children gaining a quickly lost smattering of Japanese, through indifferently printed Japanese primers and poorly equipped teachers; surreptitiously acquiring some knowledge of English and, of course, speaking their own vernaculars. The hardships and cruelties of the period certainly developed maturity of a sort in the adolescent, but that maturity combined with an educational starvation to create one of the most serious post-war problems.

On the liberation there was an overwhelming demand for enrolment in schools. From all sections of the community, and in respect of children of all ages from 6 to 20 years and even beyond, there were and have continued urgent applications for admission, particularly to English schools; an urgency understandable but indicating in many cases little appreciation of the practical difficulties.

While many school buildings were available, others as previously mentioned had been destroyed; several, including high schools and the main trade school, were required by the British military administration and, later, by various branches of the forces for a considerable period; and all schools lacked proper furniture, equipment, textbooks, and apparatus. Such materials as could be obtained were (and are) very expensive and often of poor quality. There was also a grave shortage of teachers, in consequence of losses and the absence of training during the war years; a shortage intensified by the great increase in numbers of potential pupils. For there was not only an obligation to make good the loss of education of children (mostly over-age) whose schooling had been interrupted; but the actual population of the Colony had greatly increased. The pre-war figure of some 600,000 was estimated in 1946 to have increased to approximately three-quarters of a mil-

lion, but the 1947 census revealed this as a serious under-estimate, and the present figure is probably not less than a million.

Post-war educational problems therefore fell into two categories:

(1) The urgent rehabilitation of schools so far as possible to their pre-war level, combined with immediate emergency measures, to complete the interrupted education of all pre-war pupils who wished to return, while admitting new pupils to the utmost extent that facilities would warrant.

(2) The framing, as soon as possible, of a long-term educational policy suitable to the needs of the country.

Rehabilitation

Rehabilitation was undertaken vigorously and with the enthusiastic co-operation of the local staffs, whose tireless service, despite the hardships of the Japanese occupation period, merit the highest praise. Schools began to reopen almost immediately, with improvised furniture and equipment, and such supplies of textbooks as had been concealed or had otherwise survived the war period. Immediate orders were placed both locally and in England (some of the latter even before the liberation) for school supplies of all kinds; and though many of these were delayed (in the case of science and other technical equipment they began to arrive only in 1948 in reasonable quantities), rapid progress was made. By the end of 1945 some 38,000 pupils were in school; this figure was doubled in 1946, when the pre-war total enrolment was passed, and in 1947, for the first time in the history of Singapore, the total enrolment exceeded 100,000. By the middle of 1948 it was estimated at some 110,000. Of these pupils about 30,000 are in English schools.

This progress as to numbers has been made possible by the widespread use of school buildings to house two schools—morning and afternoon; by relaxation of the regulations as to size of classes and age of pupils; and by rapid promotion of older pupils, many of whom have made surprising progress. It has been necessary also to employ numbers of untrained teachers and to extend widely the pre-war system of normal class training for such "student teachers" out of school hours. Recruitment of teachers for secondary classes from graduates of Raffles College has also started again, but is still on a small scale.

While for all these reasons the school education that can as yet be provided hardly reached pre-war level, there is now but little leeway to make up in that respect and rehabilitation may be said to be nearing completion.

Ten-year Programme

Long-term planning reached a vital stage with the approval by Government in August 1947 of the "Ten-year Education Pro-

gramme." Under this programme the Government has accepted the obligation to develop universal free primary education for the children of all races in the Colony, both boys and girls; followed by such secondary, vocational, technical, and higher education as will best meet the needs of the country. The obligation is inherent in the declared duty of the Imperial Government to advance the peoples of the Colonies to the goal of self-government; and the programme has been received everywhere with enthusiasm, and with an understandable impatience for its fulfilment.

It is possible here to indicate only briefly some of the major implications, and the proposed steps to solve the many problems involved.

The development of a six-year free primary course is the immediate objective, extension of free education beyond that stage being a more distant goal. This course will be given through the medium of English or one of the Oriental languages—Chinese (*Kuo Yu*), Malay, or Tamil, depending upon the choice of the parent. The question of the medium of instruction was keenly debated, and resulted in a singular confirmation of the widespread demand for English. The original proposals were that the English primary course should be for children whose mother tongue was English, or in whose homes English was spoken; while for other children the primary medium should be their Oriental mother tongue, with English introduced as a subject from the third school year. These proposals were rejected by the Asian majority of the Legislative (then Advisory) Council, as likely to restrict the spread of English; and an amendment was carried that parents should have the right to elect to send their children direct to an English primary rather than a vernacular primary school if they so wished, and irrespective of their mother tongue. Already indications are that the great majority of parents do and will so wish; and that the English school will become practically universal throughout the Colony (except probably in some rural areas), with the vernacular taught as a subject.

The Ten-year Programme aims also at developing in the adolescent the sense of common citizenship of Singapore, and of civic loyalty and responsibility. This is undoubtedly one of the most valuable objectives, but it is one that will not be easy to achieve. One of the main means to this end will be the development of *regional* rather than *racial* schools. Instead of the long-established system of separate Malay, Chinese, and Indian vernacular schools, which tend to stress racial separation, it is the intention that future schools should serve their locality, irrespective of race, and that in the "regional" schools pupils of all races shall intermingle, learning English and their own vernacular, but intermingling in all the activities of school life as children of Singapore. This is the present "English school" system. But the conversion

of the racial vernacular schools on regional lines cannot be achieved overnight.

Of the vernacular schools, only the Malay schools are Government institutions. The Chinese vernacular schools (with some 60,000 pupils) are private institutions built and maintained by the Chinese themselves and to serve their own communities; and while the best of these schools receive a measure of Government aid, they are all essentially jealous of their private status. They are, too, almost entirely schools of "overseas" Chinese, with close ties with the mother country, and in many cases registered in China. While in all of them English (though of a poor quality) is taught as a subject, the pupils are still far from any attitude of undivided loyalty to Singapore! Any attempt to convert such schools immediately into regional schools admitting pupils of other races would meet with little success. The change will have to be gradual, with the development of increased Government financial assistance; the local training of Chinese school teachers, and the extension of local production of Chinese vernacular school texts. Once the tendency to look almost entirely to China for political and educational guidance has been lessened, a strengthening of the local outlook and gradual intermingling will follow.

One of the greatest problems of the new programme will be financial. The only free primary education provided hitherto by Government has been (*a*) the Malay vernacular school system, and (*b*) a percentage of free places to deserving pupils in English schools. Possibly some 10 per cent. of the total school population in the Colony have hitherto received free education. The extension of free education to an estimated number of 100,000–120,000 primary pupils, combined with the post-primary developments envisaged in the Ten-year Programme, will mean at least a trebling or quadrupling of the education budget. The increase will of necessity be by annual stages, as finances permit and buildings, staff, and equipment become available. The staffing problem will be met by the early establishment of a teachers' training college, plans for which are already well in hand. Already, too, a beginning has been made with the grant of free education to a percentage of the poorer children in Chinese and Indian vernacular schools.

Given a period of peaceful prosperity, the educational future of the Colony is bright. Local enthusiasm has been heightened by the early prospect of the fusion of our higher colleges into a University of Malaya; and there is everywhere a readiness to accord education its rightful place among the social services, and, what is even more vital, in the public budget.

J. B. NEILSON.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE EAST INDIES

PART I: DUTCH POLICY

THE "dual mandate" theory of the responsibility of a colonising power is now widely accepted. Central to this theory is the view that the colonising Power must advance the welfare of the whole world and, in particular, of the population under its control, by bringing into fruitful exploitation the material and economic resources of the territory governed. It thus seems natural to ask, "What has been done with the country and what has happened to its people?" This means that the quality of the trusteeship exercised may be judged largely in the light of the achievements of the educational system established—a fact which makes it a delicate and difficult matter to describe that system and to evaluate its effects fairly.

In this article we shall attempt to answer the question only by reviewing *Government* provision for Indonesian education and, since the answer depends in part on facts and in part on interpretations, we shall endeavour to present the facts first so that readers may be able to control the conclusions.

As a rule, the principal motive for colonisation is economic, and the idea of welfare comes relatively late. Thus, though Dutch rule over the Indonesian archipelago dates back many years, the instruction of Indonesian youth began to be a major concern of the authorities only after the middle of the last century. Before 1860 even the children of Eurasians could attend only elementary schools, and secondary education was non-existent. There was no need for it, since all higher officials had to be born in Holland and came from there. It is of interest to note that for this reason the antithesis between "orientalists" and "anglicists," famous since Macaulay wrote his Minute, did not arise in the Netherland East Indies. There were hardly any Indonesian schools under Government supervision, and the Eurasian school was merely an inadequate copy of the Dutch type.

The revolutions of 1848 had their repercussions in the Indies. There was a minor revolt in Batavia in favour of Indonesian-born Europeans, and the troubles were settled in the end only by giving a fresh orientation to economic development. The monopoly of the Government was broken and a broad path was opened to the expansion of private enterprise in Java. The need for somewhat more skilled and rather better educated personnel became obvious, and interest in education grew. Already in 1850 the sum of 25,000

guilders was put on the Budget: too little to have any real effect, but a beginning.

On the whole, new economic practices—such as the introduction of private ownership of estates—were far from welcome to Government officials. These clung to the old ways and to the outworn monopolies, and they were reluctant to support the consequential new educational developments. Thus, though a secondary school for Eurasians was opened in 1860, the funds for it were furnished by private persons and not by the Government. It was, of course, a school for boys only. Girls at this time, and even much later, were considered to have little value, and to be incapable of giving assistance either to the Government service or to private commerce.

For full and rich development of education a fresh impulse was needed. It came as the result of the changes in economic policy which took place towards the beginning of the present century. In 1886 and 1895, two big crises in the sugar industry gave the death-blow to many private estates in Java. The banks took them over and provided fresh capital. A new period began which has given birth to modern—pre-war—Indonesia. Within twenty-five years it changed from a sleepy, tropical land of many off-the-only-road villages and small, quiet townships, where life ran slow under the burning sun, into a well-developed country, famed in tourist circles, with thousands of miles of motor-roads, beautiful mountain resorts, clean and well-kept cities, splendid harbours. The new economy, financed by big bank capital, was primarily interested in bringing into exploitation ever more land. It disliked narrow petty-mindedness and old-fashioned ways. It asked for the extension and intensification of government in the islands of the archipelago, and especially in Sumatra it wanted full scope and freedom for its own further growth.

It must be understood at once that this rapid and brilliant expansion did not immediately affect the masses of the people or bring them rich prosperity. The Indonesians were very poor in 1900 and they were still poor in 1940—which means, of course, that they continued to think more about their daily bread than about education. This fact is sometimes used as an excuse for the slow development of popular education. The argument is not unsound, but it remains true that too little has been done to overcome the basic difficulty which is, and remains, the low standard of living of the Indonesian *tani* (peasant). On the other hand, economic expansion called for the services of an increasing number of skilled workers and made obvious the need for schools where such could be trained. In 1892 an Order in Council made provision for the building of schools and the setting up of a system which, from then on, was to be enlarged and modified to make room for a growing number of pupils. The total number of Indonesian children, however, grew much faster than the number of

places in these schools. Under these circumstances, a group of persons who knew the Indonesians very well, and loved them, came forward with a programme for the promotion of popular welfare. The living conditions of the Indonesians were bad: they could be improved by widespread irrigation of the soil; by emigration from Java to less densely populated islands; by better education.

This "ethical policy," lofty as were its ideals, had only very moderate success—high ethical ideals do not easily take root in colonial soil. The new system of education, in fact, developed along rather more realistic lines. What the new economy needed was not the education of the masses, but of the few, the training of a small number of clerks and of lower officials. Indeed, one might almost say that the education of the masses was looked upon by many people as simply waste of money or even as undesirable, since it might tend to raise the cost of labour. And cheap labour is the backbone, the *conditio sine qua non,* of colonisation.

If one bears in mind this basic fact, namely, that the real aim was the training of a small number of Indonesians in order to fit them for the service of government or of private industry, and not the huge and very costly task of educating many millions, the development of the system took place along logical lines. Two types of Indonesian schools came into being: the "first-class" schools (grades 1–5) for the children of Indonesian chiefs and of the well-to-do, and the "second-class" schools (grades 1–3). The "first-class" school, attended by selected pupils from exclusive groups, and made safe against a general invasion by rather high school fees, was the only type with bright prospects. In 1914 it became a full-grown, seven-years institution, an elementary school with the Dutch language as the medium of instruction. The three-year "second-class" school remained a very modest "three R's" institution. The instruction, given there in one of the Indonesian languages, never reached the whole population. It was the seven-year type, the *Hollands-Inlandse School* (Dutch-Indonesian School —H.I.S.), which gave to the relatively few who could afford to attend it the opportunity of mastering the Dutch language and thus, by a narrow and difficult road, to obtain secondary and higher education.

The second-class school, called "the village school" since 1907, offered no such chances, and for that reason was no great attraction to the village people, whereas the H.I.S., procuring the first step to good positions with (for Indonesians) high salaries, had to turn down many applicants. Later on, in large centres, a certain number of "continuation schools" were set up—two-year courses for the benefit of Indonesian urban youth, and a still smaller number of "link schools," two-year courses, "linking" these continuation schools to the H.I.S. and leading a few thousands of Indonesian

pupils to the same goal as the H.I.S. As this H.I.S. procured a Western education with a knowledge of the Dutch language, and since its goal was similar to that of the "European" school (attended by Dutch children), which in its turn was a duplicate of the elementary school in Holland itself, there was no need for a special type of Indonesian secondary education. Continuation along Western lines was the only logical way. As the five-year *Hoogere Burgerschool* (H.B.S.—secondary school, Dutch type), which had an old and exclusively Dutch tradition, gave a course which was too expensive for most Indonesian and for many European parents, the *Mulo* was created in 1914. This is a three-year lower secondary course, followed since 1919 by a three-year higher secondary course, the A.M.S. (*Allgemeene Middel School*—General Intermediate School).

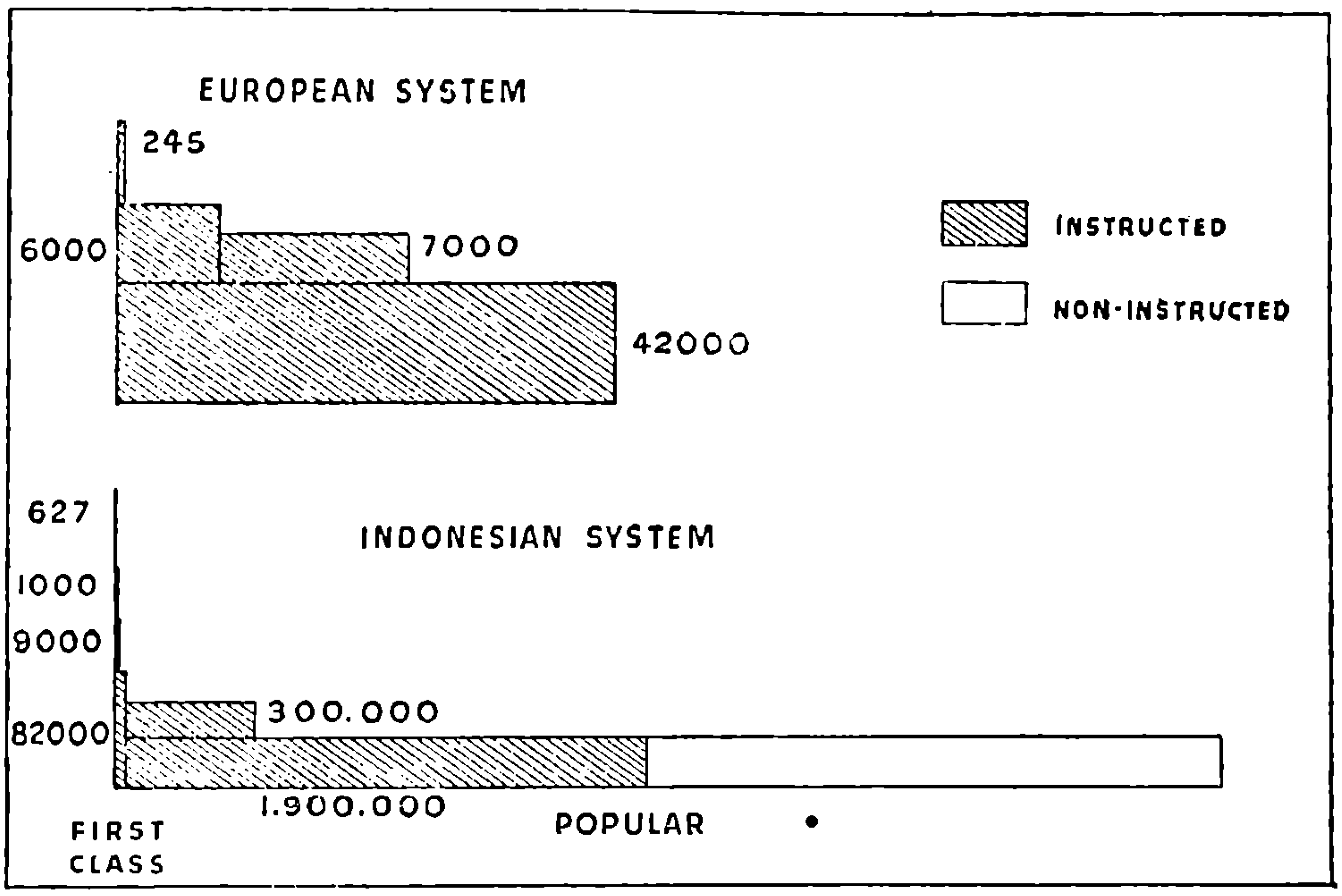
So, for the first time in Indonesian history, a special type of school brought Indonesian students to the doorstep of higher education. The Technological Faculty opened its doors in 1920, the Faculty of Law followed in 1924, the Faculty of Medicine in 1927, whereas the Faculty of Arts (Literature) completed the system just before the beginning of the Second World War.

Thus the impetus of modern colonisation, which in the first instance had looked for stable and intensive Government administration that would secure the safety of its investments, led to the modernisation of life, especially of urban and European life. This created new possibilities for educated Indonesians and called into being a system of "first-class" elementary, secondary, and university education. The Government having to take into consideration, on the one hand, the power and influence of large-scale private enterprise, and on the other the results of the "awakening of the East," attempted to sail between Scylla and Charybdis. The Department of Education itself never obtained more than about 10 per cent. of an annual budget varying between 500 and 300 million guilders, and more than 50 per cent. of the yearly 40 million guilders available were to be spent on European and "first-class" Indonesian education. Clearly the rest was far from sufficient for providing mass education in a country of nearly 70 million inhabitants. The result was inevitable. In 1940, relatively few students followed the "first-class" road; the three-year village schools reached not more than 45 per cent. of the youth of the country; the number of illiterates remained high.

The older generation had never attended school, half of the 4 million children between 6 and 9 years of age got no schooling, and many of the more fortunate half, having no opportunity of using their skill in writing, reading, and arithmetic, fell back into illiteracy. In 1940, 1,896,374 children were on the roll of the three-year schools, which is a big number, but about 2½ million were not, and we should be sorry for that. Above the level of the village school, numbers rapidly decrease: 296,885 children attended

the continuation school (five years), 76,000 the H.I.S. (seven years), 9,000 the *Mulo* (three years lower secondary), 1,000 the A.M.S. (three years higher secondary), 637 got university education.

Education in Indonesia thus consisted of three different systems: First, the European system, through which 42,000 European children got a seven-year education; 7,000 went to the *Mulo*; 6,000 to H.B.S. and Lyceum; 245 to the university. In effect, this means that all European children obtained elementary instruction and that nearly a third received secondary education, a high percentage which gives evidence of the prosperity of the Europeans in the Netherland East Indies. It should be remembered that the number of university students among this group is abnormally small, because most European parents send their children to universities, and even to secondary schools, in Holland. Secondly, the "first-class" Indonesian system with 82,000 Indonesian children, most of them in the seven-year H.I.S., 9,000 in the *Mulo,* 1,000 in the A.M.S., and 627 in the university. Thirdly, a system of popular education, which was not a many-storied building, but a broad, flat plateau with one small second story.



In addition to these systems, vocational instruction was provided for about 35,000 Indonesian pupils in 1940, which indicates that vocational training lagged far behind general academic education. Trades and handicrafts were mainly in the hands of the Chinese, and industrialisation is generally not encouraged in colonial countries since the prime aims are usually the export of raw material and the import of manufactured goods from the metropolis. It is nevertheless somewhat astonishing that agricultural training, including

forestry and cattle-breeding, was given to only 11,000 boys by 345 teachers in a thoroughly agrarian country such as Indonesia.

Teacher training runs parallel to the different systems. No Indonesian teacher was accepted in a European school, even when fully qualified. Since " natural command " of the Dutch language is necessary for teaching Dutch pupils, and since this requirement is very seldom fulfilled, this rule was to some degree justified. On the contrary, instruction in the H.I.S. was in the hands of very well-trained Indonesian teachers. The difference between the qualifications of those teachers who had been trained at levels equal to those of the West and those of the village-school teacher was enormous. The training of the latter was so elementary that they only seldom functioned as cultural leaders in their community.

All this is recent history. A new impulse was clearly needed to start new forms of education. It came in harsh and cruel guise: the war and the Japanese occupation. But the war has had a hopeful effect by transforming the situation and leading to a profound modification of the claims advanced by European Governments. The Department of Education made plans for a new system: a six-year elementary school for 8 million Indonesian children; secondary education in three stages of two years each for half a million; the extension of university education; widespread vocational instruction in several stages after the elementary school and after two or four years of secondary instruction; higher salaries for teachers. To realise such plans would cost 114 million guilders in 1947, 133 millions in 1948, and even larger amounts in following years.

Conclusions

Those who wish to evaluate the education provided by the Government in Indonesia before 1940 must keep in mind the fact that they are judging cultural developments in a colonial country. This means a territory in which the economic motive is paramount, in which, even with the best of intentions, the Government has to overcome the opposition of private interests and to make concessions to powerful groups interested only in education of a colonial character. The small amount of money provided for education, the sharp division between Indonesian and European education, the fees which Indonesian parents and their children have to pay in order to become incorporated into the Western mode of life, the long and extensive schooling with the Dutch language as the chief subject of instruction, the deep and nearly insurmountable abyss between the education for the many on a very modest level and the education of a few elevated above the low general standard, the vulnerable position of the educated Indonesian, whose School Certificate loses value with every decrease in Colonial production and trade, the widespread illiteracy—all these are the characteristic

marks of the colonial system. On the other hand, there had come into being a full educational system, with 2 million children attending elementary schools; there was a "first-class" education for some Indonesians, which was indeed first class. Here was a system mature enough to be extended so that it would serve the welfare of the people as a whole. It needed only to be given fresh vigour by a new spirit—that of the Atlantic Charter.

Was Government education in Indonesia bad? Was it good? Not too bad and not too good, considering all the circumstances—a colonial country with strong colonial traditions, powerful groups needing cheap labour, the motherland far away and not much interested in the cultural development of Indonesia, an economy chiefly rural, a very large population rather passive and not easy to move—one may claim that Government education was something to be proud of.

Nevertheless, when one considers the requirement that the welfare of a colonial people is to be advanced by improving its cultural conditions, one might argue that the Government had failed in many respects. The new plans of the Department of Education show that the Government was indeed conscious of its shortcomings. Had there been full collaboration between the Dutch and Indonesians after the war, in the spirit of the Atlantic Charter, those new plans would have been well under way by this time. However, difficulties arose which led to the destruction of the greater part of the educational system as well as of general goodwill. It will be a difficult task to build anew what has been lost.

ALB. DE LA COURT.

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PART II: INDONESIAN ASPIRATIONS

Educationists in Indonesia are faced with a task which can be accomplished only with supreme difficulty. New situations have arisen owing to the rapid and revolutionary changes which have taken place in the Indonesian community since the beginning of the Second World War. The development amongst the great masses has made on education new demands, mainly of a quantitative character, and, owing to lack of experts and teachers, this is one of the greatest obstacles to be overcome. On the other hand the right direction must be given to the currents active amongst the people, they must be led through co-ordinated channels, they must be stimulated and new elements introduced by educational means. The second main task of education is therefore the determination of its character and aims.

Experience in the past can give guidance for the solution of the major problems. One has to deal with the inheritance of a pre-war educational system, cast in a colonial mould; with the influence of the Japanese occupation during the Second World War; and with the fact that national consciousness has grown stronger and deeper. Its manifestation in the national struggle for independence, in the rejection of the old colonial rule, and in the way the nation seeks its place amongst the other peoples of the world are factors calling for serious consideration, since they are closely related to problems in the educational field.

Pre-war Conditions

Perhaps the most striking characteristic of the education provided by the Netherlands East Indies Government before the war was the way it favoured a very small fraction of the population, while the great masses were left illiterate. The common type of elementary educational institution for the lower classes was the village school, with a three-years course or a five-years course. In 1940 only 2,000,000 pupils were admitted to the village schools, the ratio being 1 in 30 of the total population of 68,632,000 (1940). Figures for the same year showed for the Philippines 1 in 10, for Siam 1 in 12·5, and Indo-China 1 in 30. This type of school had no communication whatsoever with higher educational institutions, since Dutch was not taught there and Dutch was the basic language for secondary or vocational study. Nor was the course of study sufficient to impart literacy to the pupils. The inadequacy of the village-school curriculum is proved by the percentage of illiterates, which was 93 per cent. of the population in 1940. The neglect of the masses in the pre-war period is shown by the share obtained by the native schools in the budget allocation for education in 1940, which was only 11·4 per cent. of the total. For

the socially privileged classes, special primary schools were provided, with Dutch as their basic language, and those schools were linked up with the vocational and secondary schools and also with higher education. The remaining 88·6 per cent. of the 1939–40 appropriations for education was used to meet the needs of those privileged classes, which formed only a small part of the total population, as shown by the following figures of certificates obtained in 1939–40 from those schools:

From Dutch elementary schools	14,305
From secondary schools . .	3,315
From higher schools . .	79
Total number	17,699

Yet the Indonesians, forming more than 97 per cent. of the population, had to share those last figures with other groups, mostly Chinese and Dutch. For instance, in 1941 the total number of students at the universities was 1,087, amongst which were 591 Indonesians.

Another striking feature becomes evident when one compares the total budget with the appropriations set aside for education in the last years before the war. In the Netherlands East Indies it was about 9 per cent., in Siam about 17 per cent., and in the Philippines about 23 per cent.

Taking into consideration the salient features of pre-war educational policy and studying the broad lines of its execution, we can arrive at a proper understanding of the post-war educational reactions of the Indonesians. That educational policy was of great complexity, especially with regard to elementary schools. This complex system was meant to be adapted to the complexity of the existing social system in Indonesia, but it must be stressed that a good deal of the complexity with which the social system was infected was the actual consequence of a well-planned policy towards the inhabitants of the archipelago. Its main trend was the isolation of the respective groups of the population from each other and the stimulation of that isolation. Not only did education bear the features of that policy, but so did other institutions; for instance: justice, citizenship, even medical institutions. This complexity affected not only the different classes of society, but also the various races in Indonesia: Indonesians, Chinese, Arabs, Europeans, Eurasians. Several elementary schools there were provided for the different groups; for instance, Dutch Native schools, Dutch Chinese schools, Dutch Arab schools, etc.

Indonesian initiative in education—the organising of national primary and secondary schools—was restricted by the notorious "superintendence ordinance on private schools," in spite of the fact that those schools largely satisfied the desire for education on the part of the people.

The Japanese Occupation

During the Japanese occupation of Indonesia, the Dutch language was banned from the schools and replaced by Indonesian as the basic language for all branches of education. This had a tremendous effect on the development of that language, which is of Malayan origin and which has long been used in trading throughout the whole archipelago. For this reason it was chosen by the leading politicians as the language of unity, as the national language, suitable to the growing consciousness of Indonesian nationality. In fact, Malayan, originally the popular language of only that small part of the country which is situated near the Malacca peninsula, was elevated into a national language, and called Indonesian.

In public life people prefer its use to that of the regional languages; such as Javanese in Central Java, Sundanese in West Java, Madurese in East Java, Menangkabauan in West Sumatra, Balinese in Bali, etc. In pre-war times, Dutch played an important role in public life, especially amongst intellectuals from the various regional groups, but it was gradually being replaced by Indonesian. This language has been adapted to the modern structure of society by introducing the Latin alphabet and some much-used Latin words which can also be found in every modern language.

Indonesian made great strides owing to the abolition of the Dutch language during the Japanese occupation. Indonesian replaced Dutch in all departments of the civil service and in all schools, including secondary schools and colleges. A research commission, consisting of leading linguists from the various branches of study and the departments of the civil service, was set up to discuss the most suitable technical and scientific Indonesian terms. In a couple of years the difficulties encountered in those spheres were considerably reduced.

The use of Indonesian as the basic language in all schools opened the door to higher education for pupils from the village primary school. Secondary and higher education ceased to be a privilege of the upper classes. It was also one of the advantages of the educational system in those days that the great difference between the various types of elementary schools was remarkably reduced.

In contrast to these benefits of the Japanese occupation, its disadvantages in the educational sphere were manifold.

In the first place, figures show that the number of teachers in primary schools decreased by about 4,000 (30,000 before the war and 26,000 in 1945), owing to the internment of several hundreds of Dutch teachers, but also to the fact that a number of older teachers could not adapt themselves to the changes brought about by the Japanese colonial regime. In addition, many teachers left the schools to enter business, where they were in great demand.

Further, the number of training schools and colleges decreased greatly. Yet the number of pupils in the primary schools has increased by about 500,000 in comparison with 1940, and the existing schools have been greatly overcrowded.

The secondary schools, too, suffered from a great shortage of qualified teachers, since all Dutch teachers were interned. Besides that, a great many school buildings were occupied by the Japanese military forces. The interned Dutch were replaced by capable Indonesian teachers, who had been teaching in primary schools, which is one of the reasons for the smaller number of teachers in the latter schools.

Figures concerning the secondary schools are as follows:

	Schools	*Teachers*	*Students*
Japanese occupation	207	2,219 (Indon.)	52,798 (nearly all Indon.)
Pre-war .	345	2,188 (Indon. and Dutch)	45,000 (Indon., Dutc and Chinese)
Increase .	−138	38	7,798

Besides the great shortage of school accommodation, scholastic supplies were also lacking, and especially books. Dutch books were no longer used and, especially during the first period of the occupation, Indonesian textbooks were non-existent. Gradually, under the supervision of the Indonesian Language Research Commission, Dutch textbooks were translated into Indonesian, and by the end of the war Indonesian textbooks on almost every subject were available for use in secondary schools.

Another cause of trouble was the imposition of Japanese educational methods on Indonesian schools. Military training and compulsory labour by students were the main reasons for many clashes between the Japanese authorities and the Indonesians. Schools often went on strike. The rejection of military training by students caused the arrest of many by the Japanese Gestapo, called the *Kempitai,* and many of these students died in prison. Refusal to perform compulsory labour on public works also caused many students to flee for safety to avoid severe punishment. The resistance of the students of the medical faculty at Batavia was well known in those days.

Physical training was considered beneficial both for boys and for girls and, indeed, the results were remarkable. But on the other hand too much physical training during a period of food shortage is undesirable.

Another serious objection to Japanese interference in educational

matters was their attempt to introduce the so-called "Bushido-mind" amongst the students. It implied military worship and belief in the almighty divinity of the Japanese Emperor, *Tenno Heika*, centre of the world. Thanks to the prevalence of the Muslim faith among the Indonesian islands, Japanese endeavours to spread the Bushido-belief amongst them met with much resistance and criticism.

The Japanese propaganda for South-East Asian unity under the leadership of Japan, carried out in schools, was still worse. At the beginning of the occupation, the apparent logic of the theory attracted many believers, but this was chiefly due to their slight knowledge of the principal political currents in the world. The frustration of political life among the Indonesians by the Dutch Political Intelligence Service was the main reason why so many fell easy victims to Japanese propaganda. But very soon the Indonesians became aware of the Fascist methods, and much discontent and resistance among the population were caused. People suffered from the compulsory labour imposed upon them, and from the compulsory recruitment of labourers for overseas service. Thousands of workers never returned and many died from the terrible conditions under which they had to work in Siam, Malaya, and elsewhere in South-East Asia. The collecting by military forces of livestock and of rice also caused much dissatisfaction.

In order to canalise the threatening discontent amongst the population, a discontent which resulted in many areas in open resistance, clashes, and even military or armed revolt, the Japanese strengthened their anti-Allied propaganda by making use of the rapidly growing nationalism amongst the masses, though this nationalism was itself being fanned by their own horrible misbehaviour and misconduct. For their own security they had to be on good terms with this Indonesian nationalism, which was to be considered as a self-defensive reaction towards foreign domination and misrule. This nationalism reached its height after the Japanese capitulation, when the Indonesian Republic was proclaimed on August 17th, 1945, at a time when Japanese military forces were still all-powerful in Indonesia. But psychologically depressed by their military defeat they could not resist the fury of the masses, which were irresistibly marching to lay hold of the civil and military power. Many Japanese fell a prey to their vengeance.

The Situation After the War

Young people, with some military training, were organising themselves in armed units and laying the foundation of the future Republican army. For a short while schools and reconstruction were neglected, especially on the eve of the landing of the Allied Forces in Indonesia, bringing with them the former rulers, the

Dutch, who wanted to reimpose their rule on the Indonesian territories, which had already proclaimed themselves independent. The faith and self-confidence of youth in those days seemed to be linked up only with arms and militarism.

But the confusion amongst them did not last long. Soon after the first post-war Indonesian Youth Congress in November 1945, the call for educational reconstruction became stronger. Schools were reopened in non-military areas. From some territories occupied by the Allied Forces schools were evacuated to quieter areas. Such, for example, were the High School for Domestic Science which went from Batavia to Djokjakarta in Central Java, and the first classes of the medical and pharmacological faculty, also from Batavia to Central Java.

Many difficulties had to be overcome in connection with providing for the education of evacuees. Hundreds of thousands of families were forced to evacuate to non-military districts owing to the clashes between the Republican and Dutch military units, which were getting more and more serious. After the withdrawal of the British troops in November 1946, the Dutch military forces reigned supreme in the occupied territories. In spite of the recognition by the Dutch in the "Linggadjati Agreement," signed in March 1947 with the Republicans, of the *de facto* authority of the Republican Government over the three main islands, Java, Sumatra, and Madura, military clashes between the two armies continued and reached their height in the so-called police-action, carried out by the Dutch army in July 1947. A truce was realised only by the signing of another agreement, "The Renville Agreement," in January 1948, through the good offices of the Three-Power Commission of the Security Council of the United Nations.

This background of military operations should be taken into account when evaluating the educational attempts made in Java, Sumatra, and Madura, the three main islands in Indonesia, with a total population of about 60,000,000 people. On the one hand, emergency schools for evacuees had to be opened, and especially primary schools. On the other, many students from secondary schools and higher educational institutions joined the Republican army, forming the well-known Students' Army. Others entered the Indonesian Red Cross or the Republican civil service. In the meantime, the need for experts was increasing and was profoundly felt by the Indonesians, who now had full responsibility for civil and military administration. This need demanded the creation of new schools, for instance a wireless operators' school, a technical school for the sugar factories, military academies, medical colleges in Java and Sumatra, and the foundation of a university in Central Java.

In a report to the International Students' Service in Geneva, the general secretary, an Indian professor, Professor Adiseeya, who

had visited Java in 1947 to inspect the schools for higher education, wrote that he was struck by the enthusiasm and the great desire for learning he had met everywhere in Java amongst the youth. But the schools were insufficiently equipped and the need for textbooks was very urgent. Both students and teachers had an immense task, since they had also to give their labour in other fields of the civil service. As for the lack of scholastic material, the International Students' Service was considering the sending of aid.

When one studies the broad lines along which future education must be planned in Indonesia, one reaches certain conclusions.

In the first place, the real proportions and real nature of the influence of nationalism in the educational system must be estimated. Secondly, one must give due consideration to the influence of international cultural contact and the cultural change caused or stimulated by this. In the third place the democratic revolution which has taken place amongst the people makes its own demands, and has effects on education.

Many Indonesian educationists regard nationalism as the principal basis for education. Studying the definitions they give of national education, one reaches the conclusion that what they actually mean is, in the main, a reaction against Western education and its results such as were evident amongst Indonesians in pre-war times. A quotation from Ki Hadjar Dewantoro, who proposed, in 1922, a national school system which he called *Taman Siswa,* illustrates this conclusion:

> Western education considers intellectual development as more important than the progress and the perfection of character and the deepening of religious, social, humanitarian, and moral feelings.
>
> People who obtained education only by means of a Western system are generally ignorant of their own national history; they do not even speak their own language. They are unable to appreciate the beauty of their own national art; they are strangers to the moral lessons found in books written in their own language. They live as foreigners amidst their own people and their own country. In this light Western education is damaging to national civilisation and culture.
>
> The aim of national education is the welfare and well-being of the people, not on a narrow national basis which only concerns the interest of the people in a certain country, but according to general humanitarian ideology.

Nationalists who wish to adopt nationalism as a basis for Indonesian education always point out that care must be taken to ensure that this nationalism is in harmony with the universal spirit. They wish to educate the people to become not only good Indonesian patriots, but also good internationalists.

It is obvious that their objections to Western education are not so much directed towards Western methods as towards their effects on Indonesian students, who come to neglect and forget their own people and culture. Indeed, in the past many intellectuals drifted

away from the community where they originated and so created a small intelligentsia, which had no roots in the Indonesian people.

But if the implementation of Western educational methods demonstrates that in a society not dominated by colonial rule they do not hamper national aims and national developments, the claim for national education will lose its appeal. Actually, great adaptation to international standards is shown by the people. The schools, for instance, are more or less replicas of those of the West—and especially Dutch schools—in spite of the demand for nationalism as a basis of education. The use of Indonesian as the basic language fulfils not only a national need but is also a practical measure, since it supplies the masses very quickly with an education sufficient for their immediate needs.

In the cultural field in general, attention is being paid to international achievements. There is widespread inclination to integrate genuine original cultural expressions with those of other countries. Modern Indonesian music, literature, stage, and painting display the influence of Western contemporary art. In addition, the growth of the manifold branches of art in the direction of a unified Indonesian art demands the acceptance of general international standards and methods as auxiliaries to development, and to attain freedom from the old atrophied methods.

The Indonesian people consists of many groups, each with its own art and culture, in various stages of development. The improvement of transport has liberated them from isolation and the new contacts have resulted in an irresistible trend to find a common basis for cultural expression. This in turn has stimulated a demand for a better definition of Indonesian art and culture. The study and implementation of the cultural methods usual in other countries accelerates this process. This idea has found widespread application, especially in the sphere of handicraft.

" For ourselves, our revolution is both a national awakening and a democratic revolution, made inevitable by the feudal nature of our country and society," wrote Sjahrir in *Indonesia's Fight.* " The Indonesian Republic is therefore an instrument of the democratic revolution. All laws that are not yet perfectly democratic must be made so; and we must prove that the essence of our country's belief is that our people should have freedom of thought, speech, religion, writing, choice of livelihood and education, and that all governing bodies should be elected by popular vote."

By accepting the democratic principle, the Indonesian people seek to realise peace, prosperity, and freedom. But many shortcomings are still obvious in democratic countries, which weakens their position. To avoid mistakes, the Indonesians should have a thorough knowledge of it. Therefore an information service will be established to arouse enthusiasm for this project and to lead the people to accept its rights and responsibilities. Such an informa-

tion service should be set up in accordance with the character and customs of the population in the various territories. Besides that, measures must be taken to raise the standards of living. In Indonesia, agriculture furnishes a livelihood to the greater part of the inhabitants of the villages. For this reason, modern agricultural science should be included in the curriculum of the village school so as to improve and rationalise cultivation of the soil, and thus to improve the livelihood of the people.

The fight against illiteracy is of a provisional and supplementary kind. It is to be carried out in conjunction with an educational policy designed to safeguard the fastest possible expansion of elementary education. The factors related to the eradication of illiteracy are:

(*a*) *The recipients of instruction:* they consist of different age-groups; distinction in this respect must be made, and it is easily understood that young people should have priority.

(*b*) *The instructors:* up to the present only those people who consider it their responsibility to reduce illiteracy have taken part, and these constitute the backbone of the undertaking; if the plan was expanded into thousands of courses, then perhaps instructors from other groups as well should be employed with payment.

(*c*) *The organisation:* up to the present only small organisations have occupied themselves with the effort, and this has proved to be unsatisfactory; a strong central organisation should be set up with the assistance of the Government.

Another form of mass education, a university extension movement, will have to be organised in order to spread useful practical knowledge amongst the people who have no opportunity to extend their school education. This means mass education at a higher level. A curriculum, chosen not for the benefit of intellectuals, but adapted to the basic knowledge of the average literate, should be introduced. Current events should be made understandable. This kind of education will be supplementary to the attempts of the information service in mass education.

HURUSTIATI SUBANDRIO.

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CHAPTER SIX

THE PHILIPPINES

RECONSTRUCTION AFTER OCCUPATION

From the Inauguration of the Commonwealth to Pearl Harbour

By 1935, the year when the Philippines became a Commonwealth by virtue of the Tydings-McDuffie Act passed by the United States Congress, the system of free universal education established by the Americans at the turn of the century had gained phenomenal headway and produced significant results. For one thing, English, the medium of instruction, had not only provided the various linguistic groups of the country with a convenient means of communication, but had also served as a new vehicle of literary expression for a rising generation of writers. This had contributed tremendously towards national solidarity so essential to the independent statehood to which the Filipinos were aspiring.

This was an age-old aspiration. For like their Malay ancestors, the Filipinos are a freedom-loving people; and during more than three centuries while the Spaniards dominated and exploited them, they always dreamed of regaining the independence that they had lost. Again and again they rose in revolt, only to be met with ruthless reprisals. The Revolution of 1896–8 was the climax of this struggle, and the Filipinos were thankful for the timely aid that the United States gave them. But they were shocked and disillusioned when their erstwhile ally refused to recognise the Republic that they had established. In vain did the Filipinos try to defend their young Republic against the American forces, and in the end they had to resign themselves to their fate of being under another foreign power.

Fortunately for the Filipinos, the Americans turned out to be quite different from the Spaniards. With the establishment of civil government in 1901, they announced their intention not to exploit the Filipinos, but to train them in democratic self-government. The Filipinos proved to be eager and capable pupils. The inauguration of the Commonwealth was, in a way, a public recognition on the part of the Americans that the Filipinos had learned their lesson well, and that they had to wait only a little longer to become politically independent. In fact, this complete political independence was to come on July 4th, 1946.

The entire educational system was geared to this eventuality. Because political independence is worthless unless it goes hand in hand with economic independence, the dignity of labour was

given greater and greater emphasis. The schools contributed greatly towards this end by including in their curricula farming, industrial work, and domestic science. Boys and girls were encouraged to enrol in the farm and trade schools established in various parts of the country.

The co-educational character of the public school, the equal emphasis given to the education of girls as to the education of boys, brought the girls out of the seclusion of the home and of the convent school into open competition with the boys in all forms of endeavour, including the professions. This, however, did not destroy or even diminish the innate gallantry that the Filipinos had always had for their women. On the contrary, the discovery that women could hold their own in law and medicine and business as well as in other professions, and in trades hitherto considered the special province of men, immeasurably enhanced their prestige and influence.

In other words, the system of free universal education set up in this country by the Americans enabled the Filipino woman to enlarge the scope of her activities and to take part in the larger affairs of the community. No longer content with her traditional rôle of wife, mother, and mistress of the home, she began to engage in social work, to help tackle community problems, and even to take part in political activities. Through both the spoken and the written word she began to give voice to her new interests; and she joined organisations to strengthen her position.

Thus the system of free universal education wrought profound and far-reaching changes in the tempo, the temper, and the pattern of Philippine society. Little by little the Spanish cultural influences were being supplanted by the American. The Filipinos were recapturing their traditional life of freedom, and learning to assume their responsibilities as well as to assert their rights as citizens of a modern democracy. Their national self-respect was being restored; and they had come to look upon the Americans, not as conquerors, but as mentors and friends.

All these changes augured well for the life of the new Commonwealth. But Manuel Luis Quezon, its first President, felt it imperative to strengthen the spirit of nationalism. This feeling was shared by the framers of the Constitution of the Commonwealth and by the leading educationists of the country.

One of the steps taken to bring this about was the creation of the Institute of National Language. The Institute was charged with developing and disseminating a National Language to be based on one of the major Philippine languages, preferably Tagalog. The study of this language was then included in the curriculum for every level of instruction from the first grade through the university. The plan was to make it eventually the offi-

Then, too, the textbooks and supplementary readers were revised to include more Philippine materials; and it was stipulated that, as far as possible, they should be written by Filipino authors. This was particularly necessary with regard to social science books, and specifically with regard to Philippine history. Up to that time, Philippine history had always been written either from the Spanish or from the American point of view. The Filipino national heroes, if they were mentioned at all, were usually depicted as rebels, traitors, and criminals. It was felt that, if Filipino children were to be proud of their country and of their race, they should be made to see Philippine history and the great men and women who figured in it in a new and more favourable light.

For the same reason, it was felt that the teaching of the social sciences should be assigned to Filipinos. All things being equal, it was believed that Filipino teachers would have a sympathetic understanding and appreciation of Philippine history, customs, and traditions; and they, more than foreign teachers, would be able to interpret them to the young. In this way, it was hoped to build up the morale of the nation and to evolve a citizenship imbued with fierce pride in its heritage and with unquenchable faith in its destiny.

To give expression to this faith and to help ensure the stability of the nation, President Quezon ordered compulsory military training and invited General Douglas MacArthur himself to be his adviser on military affairs. The far-sightedness of this order and the effectiveness of this training were soon put to the test. In less than five years, the boys who had undergone this training faced the enemy on Bataan and Corregidor with gallantry and courage, fortitude and stoic heroism, that won the admiration of Winston Churchill himself. Hopelessly outnumbered, they had to surrender—but not before they had stemmed the tide of battle and enabled the Americans under MacArthur to retreat to Australia and to prepare a counter-offensive. Even after the surrender, these boys did not give up the fight altogether, despite General Jonathan Wainright's order. Forming guerrilla units, they harassed the enemy, sabotaged his activities, and kept in constant contact with MacArthur until the Liberation.

Although it may not be apparent on the surface, this has a very significant relation with the system of free universal education established in the Philippines at the turn of the century. For the Philippine public school had served as a training-ground for life in a democracy. Here the boys who fought on Bataan and Corregidor had learned about democracy, not only as a political institution, but also as a way of life and as a social faith. They had become so imbued with this faith that they were willing to fight and to die for it.

The Japanese Occupation, 1942–5

The Japanese made it plain from the start that they would force the Filipinos to go back five hundred years if necessary, in order to wipe out all vestiges of Western, and especially Anglo-Saxon, culture from their lives. For this purpose, one of the first official acts of the Commander-in-Chief of the Imperial Japanese Forces was to issue, on February 17th, 1942, Order No. 2 embodying the "Basic Principles of Education in the Philippines":

(1) To make the people understand the position of the Philippines as a member of the East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere, the true meaning of the establishment of a New Order in the Sphere, and the share which the Philippines should take for the realisation of the New Order, and thus promote friendly relations between Japan and the Philippines to the furthest extent;

(2) To eradicate the old idea of the reliance upon the Western nations, especially upon the United States and Great Britain, and to foster a new Filipino culture based on the self-consciousness of the people as Orientals;

(3) To endeavour to elevate the morale of the people, giving up the overemphasis on materialism;

(4) To strive for the diffusion of the Japanese language in the Philippines, and to terminate the use of English in due course;

(5) To put an importance to the diffusion of elementary education and to the promotion of vocational education; and

(6) To inspire the people with the spirit to love labour.

With diligence, the Japanese military authorities, through the Philippine Executive Commission, immediately began to implement these principles. They ordered the compilation of new textbooks. In the meantime, they allowed the use of the old textbooks, but they took the precaution of having "improper and unsuitable" parts of them eliminated first. By improper and unsuitable parts they meant passages and illustrations likely to remind the children of America, the Commonwealth of the Philippines, and the democratic way of life.

The public elementary schools were the first permitted to reopen. Later, normal schools, vocational schools, and those giving courses in agriculture, fisheries, medicine, and engineering were also allowed to reopen. But the Japanese Military Administration frowned on liberal education, so essential to democratic living.

In fact, to kill and to counteract the spirit of democracy among the people, the Japanese made constant use of the platform, the radio, and the press as well as the school in disseminating their philosophy of life. They explained that "the idea of Co-Prosperity in East Asia carries no thought of domination, but envisages universal concord on the basis of freedom, equality, and mutual respect. Japan . . does not desire to prosper at the expense of the

rest of the Asiatic countries, but seeks to find in the common prosperity of the whole of Asia her own happiness and well-being. Co-Prosperity in Greater East Asia . . . carries with it no element of exploitation or exclusiveness; and Japan, while occupying the place of leadership, does not involve absorption or annexation, nor is it to rest upon a relationship between conqueror and conquered. It means . . . 'a federation of independent states for a common ideal—a combination calculated to promote individual development of the members of the Sphere as well as the harmony of the whole,' because . . . 'it is with a chivalrous spirit that Japan is now leading her sister nations in Asia to a higher plane of political, social, and moral responsibility'."

But only a handful of Filipinos were won over by this propaganda. The people as a whole made fun of the continual ceremony of bowing that they were forced to observe, the lectures to which they were forced to listen, the Japanese songs that they were forced to sing, the programmes that they were forced to attend, and the language that they were forced to learn. Children by the tens of thousands refused to go to school, or their parents refused to send them. This was an eloquent protest against the system of education that the Japanese were trying to implant in the country, considering that the Filipinos as a people have a passion for education.

The Japanese could not carry out their educational programme with any degree of steadfastness, because they were constantly harassed by guerrilla raids and by rumours about the imminent return of the Americans. Soon they began to commandeer school plants throughout the country and used them as barracks, ammunition dumps, and political prisons. That is why very few school buildings were left standing after the Liberation.

The Liberation and After

Even while the Battle for the Liberation of the Philippines was still in progress, the United States Army, through its Philippine Civil Affairs Unit (PCAU), began to reopen as many schools as possible. These schools were taken over by the Department of Education and Information as soon as civil government was set up and as soon as transportation and communication systems were re-established.

The Philippine Civil Affairs Unit of the United States Army and, later, the Department of Education and Information of the Philippine Government were faced with almost insurmountable difficulties from the very start, some of which were:

(1) School plants throughout the archipelago were either badly damaged or totally destroyed. A report released on July 15th, 1946, revealed that:

Estimated cost of repair of partially damaged (in pesos)

(*a*) Buildings .	P24,866,692·61
(*b*) Fences . . .	4,558,422·10
Estimated cost of construction of totally damaged	
(*a*) Buildings	91,548,355·73
(*b*) Fences .	5,579,045·75
Total	P126,552,516·19

Parents and other citizens were eager to give aid in time, labour, and materials; but because they had to resort to the use of bamboo, nipa, and rattan, which were then the only materials available, the buildings that they were able to put up were rather flimsy.

(2) School supplies, furniture, equipment, and books worth millions of pesos were either looted or destroyed. During the first year after the Liberation, children had to sit on the floor and to use the bare walls for blackboards. The donations of books that have been received from abroad, especially from America, together with the new purchases, are not enough to replace pre-war collections or to meet the needs of the schools. There is very little money with which to buy new laboratory equipment. Very few items are available, anyway. For these reasons, even colleges and universities lack the library and laboratory facilities essential to research and effective instruction.

(3) Only about 10 per cent. of the 1941 student population went to school during the Japanese Occupation. After the Liberation, these children, whose formal schooling had thus been retarded for more than three years, clamoured for admission into the few schools that could be opened. In other words, the school system was faced with the problem of providing for a great number of over-age children in addition to the normal yearly increase in the enrolment—at a time when it was not in a position to meet even the normal educational requirements of the country.

(4) The cost of living after the Liberation, which is about five times as high as before the war, has forced teachers to seek employment elsewhere; for, as in most other countries, in the Philippines teachers are underpaid. Then, too, many teachers were killed or died from the ravages of diseases and from the effects of undernourishment during the Occupation. That is why young men and women with meagre professional preparation have had to be admitted into the service. As might be expected, this has affected the quality of instruction.

(5) As an aftermath of the war, there has been a general breakdown of moral values. The problem of juvenile delinquency has assumed serious proportions, taxing the patience and the ingenuity

of social agencies as well as the school and the home. At the same time, lack of playground facilities has driven children and adolescents into the streets and into questionable places of recreation and amusement.

(6) Before Pearl Harbour, the University of the Philippines, which is the apex of the public educational system in the country, the highest institution of learning founded and supported by the State, was housed in concrete buildings of Classic design on a ten-hectare campus. With twenty-five schools and colleges, it had splendidly equipped laboratories and libraries. This modern plant was commandeered by the Japanese invading forces as soon as they entered Manila on January 2nd, 1942. Shelled by the American forces of liberation in February 1945, the campus is now a ghastly sight. Needless to say, all the libraries, laboratories, furniture, and equipment, and musical instruments in the Conservatory of Music, were destroyed. The University of the Philippines has long since reopened its doors, but it has to be satisfied with makeshifts.

The greatest problem of the Philippines to-day is how to maintain an adequate system of public education, giving free primary instruction and citizenship training to all children of school age. This involves a huge financial outlay which the Government is not yet in a position to provide, although 37 per cent. of its yearly appropriation is already allotted to education. Even before the war, the school facilities of the Government were never enough to take care of all the children clamouring for admission.

For this reason, private schools, colleges, and universities have played a more and more important role in the Philippine educational system. And since the Liberation, they have increased in number, not only in Manila, but also throughout the archipelago. This has given rise to two problems.

The first of these problems is the danger of commercialisation; the temptation to open schools for the sake of profit alone, without regard for standards in housing, equipment, and quality of instruction. Grades and diplomas may, in this way, be looked upon as the ultimate aim of education.

The second problem is the danger that ideologies inimical to the democratic principles underlying the pattern of our society and the system of our government may infiltrate through these schools into the minds of the people, especially since many of these schools are run by foreigners.

These dangers are warded off by the Bureau of Private Schools, which sees to it that the educational standards set by law are upheld. Through its supervisors, it keeps an eye on plants, equipment, and library collections as well as on the content and methods of instruction in private schools, colleges, and universities. There is also a Board on Textbooks, which examines all textbooks and

supplementary readers used in both private and public schools and sees to it that nothing in them violates the supreme law of the land.

Despite severe handicaps, the Philippines as an independent Republic are determined to push through its ambitious educational programme in accordance with the requirements of the Constitution and with its new international role. Giving weight to vocational training, citizenship, and moral instruction, it has for its goal a wholesome nationalism by conserving all the distinctive features of Philippine culture which might enrich the sum of world civilisation. At the same time, however, in accordance with the ideals and principles of the UNESCO, of which it is a Member State, it seeks to promote international understanding and co-operation.

The National Council of Education, which until 1947 was the President's advisory body on educational affairs, formulated the following objectives of the Philippine educational system:

(1) To impress upon our people that they are citizens of a republic, to instil in them love and veneration for their country, and to train them to discharge willingly and faithfully their duties and obligations as citizens of an independent State.

(2) To evolve a healthy, enlightened, and morally upright citizenship imbued with an abiding faith in the Divine Providence.

(3) To inculcate in our people the ideals of democracy, to make them realise that the fundamental rights of man should be preserved at any cost if they are to attain self-fulfilment.

(4) To develop in the people habits of industry and thrift, and to equip them with the necessary skills and knowledge which would enable them to earn an honest livelihood and contribute to the economic well-being of the country.

(5) To train our men and women for family responsibilities and the obligations of the home.

(6) To guide our people in the wise use of leisure so that it may contribute to their personal growth and promote the welfare of the community.

(7) To infuse in the individual the desire and the willingness to help his community; to instil in him sympathy for, understanding of, and goodwill toward his fellow-men.

(8) To promote in our youth a way of life which embodies the best of our cultural heritage, enriched by the valuable experiences of other peoples.

(9) To foster among our people appreciation of the arts, sciences, and letters so that their taste may be refined, their lives enriched, and their sympathies deepened.

(10) To cultivate in our people a sympathetic understanding of other nations through a study of the contributions that these nations have made to civilisation.

The National Council of Education has been replaced by the National Commission on Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Matters, which will serve, not only as an advisory body to the President on educational, scientific, and cultural affairs, but also as a liaison agency between the Government of the Philippines and the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organisation.

ENCARNACION ALZONA.

CHAPTER SEVEN

INDO-CHINA

GRAFTING FRENCH CULTURE ON A FAR EASTERN STOCK

We are concerned here with an examination of the position of education among the peoples and in the countries of Indo-China which France has now recognised as free States, members of the French Union. They include: (1) *Vietnam*, comprising three countries: Northern Vietnam (Tonkin), Central Vietnam (Annam), and Southern Vietnam (Cochin-China), with a population in 1937 of 19 millions, the majority Annamite; (2) *Cambodia*, with 3 million inhabitants, descendants of the Khmers who built the famous temples at Angkhor; (3) *Laos*, most of whose million inhabitants are Laotians of the Thai branch.

Vietnamians, Cambodians, and Laotians form the majority of the population in their respective territories; they have their own civilisation, their own language and script. But alongside them there exist autonomous ethnical groups of Indonesian or Thai stock, each with its own language and customs. These represent about a million inhabitants.

From the time of the occupation of Cochin-China until the signing of the treaties with Cambodia, Laos, and the emperor of Annam, and the cessation of hostilities in the mountainous district of the interior, France progressively took the responsibility for the political conduct of the country, either through direct administration or as protecting Power, and above all by setting up the general government of French Indo-China. French policy was therefore the determining factor in education up to the time of the Japanese aggression in March 1945. The new independent States of Indo-China, members of the French Union, are now faced with a new problem, that of realising on a national basis the education and the cultural and technical development of their peoples with the aid of Western culture and techniques represented by the University of France and French educational system.

During the " colonial " period up to 1945, France's educational achievement in Indo-China bears the imprint of the policy of assimilation and colonisation which inspired it. Obviously the task was that of linking and integrating the countries of Indo-China politically and culturally with France. Views may vary as to the importance and scope of this task, there may be criticism of its aims as well as of its shortcomings, but it cannot be denied that definite results were achieved. A mixed culture, firmly grafted on

that of the West, was implanted in the countries of Indo-China. A first generation of educated minds was trained and is already providing the first element for the cadres needed for administrative and technical posts. Popular education, which reached the mass of the people, was begun, especially in Vietnam. Here we shall merely describe and analyse the work done, work which could be begun only just after the First World War. To understand what it involved we must consider the situation in Indo-China when French educationists began their work there.

The Situation in Indo-China

What, then, was Indo-China when France embarked on her policy of education and cultural expansion?

In the first place it was a composite country whose parts were precariously linked, a meeting-ground of peoples different in origin, language, social status, and civilisation. There were the Annamites of Vietnam, a vigorous, expanding, colonising nation which spread southwards, skirting the mountains and plateaux of the interior, and turned Cochin-China into a new land of pioneers. There were the Cambodians, who had attained the heights of the Angkhor period but were driven back by the Annamites to their River Mekong and their historic temples. There were the Laotians, grouped round the middle reaches of the Mekong from north of Luang Prabang to south of Paksé. And lastly, scattered among the mountainous regions of Vietnam, were older and more primitive isolated tribes, Mois, Khas, Meos, and Thos. This was the ethnical and political medley which France, over a period of fifty years, by means of a common direction, administration, and education, changed into a federation of States, making of Indo-China a specifically French creation.

But Indo-China is also a country with an old civilisation, or rather with two old civilisations which, emerging from the earliest history of China and India, find here their common frontier. Indo-China was no newly discovered land to be colonised, to be discovered and peopled, but the home of mandarins and scholars. Chinese civilisation set its powerful distinctive seal on the Annamite people and culture. It gave them the moral code of Confucius, the idea of law and of the State, Chinese characters and maxims. The customs and political life of old Annam, as well as its village life, derive from Chinese civilisation.

On the other hand, the influence of Buddhism and Indian civilisation survived and grew among the Cambodians and Laotians. They owe to it their writing and their religion, their priests and their pagodas, their code of personal and social behaviour.

So in Cambodia and Laos, as in Vietnam, in the land of the bonzes as in that of the mandarins, there existed the elements of a

nation, of autonomous political and social life, of a complete civilisation, but a civilisation compelled by its history and tradition to remain static, and aware of its impotence in the face of the developments of modern life. Indo-China, lacking contacts with the outside world, and with its eyes turned inwards, was a country with a rural and artisan economy limited to the province and the district, with the commune as its centre. It was not a country without culture—traditional teaching using Chinese characters was alive and widespread among its people—but a country of tradition, alien to the needs and dynamism of modern life.

And in the villages, a few miles from the new or modernised towns, from factories and plantations, in the encampments of the peaceful hilly region near the Mekong, the daily, seasonal round of the past still went on, unaware of the passage of time and of modern techniques.

The Cultural Policy of France

This was the complex group of peoples, with live but static traditional civilisations, which came under the control of French educational and cultural policy. Administrative and economic systems were set up, the French language became the medium of instruction and cultural influence, the political forms and ideas of the West were introduced. The influence of Western technical development became widespread, the mechanism for modernising intellectual and social life was set in motion and soon proved to be in line with national aspirations, particularly among the Annamites but also among the Cambodians and the more progressive Laotians. Hence the twofold character of French educational and cultural policy; on the one hand, respect for the existing civilisations, the culture, language, institutions, aspirations, and even national customs of Indo-China; on the other, vigorous action to ensure the progress and development of the country and its participation in modern life by introducing the French language, setting up *lycées*, technical schools, and universities, sending large numbers of students to France, and training in the schools of the West a new *élite* for posts of responsibility.

This same twofold character was evident in the reactions of the Indo-Chinese themselves, clinging to their national consciousness and to their traditional culture, but eager for progress and education and anxious to assimilate modern culture and its techniques. The result was a kind of symbiosis, a synthesis between the contribution of the West in the shape of French culture and the spirit and tradition of the culture of the Far East, which is not itself assimilated but rather assimilates and utilises Western influences.

And this finally inspired the solution found for educational and cultural problems in Indo-China. It is true that in the early stages, under the influence of prevailing ideas as to the need for complete

assimilation and a belief in the intellectual superiority of the West, under pressure, too, from the urban populations for whom the French school opened the door to modern life and more particularly to posts in Government service, a French system of education closely resembling that of the metropolis, with the same teachers, the same books, the same syllabuses, the same methods, and the same diplomas, was advocated, consolidated, and insisted upon. And until recently there was in the attitude of the Indo-Chinese towards education, especially secondary and higher education, a keen desire for a system of the same technical and cultural level as that of Europe, based on a similar curriculum and leading to the same diplomas. It soon became apparent, however, that it was impossible for all educational institutions to be divorced from their geographical and national background and to turn their backs on the history, the language, and the life of the country. It was appreciated that Indo-China herself must have a place in the curriculum, that the starting-point must be the native soil, even though the goal was the French university. Since the people of Vietnam have a language whose written form was fixed as long ago as the seventeenth century by Christian missionaries to Indo-China—*quoc-nghu* is the Annamite tongue transposed into Latin characters—the instrument for national, popular culture was ready to hand. As he progresses through school life and the French language becomes the medium of instruction, the Indo-Chinese student comes gradually into closer contact with general culture and finally goes to the university to study medicine, law, science, or the most modern literary disciplines.

But at every stage of the ladder, even when the French language becomes the tool for acquiring culture or technical knowledge, care is taken to ensure that Indo-China itself, its language and history, shall be studied and known. It thus became possible to introduce into the French educational system the study of the Far Eastern classics, and, thanks to the sustained effort of the *École française d'Extrême Orient,* Indo-China rediscovered its own history, its monuments, its works of art, and the very foundation of its civilisation.

Forms of Cultural Activity

This was the path followed by the cultural evolution of Indo-China, these the forces which guided its progress, the ideas which inspired it. In supplying, particularly after 1920, what was one of the basic needs of the country, French policy was the deciding factor. It seems desirable here to give a brief sketch of the Indo-Chinese educational institutions, to describe the various systems—primary, secondary, technical, and higher—which obtained up to 1945 and which laid the foundations of a broad, popular education, provided in growing measure the trained personnel

needed for administrative and economic life, and gave rise, by way of the French language, to an Indo-Chinese culture, part and parcel of the national life and capable of assimilating the techniques and culture of the modern world.

Primary Education

Primary education in Indo-China represents one of the greatest efforts made, especially in the last thirty years, on behalf of the Indo-Chinese people, an effort all the more efficacious in that it was in conformity with an old national tradition. The civilisations of Annam and Cambodia had their own systems of education and culture. Traditional teaching was still a respected institution among the Annamites. In many villages, a more or less educated schoolmaster, occasionally a scholar, taught the children the chief Chinese characters, the elements of morals, politeness, and civics. Among the Cambodians it was at the pagoda, from the bonze, that the child received his education, for the most part religious and moral. In these countries, where an ardent, deeply rooted respect for the schoolmaster and scholar survived, where education was traditional, the population gave enthusiastic support to the effort to make it widespread.

Indo-Chinese primary education is popular education and has already reached a considerable proportion of the potential school population, particularly in the Annamite deltas and the more densely peopled areas. In 1944, the total number of scholars, including those in private and foreign schools, mostly Chinese, was 854,792, of whom 707,285 were in State schools. In 1930, out of a total of 435,782, 378,746 were in State schools, and in 1938, 474,258 out of a total of 571,395. Between 1938 and 1944, therefore, in spite of the many difficulties resulting from the war, the primary school population in the State schools increased by more than 50 per cent.

Primary education in Indo-China has two original features: it is French and national, and it is divided into two successive grades. The first, the elementary stage, is strictly Indo-Chinese. It makes the widest appeal, being given in the native language, Annamite, Khmer, Laotian, and even the dialects of the hilly regions. It is adapted to the geographical situation and to the traditions of the region, and it is a three-year course. A very large proportion of the Indo-Chinese children being educated receive this primary education, which is many-sided, has the country itself as the centre of interest, and aims at the acquiring of accurate and useful knowledge within the social framework.

The second stage, the complementary course, also lasts for three years. After the second year French becomes the language of the classroom. It is, therefore, a French education, which constitutes the means of selection for entrance to the secondary school and

which brings to the population of the towns and the trading centres a knowledge of the French language which has made it not only the political language of education and culture but also the spoken language, a real medium of communication.

The development of primary education involved considerable resources in personnel, equipment, and buildings. The following figures illustrate its importance: in 1944 there were 18,770 primary school teachers, all Indo-Chinese; primary school text-books, published in the native languages by order of the Director of Education, numbered more than 10 million.

Secondary Education

Secondary education in Indo-China is both cultural and, to some extent, vocational in that it is a preparation for posts of minor responsibility. It consists of the full secondary course leading to the *baccalauréat,* and also a short four-year course at the end of which a local diploma is taken. Students taking the shorter course may go on to complete the full course. Secondary education, too, has developed in two gradually converging directions, one French, the other Indo-Chinese. The system comprises:

(1) *Metropolitan secondary education,* federal in character, an exact replica of French education and given in federal *lycées* available not only to French pupils but also in large measure to Indo-Chinese pupils through the application of a policy of unquestionable liberalism. The *lycée* Albert Sarraut at Hanoi had 1,386 pupils, 341 of them Indo-Chinese; at the *lycée* Chasseloup-Lanbat in Saigon 252 of the 1,671 pupils were Indo-Chinese, and at the *lycée* Yersin in the healthy, mountainous region of Dalat there were 94 Indo-Chinese out of a total of 682.

(2) *Indo-Chinese secondary education,* a continuation of Indo-Chinese higher elementary education. It was at first planned to lead to a local *baccalauréat* by way of Far Eastern classical studies, but at the request of the Indo-Chinese themselves it became a French education of the metropolitan type, leading to a modern *baccalauréat.* To guard against the disadvantages of this system an attempt was made to incorporate into it a course of Far Eastern classical studies, Latin being replaced by Chinese and Sino-Annamite language and literature, the basis of Vietnamese culture. This experiment, begun five years ago, was interrupted by the events of 1945. There were four Indo-Chinese *lycées*: the *lycée du Protectorat* at Hanoi, Petrus Ky at Saigon, Khai Dinh at Hué, Sisowath at Phnom-Penh.

The importance of this secondary education can be assessed from its results. In 1944, for the second session of 1943 and the first session of 1944, of 3,579 candidates at the two parts of the *baccalauréat,* 908 were successful. Out of 1,060 candidates 440 completed their *baccalauréat.*

(3) *Higher elementary education*, an intermediate education with French as the medium of instruction, and the main instrument for the diffusion of the French language. By its adaptation to the needs of the country and by the content of the curriculum, it is also Indo-Chinese. It is a four-year course leading to the Certificate of Indo-Chinese Higher Elementary Studies, equivalent to the *brevet élémentaire*. There were 6,550 pupils taking this course, distributed among 20 schools, 8 in Tonkin, 5 in Annam, 4 in Cochin-China, 2 in Cambodia, and 1 in Laos. For the two sessions of 1944, 1,237 candidates out of 5,253 gained the certificate.

Technical Education

For a long time the need for technical and professional education was not appreciated in Indo-China. The Indo-Chinese were scholars or prospective scholars as yet unaware of its value. Times have changed, and the economic progress and industrialisation of Indo-China, particularly in the north, created a demand not only for qualified manpower but also for a foreman class of master craftsmen. Technical education on a new basis had therefore to be developed, and the experiment begun in 1938 gave excellent results. I am convinced that the Indo-Chinese are anxious for technical education and that it figures in the forefront of their reconstruction programme.

There were two main trends in Indo-Chinese technical and professional education:

(1) *Industrial technical education*, based on the needs of the district and comprising workshop schools and training centres turning out skilled labour, going on to secondary education, industrial technical schools, professional schools, and special schools training foremen, specialists in electricity, surveying, and the like and equipped with the general culture and technical knowledge essential for the requirements of modern life. The Industrial Technical Schools at Hanoi, Saigon, and Hué, and the Professional School at Phnom-Penh, were the most important institutions of this kind.

(2) *Art education*, aiming at bringing new life to the crafts by the application of modern techniques to traditional artistic ideas, and represented by the School of Arts and Crafts at Hanoi with its three sections, cabinet-making, ceramics, and engraving; three schools in Cochin-China, Gia Dinh, general training in the graphic arts, Bien Hoa, ceramics, Thudaumot, cabinet-making; and finally, the School of Cambodian Art at Pnom-Penh, where remarkable work was done by the late M. Groslier, who died in a Japanese prison.

The Education of Girls

The explanation of the fact that the development of girls' education did not keep pace with that of boys is to be found in the social,

domestic, and economic position of women in Indo-China. Guardian of the home, responsible for handing on and training the life of the next generation, the woman was bound by custom and tradition. To the colonisers as to the traditional authorities it seemed unnecessary, useless, and even dangerous to initiate her into modern life.

In Indo-China, however, there were not the same obstacles to be overcome as in Muslim countries or in India. In the traditional teaching of Vietnam both sexes were taught the characters, and women were not entirely deprived of education. And so the spirit of competition acted as a stimulus in the movement towards the education of girls, particularly in Vietnam. From 1920 to 1930 onwards, in the urban districts of Indo-China as in China, there were rapid developments, largely owing to the influence of the schools. By 1944 the number of girls in school had risen to 100,630, one girl to every eight boys. In 1943 there were 1,084 girls receiving higher elementary or secondary education. Important schools for girls came into being at Hanoi, Hué, and Saigon, and an ever-growing number of women reached the university and proceeded to higher studies. Some of these have already become doctors of medicine and pharmacy. At the same time women have been taking their place, socially and economically, especially in Vietnam.

Higher Education

It is perhaps in higher education that the influence of French policy is most marked.

As early as 1917 France founded the University of Hanoi, but it was by the successive creation of Faculties or Institutes of Higher Studies that it was organised on the model of the French universities, with a qualified teaching staff and State diplomas like those of the metropolis. The School of Medicine became a Faculty in 1933, the Faculty of Law came into being in 1931, and in 1941 the Institute of Scientific Studies was founded. The activities of the university and higher education can be classed under three main headings:

(1) The University of Hanoi.

(2) The Institutes constituting the Indo-Chinese University.

(3) The work of Indo-Chinese students studying in France.

To these must be added scientific institutes such as the French School of Far Eastern Studies and the Oceanographic Institute.

In 1944, the University of Hanoi, with 1,528 students, 371 of them French, comprised three departments of higher studies, metropolitan in type—the Faculty of Medicine and Pharmacy with 353 students (medicine 226, pharmacy 44, dental surgery 45, midwives 38); the Faculty of Law with 594 students (508 studying for a first degree, 47 for a doctorate, 39 for the certificate of Indo-Chinese

legal studies); and the Institute of Scientific Studies in French *École Superieure de Sciences* with 275 students. For more than ten years the University of Hanoi trained students reading law, medicine, and more recently science, as well as engineers, agricultural experts, and teachers.

Besides the Faculties proper there are the technical and scientific institutes of the Indo-Chinese University. There is, for example, the College of Art with its two sections, painting and lacquer, and sculpture and architecture. The School of Architecture is now autonomous. There is the School of Agriculture and Forestry (63 students) training engineers and technicians, some of whom complete their studies at the French Tropical Agricultural Institute. There is the Veterinary College and the Institute of Public Works with courses of study related to those of the university.

In addition to the students training in the Indo-Chinese University a considerable number have gone to the metropolis to pursue courses of higher study, many of them with scholarships or loans, many at their own expense. The typical hard-working Vietnamese student used to be a familiar figure in the Latin quarter and in the provincial universities.

In higher secondary and technical education, in the university, and in the colleges and technical institutes of France, the leaders of the Indo-Chinese nation were trained and given the keys of the city. The university produced leaders and administrators, an *élite* destined by their training and by their ambition to be the ruling classes. From the Faculty of Law came more than two hundred bachelors and doctors of law who have become magistrates, administrators, mandarins, and lawyers, and who were unfortunately at one time restricted to subordinate positions. The Faculties of Medicine gave to Indo-China more than two hundred doctors of medicine who are distributed among the principal towns, serving their people and sometimes taking an active part in the social and political life of the country. From the technical institutes came engineers and agricultural experts, teachers from the University of Hanoi and the French Faculties. Among the 500 or so Indo-Chinese students now in France, many are studying at the *grandes écoles, École Normale Superieure,* the Military Academy, the School of Mines, the Schools of Higher Commercial Studies, the Institute of Agriculture, and the Institutes of Electrical Engineers, and many in the Faculties and technical institutes.

The results of higher education in Indo-China are evident. It is no longer a matter of a small group of outstanding individuals, but of a real class of modern mandarins, legal men, engineers, teachers, and doctors hitherto unparalleled in Indo-China. That they should be incorporated into the national life and given access to the direction and administration of their country was in any circumstances inevitable.

The Present Situation—and Conclusion

This, then, was the cultural situation in the States of Indo-China while they remained under French administration. We have already shown that up to 1939 the educational policy adopted was inspired by French colonial ideas, ideas which aimed at bringing the influence of French intellectual development to bear on the cultural life and progress of Indo-China, and that this progress was limited by the fact that Indo-China remained a colony, with its economy and its political life subordinated to the metropolis and to control from above. But the liberal character of the policy followed led to the creation of a State and brought into being new nations which found their feet as independent peoples, borrowing from the metropolis their tools of instruction and their medium of education. Finally, and most important, the existence of a new class of intellectuals and scholars, the spread of the written language, the implanting of Western culture in Indo-China are established facts in its social life, constituting the springboard necessary for further development.

The position was, however, seriously affected by the Japanese occupation and aggression of 1945, by the nationalist movements for independence, and by the continuance in Vietnam of a state of war which has prevented its cultural development from reaching its natural, peaceful conclusion. Hence we find two contrasting policies in Indo-China, two tendencies which it is to be hoped will finally unite. On the one hand, in the isolated regions not linked with the Vietnam recognised by France, an educational policy is being developed in so far as circumstances permit. Its tendency is nationalist and it is solely based on the ideologies which inspire Viet Minh. The difficulty of organising regular secondary and higher education in these districts is enhanced by the isolated and rural character of the country, by lack of resources and teachers, and by the atmosphere of war. Efforts do, however, appear to have been made for the education of the masses and the reduction of illiteracy by the methods in use in Nationalist China. On the other hand, in the zone where co-operation with France and its cultural institutions is being renewed, attempts have been made to reopen educational establishments as well as to transform the educational system in accordance with aims which, although primarily national, allow of co-operation with Western culture. The University of Indo-China has reopened its doors, setting up Faculties or educational and research centres at Hanoi and Saigon. The School of Far Eastern Studies, an important institution for research into Indo-Chinese art, history, and civilisation, has begun its work again, as has also the Oceanographic Institute at Nyatrang. Secondary schools, training colleges, and technical schools have been reopened in the principal towns, Hanoi, Saigon, Dalat, Haiphong, Mytho, etc. In Cambodia and Laos new plans for

educational development are being carried into effect, based on the expansion of primary education in the national language, the training of large numbers of teachers for all stages, and the sending to France of students from the various Faculties and technical institutions. In Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos, education occupies the forefront of Government policy and the solution of its problems now lies with the national authorities, whose respective Ministries of National Education are responsible for its direction.

From now on, it is for the various peoples of Indo-China, members of the French Union, to decide the course of their cultural development. The attempt to determine the essential lines of this development involves a clear vision of the fundamental problems with which the Governments responsible for Indo-China are faced. Whither, then, is the educational policy of the Indo-Chinese tending? Firstly, towards national education. Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos are all becoming aware of themselves as cultural entities, and must be in a position to set up an autonomous system of education having as its aim the development of their own culture, the teaching of their language, and the general and technical training of their citizens and of their administrative and economic cadres. Secondly, towards popular education. Indo-China is one of those countries where the struggle against illiteracy is both a national and a human duty. Elementary education is a vital necessity for the life of the country, and without it the standard of living of the mass of the people cannot be raised. Thirdly, towards technical education. The States of Indo-China are on the threshold of a new future as modern countries, at last ready for the economy which suits them and for relationships with the outside world. Industrial expansion, the greater freedom enjoyed by the peasants, improved methods of cultivation, the expansion of trade within and without, the emergence of new needs, the possibilities of new openings for the worker, all these demand technical training for new activities where the contribution of the West in modern techniques will of necessity be superior to that of traditional craftsmanship. And lastly, towards modern culture. Here arises the thorny question of the direction to be taken by Indo-Chinese cultural development. It seems certain that these peoples, despite their history and the wealth of their native culture, are lacking in some of the elements essential to their emancipation and to free association with the rest of the world. The idea of a narrow, national culture, exclusively Eastern, seems to have been abandoned. The need for ensuring the cultural development of Indo-China is obvious, but it seems that it can come only by way of Western culture. A French grafting has been made on Oriental stock and can come to fruition only if Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos remain in close contact with French culture, the gateway to universal culture. It is in so far as they assimilate Western culture that China and India take their place in modern

life. In Indo-China it is French education which still represents Western culture and modern techniques. To conclude, it seems that France's colonial policy in cultural matters has left as a legacy an intermingling of two cultures and made possible a real transference of civilisation.

STATISTICAL SUMMARY

(NUMBER OF STUDENTS)

	1930	1938	1943–44
University	551	662	1,529
French secondary :			
(*a*) *Lycées* in Saigon, Hanoi, Dalat	1,562	2,531	2,747
(*b*) Total	4,327	6,762	7,495
Indo-Chinese secondary, total .	4,765	5,426	7,879
Indo-Chinese primary :			
(*a*) *Primaire Complémentaire* .	40,367	61,540	73,331
(*b*) *Primaire élémentaire* . .	338,379	412,718	633,954
(*c*) *Primaire privé* . .	57,056	97,140	147,417
of which girls in primary schools	[40,732]	[68,391]	[100,630]
Indo-Chinese primary, total .	435,792	571,398	854,702

(NUMBER OF SCHOOLS)

	1930	1944
Primary	7,799	12,164
Primary, with complementary courses .	397	565

(NUMBER OF TEACHERS)

Indo-Chinese .	12,014	19,163
French	688	660

A. CHARTON.

M. . . S.

SECTION X

THE FAR EAST

Introduction

MORE than a quarter of mankind dwells in the Far East. For the most part, the peoples of these regions belong to the Mongolian race—a term which includes human types as different from one another as the tall, athletic, long-headed Northern Chinese and the shorter, slighter, round-headed Southern Chinese, as well as Koreans, Tibetans, Japanese, and Siamese. There has been, as everywhere, much mixing, and Dr. Nitobe states, for example, that "there is scarcely a race which has not contributed to make the Japanese nation: the Caucasian, the Mongolian, the Malay and even, in the South, a slight tinge of the Negrito from the islands of the Pacific." Racial conflict is absent, though mild traces of it are occasionally found where the Chinese come into contact with the relatively backward border tribes of Sikang or Sinkiang.

The civilisation of the various countries of the Far East displays astonishing continuity with the past. The literate traditions of China go back farther than those of any other nation, and, moreover, what is almost unique, the chief social elements of her culture, namely, the peasant village masses and the highly educated *literati*, long possessed a common outlook. The distinctions between the two groups were more matters of refinement of taste and of social usage than differences of belief or thought.

Confucianism, Taoism, and Buddhism are accepted by most Chinese, who find them perfectly compatible with one another. Buddhism has been an essential component of Chinese thought since the third century, by which date it had modified its doctrines and practices sufficiently to harmonise with indigenous creeds. To some degree, this blended faith has ensured not only the continuity of culture but national unification, the chief instrument of which, however, has undoubtedly been the written language.

The Chinese of the north cannot converse with those of the south or centre, though strong efforts are being made to spread everywhere the admired Mandarin dialect of the Peiping area. But they can all read—if they can read—the logographs, which they pronounce in various ways, just as Englishmen and Frenchmen pronounce differently the arabic number-signs. An educated person is expected to be able to read and write at least three or four thousand logographs—and to learn these is a formidable and time-consuming task. It is well, however, not to exaggerate the diffi-

culty, since many children of ten or twelve can write quite long letters.

The writing system handicaps efforts to promote education among the masses and attempts have been made to use modified Roman or Cyrillic alphabets. Actually this is far from easy. Spoken Chinese everywhere consists of a few hundred monosyllables each of which can be pronounced in four different tones which, it has been suggested, are vestigial remains of lost flexions or syllables. Hence homonyms, which a phonetic or near-phonetic script leaves undifferentiated, abound. Furthermore, the use of accents is not sufficient adequately to distinguish between the tones. Chinese scholars have devised phonetic alphabets, entirely different in appearance from the European, which are proving a great help to semi-literates and to learners. Many textbooks and even newspapers print side by side the logographs and their phonetic translation into the local dialect. This peculiarly interesting language problem, if it may be so called, is described in Professor Chen Ch'i Pao's article, and it may be contrasted with the language problem of India.

It has been said that the writing system has proved more useful in maintaining the unity of Chinese culture than in facilitating its intellectual enrichment. Nevertheless, it is easy to sympathise with those who, especially at this time, fear anything that might weaken this unity. Nor should it be forgotten that calligraphy continues to be part of a magnificent aesthetic tradition and an essential constituent of pictorial art.

Education has always been accorded high respect in China, where scholarship was long the path to individual advancement. Mass education is now seen as the road to social improvement, since without it there cannot be rapid industrialisation. The work being done in fundamental education and in rural reconstruction is described by Professor Chen Ch'i Pao and, more briefly, by Dr. Ch'ü, who has long been closely associated with Dr. James Yen. Evidently progress has been sadly slowed not only by the war but by the civil war which has followed. Mr. Lindsay, formerly a university teacher at Peiping, who has had ample opportunity of becoming acquainted at first hand with conditions in North China, contributes an article on educational developments in the areas controlled by the Communists, and it is evident that there is no clash between what is being attempted there and the aims of the mass-education movement. Indeed, the Communists have often allowed Dr. Yen's assistants to continue their work when they have occupied a district.

As for secondary and higher education, it is clear that American ideas have exerted a very strong influence. This was to be expected in view of the large number of Chinese who have been enabled to pursue their studies in the U.S.A. through the far-sighted action of the American authorities, which provided generous funds, partly

out of such sources as the Boxer indemnity and the Foundations. Some assert that the American model has been copied too closely and with too little regard for local circumstances and traditions, but there is no doubt that experience will lead to alterations and to better adaptation.

In the case of Japan, national unity has been forged more by common worship and ritual than by a literary tradition and a script. Two famous books of records, compiled in the eighth century, the *Ko iki* and the *Nihongi*, tell how all the inhabitants of the Japanese archipelago form one vast family which includes, too, not only the ancestors but " those who live above." State Shintoism, now abolished, was the organised expression of this faith. A detailed description of the way of life which embodied such ideas is found in Dr. Benedict's book, *The Chrysanthemum and the Sword*, while Professor King Hall's paper in the present volume, the fruit of first-hand study since the end of the war, describes the impact upon it of the American occupation.

Both in Japan and in Korea problems connected with the writing systems exist. This might well be expected, since the languages of these countries resemble Chinese in some respects, even though they are less highly evolved than that highly analytic language, and since both have been much affected by the cultural impact of China—indeed, most Koreans are Confucianists, devoted to ancestor worship.

In all Asian countries, the industrial revolution has begun and the *tempo* of change is accelerating. Factories have been and are being built, sources of natural power are being harnessed, machines are coming increasingly into use. Social progress, however, is measured not by additions to physical equipment but in terms of the assimilation of technological change into the way of life of the people. Owing to the rigidity of social patterns and, it must be admitted, to the past interference of foreign nations, scientific progress and social change have not yet converged so as to lead Asia to an improvement of the conditions under which the common people live. The massive walls of Chinese cities, their gates locked at night, guard a life still largely mediaeval, and the old miseries persist. In the countryside, the drudgery and the hardships have not yet been alleviated. But Japan has given to all these lands a striking example of how quickly it is possible to leave mediaevalism behind and to come abreast of modern technique and science. Her attempt to dominate other nations has been defeated and her claim to the hegemony of the East repudiated. But the meaning of the lesson she has taught will not be forgotten.

EDITORS.

CHAPTER ONE

CHINA

PART I: EDUCATION AND ITS TRADITIONS

IT was recorded in one of the Chinese educational classics—*Hsuehki*, or " On Education "—that " if one wishes to transform the people and to perfect their culture, must one not start from learning and education? . . ." Hence " the ancient kings when establishing States and governing the people, made instruction and schools a primary object. . . ." According to the system of ancient teaching, therefore, for the families of a hamlet, there was the village school; for the large community, there was the *Hsiang*; for the county district, there was the *Hsu*, and in the capitals, there was the *College*. This book on education then goes on to discuss methods of teaching and learning which are not unlike some of the findings of modern educational psychology, and follows with a discussion of the content of education which stresses the ethico-social phases of individual and community life. It concludes with a passage showing that education is fundamental to life. This passage says: " When the sovereigns sacrificed to the sea, they did so first to the river, then to the sea, that is first to the source, then to its result. This was called paying attention to the root."

So education is the root of the development of individual and society. The Great Learning also says: " From the emperor down to the mass of people, all must give due attention to the cultivation of the person (i.e. education), the root of everything besides. It cannot be that, when the root is neglected, that which springs from it could be well ordered."

Whenever a people reach a more conscious stage of group evolution, there will be discussions and deliberations on the all-important subject of how to ensure the continuity and transmission of its cultural heritage and collective life. Some modes of perpetuation are embedded in the religious beliefs, some in the ethical code, and others in the philosophy of the people. While there have been educational theories and even practices of the profound or mystical type, yet the main characteristic of education in China has been the stress laid on morality. There is a social parallelism in social life and educational activity. With the general trend of humanistic thought, it is only natural that the Chinese should have held on to the idea that " Education knows not the distinction of classes " (Confucius). The ideal of social structure was that of an aristocracy of intellect and virtue, but the general masses of people had every

right, if they possess talent and industry in intellectual and moral matters, to be "admitted" to the "aristocracy." Some kind of training in leadership and selection by competitive examination is quite consonant with the idea.

Social Continuity and Educational Essentialism

It is commonplace to say that education reflects the social structure of the group and adapts itself to social changes. While we are not prepared to say that social factors are the absolute determinants of educational activity, it can be accepted that the general character of Chinese education has been conditioned by social factors in some very important aspects.

Without going into details, there are several points which must be emphasised. In the first place, the family occupies a central role in Chinese society. Its importance is felt throughout the whole, and moral authority supports and controls the system. All ethics, till very recently, has been family morality directly or indirectly applied. It is also a factor of social integration which has helped to achieve the historical continuity of China. If I may be allowed to stretch the point a little, it is for this reason that the pendulum of individual and social aims in education so clearly revealed in Western educational history is rather a new problem for Chinese educational thinking. The "via media"—social compromise or mutual adjustment—becomes the rule of daily living. All social morality is a step-by-step extension to ever-larger groups from the ethical relation of those "near and dear." This, however, also influenced the more or less static character of Chinese society and education.

Secondly, the idea of human brotherhood is also another application of the same moral ideal. By that same token, too, the sense of cultural unity has been much stronger than the sense of a political State. New cultural traits and elements have always been absorbed, though not without selection, from other groups, and other groups have also creatively participated in the cultural adaptive process. Thus, through co-operation and adjustment and sometimes conflict, China achieved a consciousness of "one world under heaven" until the coming of European influence, when China was confronted with a totally new set of problems. But more of this later.

Thirdly, the great majority of the Chinese people are engaged in agriculture. The productive process together with its social structure are the conditioning factors of life and education. While in theory everybody has a right to education, this does not mean that everybody actually enjoys equal educational opportunity. In any case, intellectual education is not absolutely essential to the farmers. This is not to say, however, that farmers are not educated. They enjoy education of a participatory and informal type, even if it is

not intellectual discipline. An illiterate person is not necessarily uneducated. However this may be, there certainly was in China an estrangement between the "élite" and the common people, in spite of the fact that there was assuredly an opening for the farmer's son to receive formal education necessary for his own "progress." There was and is the possibility of free transfers to the upper social strata, or failing this, of return to farmwork.

The Meeting of East and West

China has more or less kept her social equilibrium and a kind of educational essentialism for twenty centuries, in spite of many political vicissitudes. Other peoples' cultures were absorbed and assimilated in the great melting-pot and contributed their share to, as well as sharing, China's culture.

To use Toynbee's formula, a most serious challenge was presented to the Chinese in the form of "the Meeting of East and West." China had to respond to the challenge. Educationally speaking, this was the historic factor that put an end to the examination system and to the free private inquiry system (or lack of system) of learning. New school systems modelled after the West were devised. (The first school for the study of Western languages was established in 1862, and the first modern school system was promulgated in 1902.) The educational "response" to the challenge took different shapes. China's contacts with the West are in the main along four lines, namely, Catholic and Protestant missionaries; commercial and business transactions; war; and finally, social and intellectual influence. It is not entirely untrue to say that modern government and modern education in China are results of China's contacts with the West. Particularly in the first stages, China was impressed and forced to take cognisance of the superior material progress and military power of the West. Missionaries sometimes, in spite of good intentions, gave only a partial view of European civilisation. Only later did the Chinese begin to study Western philosophy, science, literature, and art with an appreciative form of mind. But, alas, as the West gradually emerged from the nineteenth century to the twentieth, different and in most cases conflicting ideologies and social systems were met with. These presented a very difficult problem of social adjustment. For, in meeting the West, the Chinese social system was affected to the root, and disintegration set in. Adjustment became more difficult because of the conflicting and irreconcilable ideologies and political systems and systems of values. The original social equilibrium was disturbed, the adjustment process thwarted, and the resultant demands on education were manifold.

Mankind likes to think in terms of opposites or contrasts. Educational and social thinking in China, then as now, was confronted with seemingly very real opposites or contrasts in the forms of

Chinese and Western learning or education. We thought we should have to choose between conserving the old (meaning Chinese) and adopting the new (meaning the West). If Chinese and Western cultural achievements and forms of life are considered self-sufficient units, there are three possible ways of reacting to the situation. The first is the conservative, which aims at "preserving" the old, and at resisting the West, or else wishes to accept only technological progress. The other is that of the radical progressives, who believe in the total adoption of Western ways. Others try to choose what is " valuable " in the West, be it religion, form of government, or science, etc. These three modes of reaction, in different degrees, have all accepted, willingly or unwillingly, Western science and technology. Science is admitted into the curriculum, and a new system of schools is the result. But, of course, people have various expectations from the school, which becomes the meeting-place of different and at times conflicting social demands. Social inertia nevertheless still operates in the schools, while accelerated world changes, in both the technological and the ideological aspects, demand radical changes in education. Thanks to the tradition of respect for education and learning, the school, however, carries on in a sort of " storm and stress," and not without success.

Changing Social Demands and Educational Thinking

Changing educational ideas reveal most clearly the changing social demands laid upon education. In China they reveal not only the internal adjustments made to meet external situations but also the ever-fluctuating world situation. Space in this article does not permit one to go into the details of recent Chinese educational " movements," but even a mere enumeration will, I hope, give some idea of the educational response to the political and social challenge.

Modern education in China started with the establishment of a certain type of school. From the middle of the last century, three kinds were organised: (1) schools for the study of Western languages, which had as their primary objective the training of personnel for diplomatic services in Peking, Canton, Shanghai, and other places; (2) industrial and technological schools, which aimed at teaching shipbuilding, mechanical engineering, telegraph work, mining, etc.; (3) naval and military schools in Tientsin, Canton, and Hupeh. These three types of school revealed explicitly the Chinese understanding of the challenge of the West. Missionary schools and colleges were also established by foreign missions, and played rather an important role. Obviously, this is a partial understanding of the West, and it cannot be an effective response. China was humiliated by her losses in the war with Japan; people probed deeper into the question and found that anything less than total

reorganisation of educational thinking as well as of the school system would not be of much avail. It was then that the first modern school system was promulgated by the Government, with its different provisions for pre-school, elementary, secondary, higher education, and institutions for teacher-training and industrial or vocational schools. The first school system was promulgated about ten years before the Republic (1902). The age-long system of examinations for the civil service was abolished. Since the inauguration of the Republic, there have been further important changes. There was the 1912 system, in which there were elements adopted from the Japanese and European national systems. Later, in 1920, there was another system, in which the democratic principle was more prominent and the influence of American educational theory became apparent. Since 1928, the Nationalist Government has made a number of important changes, particularly with reference to the adaptation of the system to Chinese conditions and with the intention of building up a more democratic educational ladder. More emphasis was given to citizenship training, universal education, and vocational education.

Mr. Wang Feng-chieh, who recently published his *History of Chinese Education,* made three points regarding the modern Chinese school system. First, for the period from 1902 to 1932, there were five major changes, and they were not entirely based on practical needs nor on objective studies and observations. Further, adequate time had not been given to each other for a fair trial. The present writer thinks, however, that even these quick changes were due to the inevitable social pressure of the times. China in the last fifty years has been going through what Europe has taken several centuries to experience. The important thing is that we did make a choice along more democratic lines, which in turn carries on our national tradition.

Second, according to Mr. Wang, the creation of the Chinese national system was due to a foreign pressure, and was meant to meet the challenge of the West and of Japan. The educational reforms were more in the externals than through real and vital motivation.

The third point which the author has made is this, that more attention had been paid to higher education and less to elementary or universal education. This point is keenly felt by the educational workers to-day, and the system of the Integrated People's School, with its two sections of children and adults, and the spread of mass education, reveal clearly this awareness.

Chinese education is changing from being the education of the few to being the education of the common people, from the education of the future civil servants to the "education of man," from passive adoption to creative and conscious adaptation, from the belittling of manual work to the enthusiastic reception of science and

technology, and from education conceived as drill to democratic education.

The First World War gave the Chinese an impetus and an opportunity to re-evaluate all values, including both the traditional ones and those of the West. The well-known Chinese Renaissance is really the liberal spirit of free criticism applied to the different phases of culture, from literature and art to education and politics, and it has more than a negative aspect. It not only criticises, but it also builds up.

It is now just thirty years since the end of the First World War, and a great many things have happened:

(1) *Scientific Education.* Everyone agrees that this is the great Western contribution to the world. It has to be learned and, if possible, the Chinese people must contribute to its advancement. In content, spirit, and teaching method, science must play an ever more important role in education. The evolution of the curriculum is really the giving of an ever-increasing place to science in the schools. Quite a number of educators and scientists believe that this is the most important phase of modern Chinese education.

(2) *Democratic Education.* China has a background for democratic education. It involves at least two things, the acceptance of the principle that everybody ought to have equal opportunity for education, and that education must be for democracy. For example, the criteria for the reorganisation of the 1922 system are the following seven points, viz.: adjustment to the needs of society; development of the spirit of democratic education; development of individuality; attention to the economic ability of the people; emphasis on education for life; facilitation of universal education; and adjustment to local needs. All these may be considered as the working out of the implications of an "education for democratic life." Most educators are advocates of this trend of educational activity. A survey of books on education published after 1919 will give evidence on this point; and, in addition, a number of experimental schools are conducted to try out this democratic principle in ordinary school life.

(3) *Education for Citizenship.* Education is looked upon as the preparation of the individual for participation in social and political group life. This idea later developed into a movement for political education. Before and during the war, it played a most important role in building up morale.

(4) *Mass Education.* This is what UNESCO calls "Fundamental Education." Mass-education workers emphasise the importance of literacy for adults, but they also emphasise the point that it must go beyond literacy. Ability to read provides the channel through which people develop their abilities and their power for further improvement of the standard of life. Since China is predominantly rural, the mass-education programme is

therefore primarily rural. The content is the understanding of concrete material problems and the facilitation of community re-organisation through the application of scientific knowledge and skill, as well as of ability to co-operate with others. The channels of instruction are not only the schools, but other organisations and group activities. New techniques of teaching are fully utilised. There can be no question that this is meant to be "Education for Democracy." Hundreds of mass-education or rural reconstruction centres have been organised before and during the years of war against Japan. The Ting Hsien Experiment of the Chinese Mass Education Movement is one of the more important centres. The general method of social experimentation is adopted, and a number of innovations have been taken up by the Government, e.g. the rural health system or the integrated people's school as developed in Ting Hsien. Adult classes and mass-education centres as well as travelling units are spread all over the country. This is the kind of educational work that definitely distinguishes the modern educational outlook from the traditional.[1]

(5) Closely connected with the above-mentioned activity is *Social Education.* It not only utilises fully the recent developments in audio-visual aids, but also takes into its province general art education, recreational guidance, and group social work. Social education lays special emphasis on the training of youths and adults, again particularly in rural communities. An enumeration of the activities within its province show that they include community services, health programmes, social work, adult education, recreation centres, agricultural extension, etc. There is a Social Education Society which includes among its members many prominent educationists.

(6) *Education Through and For Life.* This may be said to be the progressive education or *l'école active* movement in China, and it is briefly described in Professor Cheng Chi-Pao's paper, which follows as Part II.

(7) *Educational Nationalism.* From one viewpoint, the inauguration of a modern school system is itself an expression of educational nationalism. From the slogan in the later part of the last century that "Chinese learning is fundamental while Western learning is functional to the times," to the "national foundation of education" idea, there is continuity of thought. Since the inauguration of the Republic, and particularly during the decade before the last war, there were a number of educational "movements" which, though different in name, were similar in purport. These include the "Nationalist Education," "Education for National Emergency," "Education for National Defence," "Education for

[1] Attention may be directed to the present writer's books on Rural Reconstruction and Education (1936, 1943) which describe some aspects of the work of the Mass Education Movement.

People's Self-protection," "Military Training in the Schools," and so on. There are certain points that need explanation. First, these all imply an education for national consciousness and self-reliance, and the conservation of the cultural values. Second, they all believe in the role of science and the importance of organisation and co-operation for the winning of national freedom and independence. Attention is paid not only to school children, but also to youths and adults. This general trend, I believe, contributed in no small degree, to building up morale during the long years of war. It is still a force in present educational thinking and even during the present ideological conflict.

(8) *Education for Productivity.* After the inauguration of the Nationalist Government in Nanking, an All-China Educational Conference was called in the capital in the year 1928. It was then recommended that "the cultivation of the habits of labour; the increase of productive skill; the extension of the application of science; and the adjustment of economic interests are to be emphasised to bring about the realisation of the principle of livelihood." Education for productivity is emphasised. A number of booklets and essays have been published for the promotion of this principle. It has at least three implications, namely, the increase of production through education of producers in agricultural, industrial, or technological skills; the training of vocational habits and vocational guidance; and the introduction of manual work into education. The socio-economic implication of the "movement" is quite explicit. Education must be related to social economic needs. It is no doubt a break from old intellectual and literary education on the one hand, to education for the increase of production for economic betterment on the other. The question of poverty and the place of educational economics in educational planning are emphasised.

(9) *Rural Education.* The rural education movement is, to my mind, a direct educational response to the social challenge. It tries to bring education to the great majority of the Chinese people, the farmers who hitherto were the under-privileged ones in educational and cultural matters. Further, this movement has been from the start closely related to the Rural Reconstruction Movement. Through it China tries to build up from the foundation. Since 1925 actual experiments have been conducted, the most important of which are the rural normal school at Hsiao Chuang under the leadership of Dr. W. T. Tao, the Rural Institute in Tsou Ping under Liang Shu-ming and Liang Chung-hua, and the Ting Hsien Experiment of the Mass Education Movement under Dr. James Yen. Rural normal schools, farmers' or people's educational bureaux, rural reconstruction experiments, have been established, and a number withstood the destructive forces of the war and carried on their work.

There are certain features in this rural education work that merit enumeration. The majority of China's population, particularly the adults, are illiterate. Second, a number of intellectuals, through their participation in rural education work, receive a more practical training. Third, rural education, by taking the farmers' needs as objectives and rural welfare and improvement as the criteria for the content of education, must be practical and social. Fourth, realising the importance of science, for example, in agriculture or health, and the necessity of democratic co-operation for group activities, scientific knowledge and skill and organisation are considered to be the keys to the education of the farmers. Hence the scope of education is widened to include other things than schooling or intellectual study. Other organisations, such as co-operatives or demonstration farms, are regular outcomes of education. Fifth, the experimental approach is adapted to find out the best ways and means of educating the people and also of learning from them. The concrete problems of the daily life of farmers are considered to be the point of departure for education. Sixth, special attention is paid to the problem of teacher training. Before the war, there were a number of experimental schools all over the country. New curricula and methods have been tried with success.

From War to Rehabilitation

Materially, China was not prepared for the last war, but she knew that war was inescapable if she was to remain an independent nation of free peoples. The Chinese also realised fully that the war could not be won on the battlefields alone, since it involved spiritual and moral factors as well as material ones.

War broke out. During all those years, the Chinese Government and private educational agencies spared no effort in moving educational institutions to the interior, in developing ways and means of helping the students and teachers, in promoting the people's education, in carrying out welfare programmes for children and war orphans, and all in face of tremendous difficulties. A number of Chinese schools, colleges, and libraries were destroyed, but the professors and teachers carried on their teaching in the midst of wholesale destruction, privation, hunger, and oftentimes lectures were given *en route*. In the *Book of Needs* published by UNESCO (1947) there is the following passage:

> The Chinese Government realised very strongly the importance of education during as well as after the war. Education became a vital part of the strategy for protracted warfare. . . . The war was regarded by the Chinese as a symbol of the wiping out of the old—the out-of-date—as paving the way to reformation and the creation of the new democracy of the post-war China. . . . In spite, therefore, of a war which destroyed countless educational institutions, in spite of huge difficulties of finance, of transport, of lack of equipment, the Chinese Government never relaxed their efforts in the educational field. Be-

tween 1936 and 1946, a 92 per cent. increase of students was registered in universities in Free China, and 114 per cent. more pupils in secondary schools.

Another remarkable feat accomplished by the Chinese was the maintenance of elementary schools behind the enemy lines. These schools were conducted under very dangerous conditions. It became almost a daily routine for teachers to play hide-and-seek with the enemy inspectors. But it was a dangerous game, and thousands of them lost their lives.

Eighty-three colleges and universities moved to the interior: forty of them moved only once, the rest moved at least twice, and eight of these have had to move four times: one medical college moved eight times!

Obviously, the Chinese Government could not move all her secondary schools from the "occupied area" to Free China. A number of them were therefore forced to close, or bombed to ruins, while others carried on as long as conditions permitted them to "rove" around behind the enemy's trenches. Many principals, teachers, and students died heroic deaths for their country, e.g. Principal Liang Chin Yao and others of the Chungyuan middle school, Chuchiang, Canton; Principal Chang Hualoo of Yuteh school, Paoting, Hopeh. In order that the secondary youths might receive proper education, the Government organised 28 middle schools, 3 frontier schools, 3 overseas Chinese schools (specially organised for overseas Chinese who had moved back to the motherland after Pearl Harbour), 16 middle schools affiliated with colleges. Twenty-two normal schools of the secondary grade were also organised. The total number of students was 43,000, and they were nearly all supported by Government scholarships.

Loans and scholarships have now been provided for the needy students. Take one single example, to show the extent of scholarship: for the year 1943 the total educational budget of the central Government was about CN$583 millions, while the money spent for Government scholarships was CN$298 millions, one-half of the total budget. This scholarship system, with modifications, is still in operation.

As soon as the war was over, the Government called an all-China conference on educational rehabilitation, which had to face problems of the first magnitude. The UNESCO *Book of Needs* describes some of them as follows:

For eight years the war went on without interruption. The Chinese people endured unprecedented suffering. The last year was the hardest of all and the limit of suffering and endurance was reached. In addition, the enormous increase of students and the general poverty created serious problems of upkeep and accommodation. Lack of teaching material nearly brought all the gallant efforts which had been made to keep education alive to nothing. It was impossible to equip laboratories, and printing presses were unavailable. There were no paper-

making machines. The shortage of books became so acute that many were actually copied by hand, a feat which required superhuman patience and endless enthusiasm.

Colleges, Universities, and Schools

According to the Chinese system, higher education includes universities, colleges, and professional junior colleges. Teachers' colleges are organised for the purpose of training teachers for secondary schools. For this year (1947–8) there are 55 universities, 75 colleges (independent of universities), and 77 professional junior colleges. The total enrolment is 148,444 students.

For post-war rehabilitation presents a number of problems, and among others the inadequacy of laboratory facilities and books, the reorganisation of the courses of studies, the lack of adequate teaching staff, the difficulty of balancing professional and cultural studies.

Secondary education in China includes middle schools (senior and junior middle schools), normal schools, and vocational schools. Secondary education is primarily under the charge of the Provincial Commission of Education.

	Schools	*Students*
Middle schools	4,266	1,495,874
Normal schools	902	245,609
Vocational schools	724	137,040
	5,892	1,878,523

(The above figures are for the year 1945–6.)

From the report of the Ministry of Education, for frontier peoples, besides social educational institutes, there are 42 primary schools, 4 middle schools, 12 normal schools, 8 vocational schools, and 3 professional junior colleges, all supported and supervised by the Ministry.

For schools for overseas Chinese, the great majority of which are sponsored and supported by Chinese communities or individuals abroad, the recent figure is 3,445 schools scattered all over the world.

S. Y. CH'Ü.

PART II: PUBLIC EDUCATION

Introduction

Chinese Educational Tradition. The ancient teachings of Confucius, Mencius, and a host of others find a distinct parallel in the principles and ideals of modern democratic education.

But it was through Dr. Sun Yat-Sen, the Father of the Chinese Republic, that a real democratic nation was bequeathed to the Chinese people. He has enriched mankind with the legacy of his political philosophy, which is generally known as "The San Min Chu I," or "The Three People's Principles." Based on these principles, the chief aims of Chinese education are to eradicate illiteracy, to diffuse modern scientific knowledge, to raise the standard of living, to foster technical proficiency, to realise the consummation of that age-long aspiration of the Chinese people, "The whole world is one family."

With such educational traditions as the background, a number of guiding principles for the promotion of popular education in China have been closely followed. Principal among them are: (1) there must be equal educational opportunities for all, irrespective of sex, religion, or occupation; (2) children's education and supplementary education must receive equal emphasis; (3) fundamental education must be made compulsory and free to all; (4) the Government must plan to give the people fundamental education within a specified period; (5) the school years of fundamental education must be gradually lengthened as the national economy and standard of living improve (at present, the compulsory-education period is four years, and this period should be later extended to six or nine years ; (6) minority races in the border regions should study together with the Chinese in order to foster a synthetic Chinese culture among all races.

Nature of the Problem. Since the establishment of the National Government, tremendous efforts have been made to popularise education among the masses. Even during the extremely critical period of Japanese invasion, the programme of people's education was steadily and unflinchingly carried out. The new constitution proclaimed only last year prescribes that all children between the ages of 6 and 12 shall receive a fundamental education, and that all illiterate adults shall receive a make-up education. It is thus laid down that to be the recipient of fundamental education is now both the right and the duty of every Chinese citizen. But it must also be realised that with 450 million people as its background, the task is indeed Herculean, only to be accomplished by gradual steps.

According to the recent statistics, of the total population of 450 million people, about 67 million are children of school age, that is, between 6 and 12. Of this number, only 31 million children are at

present in regular schools, leaving a total of 36 million children for whom education must yet be provided. As regards the adults, within the range of 12 to 45, it is estimated that about 150 million persons, or 30 per cent. of the total population, are counted as illiterates. For them, the so-called "make-up education," based upon the principles of fundamental education, must also be provided. Along with the problems of providing schools for these children and illiterate adults, it is incumbent upon us to train professional teachers, to prepare textbooks, to adopt the most efficient teaching methods, and to provide the requisite teaching equipment. The fact that we have a vast number of illiterates in the country convinces us that we must do our utmost to remove such illiteracy. At the same time, we must not slacken our efforts in the foremost task of educating the children. If all the children of school age are enrolled in schools as years pass by, the number of illiterates will be automatically and gradually lowered, and will finally disappear.

Administration of Fundamental Education in China

In order to hasten the enforcement of fundamental education in China, a new system of local government was instituted not long ago. In this system, each group of about ten families is designated as a "Chia"; each group of about ten "Chia" constitutes a "Pao"; each group of ten "Pao" forms a "Hsiang or Cheng," and each group of fifteen or thirty "Hsiang or Cheng" makes a "Chu"; each smaller unit is responsible to the larger one, and the last is directly responsible to the "Hsien" Government. To this local political structure, the Central Government decided to link a new scheme for universal education. Accordingly, the Government decreed that each "Hsiang or Cheng" should have at least one six-grade primary school, to be called the "Central Citizens' School"; and each "Pao" at least one four-grade primary school, to be called simply the "Citizens' School."[1] Each type of school should provide classes both for children between the ages of 6 and 12, and for illiterate adults between the ages of 12 and 45. For the children's classes, regular textbooks are used, but for the instruction of male and female adults the so-called vernacular text, the phonetic alphabet, the 1,000 basic characters, and newspapers written in "Spoken Chinese," senso-aid materials among others, have to be utilised in order to meet their special needs.

When the Government conceived the above double-purpose scheme of enhancing education and promoting self-government simultaneously, it had envisaged a long-range programme of

[1] That means 100 families to a four-years school and 1,000 families to a central school.—EDITORS.

utilising the schools and teachers as the core for general civic, economic, social, and health activities. Undoubtedly, this method of popularising education among the masses marks one of the most forward steps taken in the field of education in this country.

As regards the training of teachers, it has always received the primary attention of the Government. The fact that China needs at least one million teachers in order to cope with the enormous demands of the full programme of fundamental education indicates the magnitude of the problem. At present, there are about 800,000 teachers recruited from a large number of sources, but only about 30 per cent. of them were really trained in the normal schools. Since the new regulations on citizens' education were proclaimed, a parallel programme for the extension of normal schools has also been drawn up. In order to meet the various conditions, there are two types of normal school: the senior normal schools, offering a three-years course above the junior high school level; and simplified normal schools, recruiting graduates from the six-years Citizens' Primary Schools and offering a four-years course. Besides, there are special types of normal school training special teachers for kindergarten, physical education, art, and music. In general, all the normal schools are to be established by the Government, no private institution being permitted, and all the students are fully supported by the Government. Consequently, they are obliged to serve as teachers for a period of at least three years after their completion of training. Closely associated with the problem of teacher training is the upholding of the Chinese age-long principle of veneration to teachers. To this effect, the Government has organised the following activities: (1) each year, from March 27th to April 4th, there is to be a teachers' training week, to arouse interest in the profession; (2) each year, on August 27th, there is to be a teachers' day to commemorate the birth of Confucius and to foster social respect for teachers; (3) each year, teachers with a long and praiseworthy record will be mentioned by the Ministry of Education and various local authorities for commendation and awards.

Experiments and Projects

In parallel with the Government actions in promoting fundamental education, a large number of new experiments have been undertaken during the last twenty years, both by private organisations and by Governmental agencies. These experiments have indeed assisted the Government in initiating new ideas and methods in fundamental education, and have contributed in no small degree to the popularisation of education among the people. We shall mention two or three cases, just to show the nature and effects of these new experiments in general.

First and foremost, we shall cite the "Mass Education Movement," initiated by Dr. James Yen and his associates. During the First World War, two hundred thousand Chinese labourers were sent to France from China. Dr. Yen, who was then one of the Chinese secretaries of the International Y.M.C.A. working with these labourers, realised the handicaps illiteracy imposed on most of them. So he undertook the difficult task of teaching some of these labourers during their leisure time. In a relatively short time, these workers could write letters home by themselves and read newspapers. Encouraged by this fine result, Dr. Yen decided to come back to China to establish the so-called "Chinese National Association of the Mass Education Movement," which was destined to play a vital role in the development of Chinese education. The initial work started in the cities, but soon rapidly spread to the rural districts, and thus became the Rural Education Movement described in Dr. Ch'ü's paper.

When the Chinese Government initiated the new regulations for citizen education as mentioned above, a large number of experimental centres scattered throughout the country were established. These centres are mostly managed by teachers' colleges or normal schools, which are at the same time entrusted with the duty of guiding and supervising local educational work. The persons who staff the centres possess theoretical as well as practical knowledge of education. The normal-school students often take the opportunity to supplement their classroom instruction with practical training provided by the various types of work in the centres. Some of the practical problems designed for experiments may be summarily mentioned as follows: (1) how to co-ordinate education and administration; (2) vocabularies for the masses; (3) proper reading materials for the masses; (4) standard equipment; (5) physical education and hygiene; (6) productive education; (7) school guidance and supervision, etc.

After the termination of hostilities with Japan in 1945, reorganisation of old centres and establishment of new ones became necessary. On the whole, the results as worked out from these experiments proved the value of these centres and their distinctive contributions to education in China.

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The Promotion of Border Education among the Minority Races

China, ethnologically considered, is a conglomeration of many races and cultures welded into a unique, homogeneous whole by a process of assimilation which has been going on for more than two thousand years. This ethnic process is not yet over, for even today there are some peoples and tribes scattered over the frontier regions who, because of their geographical isolation, political ties, and religious beliefs, still preserve their native languages and

customs. Principal among these races are the Sino-Tibetans, the Altaic, the Indo-Europeans, the Austro-Asiatic, and the Austronesians, with an aggregate population of between 16 million and 20 million. It is for these frontier minority races that border education is to be promoted.

The Ministry of Education established a special department, now known as the Department of Border Education, to direct the administration and instruction pertaining to the education of the Mongols, Tibetans, and other border minorities. In the citizen education programme, initiated by the Government as mentioned above to enhance universal education in China, the promotion of the border education occupied an important part. In general, the following working principles have been emphasised:

(1) The establishment of schools of the primary level should receive first attention. Whenever conditions permit, the adult literacy education and the school of higher level will be initiated. The burden of financing such primary schools is to be borne by local authorities; the Ministry of Education, however, would establish a few pilot schools to serve as experiments and models.

(2) In order to adjust and harmonise educational activities with the physical surroundings, social and religious structures, and customs peculiar to the border peoples, three special types of school have been established, namely, "hillside school," "tent school," and "temple school."

(3) The border schools should take in children of all the races and tribes living in a given locality and enrol them in the same classroom in accordance with their ages, and mix the people of China Proper with those of the border regions.

(4) While the curriculum of the border school would have temporarily to follow the regulations of the regular citizens' schools, we should not overlook the fact that these border peoples have their own languages, literature, and philosophy. These cultural elements, while needing modernisation, must be fully utilised, so as to make them consonant with the present-day ideals and needs.

The Training of Teachers. As regards the training of teachers for the border schools, the Ministry of Education has established thirteen normal schools, enrolling both Chinese and youth of the minority races selected under a strict system of examination. In administering these normal schools, besides certain general requirements, three special features are worth mentioning:

(1) In addition to the ordinary elements required in a normal school curriculum, particular emphasis is laid on the studies of border languages, public hygiene, and elementary medicine, and rudimentary knowledge of agriculture and handicraft.

(2) Since the majority of the native youths enrolled in the border

normal schools are unable to follow the regular courses of study, as they have no previous schooling, or because of language difficulties, " make-up " classes equivalent to the fifth and sixth grades in a primary school, have to be set up as a measure to remedy these deficiencies. Students in these classes are entitled to receive Government scholarships.

(3) Border normal-school graduates are assigned definite work in the border primary schools. Their travelling expenses are defrayed by the Ministry of Education. After fulfilling their term of service, they are given a regular teacher's diploma by the Ministry.

In respect to the languages, there are two writing systems or scripts among the border peoples, the pictographic and the phonetic. The scripts of Lolo and Miao belong to the former, and the scripts of the Manchu, the Mongols, the Ouigours, and the Tibetans belong to the second. The policy of the Government in the matter of teaching languages follows two essential measures:

(1) Peoples who have an historical language and literature receive their fundamental education in their own language. They are, however, given facility and encouragement to learn the Chinese language.

(2) The Chinese language is used as the main medium of teaching in the cases of people who are culturally backward and have no literary tradition of their own.

Based on the above measures, modernised readers have been compiled and distributed. These are usually bilingual. Each reader contains a table giving the letters of the border alphabets with their equivalents in Chinese phonetic symbols. Thus it serves the double purpose of teaching a border people to learn Chinese, and vice versa. As an aid to the literary teaching, motion-pictures, broadcasting, film-strip projects, talking machines, as well as pictures and models, are widely used. In fact, these latter means find better reception from the border peoples than mere books and publications.

Language Problems

In this section on the reforms of language teaching, we shall discuss three important phases, namely, the movement for a phonetic system, the introduction of vernacular language into the curriculum, and the compilation of a basic vocabulary.

(1) *The Movement for a Phonetic System.* It is a commonly conceived fact that the difficulty of the Chinese ideographic scripts constitutes a real obstacle to the propagation of popular education in China. Consequently, as far back as 1892, a Chinese scholar by the name of Lu Kan-Chang first attempted to work out a system of phoneticisation of the Chinese characters. His " A New Chinese

Script Based on Quick Spelling," despite its many defects, marked the beginning of a movement to reform the Chinese characters. Following the example of Mr. Lu, another scholar, Mr. Wang Chao, invented the "Alphabet of the Mandarin," which, with slight modifications, was later renamed the "Simplified Script," by Mr. Lao Nai-Hsuan.

In 1913, one year after the inauguration of the Chinese Republic, a Commission for the Unification of Reading Pronunciation was established. Its main achievement was the determination of the standard pronunciation of some 6,500 characters. But it was not until 1918 that the Ministry of Education gave its official approval to a new phonetic system. It consists of forty symbols; twenty-four consonants and sixteen vowels. In 1919, a *Dictionary According to National Pronunciation* was compiled. In it, the Peking dialect was formally adopted as the standard national pronunciation. During the following years, many changes have taken place. Dr. Wu Chih Hui, the highly respected scholar in China, took a prominent part in this work. The phonetic alphabet was modified and renamed. At the same time, a system of Roman symbols was also worked out. Both systems were officially recognised by the Government. With the invention of these symbols, particularly the former system, the promotion of popular education has been much enhanced.

(2) *The Introduction of Vernacular Language.* With the birth of the Chinese Republic, the mass-education movement was launched and was pushed ahead with vigour. In 1916, the Society for the Study of National Vernacular was started. The avowed purpose of the society was "to study the problem of selecting a form of Chinese vernacular to serve as the standard in education." It is to be remembered that in the early days all the writings were generally done in the literary style, different from the spoken language, or vernacular. In about 1913, Dr. Hu Shih began to lead the movement for the vernacular, and heralded the so-called Chinese literary revolution. At once, the revolution caught fire and immediately met the approval of the educators throughout the country. In 1919, the Preparatory Committee for the Unification of the National Vernacular, a newly created organ of the Ministry of Education, made the following suggestion: that "vernacular readers" should replace "literary readers" in all primary schools, and that for the upper forms of primary schools selections in literary writings may be given but that the main course should be given in the vernacular. The suggestion was finally accepted by the Government. This radical change in the primary school curriculum had far-reaching effects. First, readers on other subjects such as civics, history, and geography, were all henceforth in the vernacular. Secondly, the curriculum in the normal schools had to be recast to meet the new requirement. Thirdly, and most impor-

tant, it facilitated the transmission of ideas by the simpler process of writing.

(3) *The Compilation of a Basic Vocabulary.* The primary function of the phonetic symbols is to enable beginners to know the exact pronunciation and to recognise the meanings of Chinese characters. They have never been intended to replace the latter; Chinese characters should still remain the main tool of education. There are some fifty thousand characters in the Chinese language, but only a small percentage of them are in current use. To determine the minimum number of characters required for fundamental education occupied the attention and involved the labour of many scholars for many years.

The first scholar to undertake this task on a systematic and comprehensive scale was Mr. H. C. Chen, who in 1920 began his magnum opus named *A Dictionary of Current Words in the Vernacular.* The final results of his study show that of the 54,478 characters compiled from different sources, he found that only 4,729 different characters were really in current use. Similar to the research conducted by Mr. Chen, a number of other studies have been undertaken by several other scholars. Principal among those are Messrs. Ao Dinteh, Tu Tsuo Chow, Li Chih, Li Chin Hsi, Tsai Le-Sheng, Hung Shen, Chuang Tse-Hsuan, Ai Wei, and others. The list of current characters, numbering 3,420, representing the most frequently used out of 8,691 different characters found in more than one hundred popular books and documents, is of particular value.

In concluding, we may emphasise that the Chinese language is monosyllabic, but its monosyllabism has often been misunderstood or exaggerated. It is true that every written character has only one sound, but it is not true that every word or idea in Chinese is expressed by one sound. As a matter of fact, the majority of Chinese terms are bisyllabic and expressed in writing by two characters. The component characters of a bisyllabic word may each have a meaning of its own which has no logical, ethnological, or analogical connection with the word of which they form a part. The Chinese ethnologists and lexicographers of to-day realise that the root of basic elements of a living language is not its conventional written signs but its spoken words and oral expressions.

Pedagogical Methods and Techniques

Organisation of Peoples' Schools: In the regulations for citizens' schools as proclaimed in 1939, each school is to be divided into two sections, one for children and one for adults (including women). In the children's section, there are four grades in the citizens' school and six grades in the central citizens' school, each grade covering a period of one year. But in order to meet the

special local conditions, several grades may be combined into one classroom, though the teaching is graded according to the pupils' age and intelligence. In other cases, half-day school is practised, where classes are divided into two shifts for alternate attendance because of shortage of teachers and classrooms.

In the adults' section, there are generally two grades, a lower grade for the illiterate adults above school age and up to 45, offering a four- to six-months course and a higher grade for the graduates of the lower grade offering a course of instruction running from six months to one year. The teaching hours, unlike those for the children's classes, are seasonally changed and arranged for the convenience of the students either in the morning, afternoon, or evening. Men and women are taught in separate classrooms. In addition to the classes as mentioned above, there are so-called supplementary schools. The aim of such schools is to increase the students' practical and technical knowledge so as to improve their productive capacity, and to provide the students with an opportunity to continue their education.

Pedagogical Method. Ever since Dr. John Dewey came to China in 1919, the interest in the study of new methods of instruction has been increased. Various experiments, such as the project teaching, the Dalton plan, the Batavia System, the Gary Plan, the Winnetka System, and other methods have all been tried, with different degrees of success. The project method, which was fully expounded by Dr. Kilpatrick during his lecture-tour in China in 1927, is still receiving the greatest favour.

The late eminent educator, Dr. Tao Heng-Ghih, seeking to bring about "social reform through education," reduced his ideas into what he called the system of "combination of teaching, learning, and doing." The core of his system was the application of whatever has been taught and learned. Doing is the final thing that counts. Recently Mr. H. C. Chen really echoed Dr. Tao's thesis when he devised his method of "teaching by doing and learning by doing." This theory of doing is now called "living education." It is a method of education contrasting sharply with the old, dull, and stereotyped methods hitherto used in China.

To-day, qualified teachers are generally familiar with the Government's new principles of education and know how to lead discussion groups, to conduct intelligence and education tests, to plan instructions, to guide pupils in their private studies, and to interpret their ideas and emotions.

Many fundamental principles of education apply equally to the teaching of adults as to the teaching of children. However, there are some particular rules that are best applied to adults' education: (1) the instruction must offer practical knowledge and training useful to the students in their daily pursuits; (2) the training obtained in schools must be relevant to the social needs of the locality where

the students live and work; (3) instructions must be given at any time in any place convenient to the students, indoors and outdoors; (4) audio-visual media should be widely used; (5) the old-fashioned tea-houses, theatrical troupes, story-tellers, reorganised and improved, must be fully utilised as adults' training agencies; (6) public libraries, museums, gymnasiums, mass-education halls, cinema stations, and broadcasting stations must be built as far as conditions permit to assist in the promotion of social education.

The Employment of Audio-visual Aids. Special mention should be made of the use of audio-visual aids as agencies for fundamental education. A committee was organised in 1945 by the Ministry of Education, and all the provinces and municipalities have set up Technical Assistance Offices. The workers in this field are to be trained in special schools, and the required equipment and materials, either manufactured at home or purchased abroad, are distributed by the Ministry. In order to keep up with the newest developments, a mission was recently sent to the United States of America to study at first hand the latest progress in this particular field. It is hoped that through this mission, closer co-operation will be brought about in matters of techniques and methods of audio-visual training between the two countries. Already, much progress has been made even since the war with Japan began. The broadcasting work has taken deep root in the daily life of the people, not only in the cities but also in the more thickly populated rural districts. As for the motion-picture work, an encouraging start has already been made. The China Education Film Studio was set up by the Ministry of Education in 1942. A large number of educational motion-pictures and film-strips have been turned out to the satisfaction of the educational organisations. Recognising the importance of motion-pictures and broadcasting in the extension of education, the Ministry of Education has recently drawn up a Five-Year Plan for them and will soon act on it.

Conclusion

In the above account, I have briefly outlined the essential points relating to fundamental education in China. It can be seen that China has a gigantic problem in educating the largest population in the world. On account of the unfavourable political, economic, and social conditions, as well as external complications, the task of entirely removing illiteracy and ignorance among the masses has often been impeded. To-day we cannot well judge by mere statistics how much China has accomplished in the promotion of fundamental education, unless we take into consideration the obstacles that the country is up against. It is nevertheless, encouraging to note that, in the last fifty years, tremendous progress has steadily been made. Particularly during the period of the war

with Japan, educational work had advanced rapidly. Given peace and stability, it is not too much to hope that China will soon show a better achievement in educating her masses. We feel confident that with the inauguration of UNESCO, a great source of assistance may be derived therefrom. China is ready to exert herself to the fullest realisation of the principles and ideals of Fundamental Education.

CHENG CHI-PAO.

PART III: COMMUNIST AREAS

It is not easy to generalise about the educational system of the Chinese Communist areas, partly because of the great variation in the areas themselves and partly because Chinese Communist educational theory has tended to oppose uniformity of standards or organisation as a matter of principle.

The original standards in different areas were extremely varied. The oldest area round Yenan was also one of the most backward parts of China, with an exceptionally high percentage of illiteracy, and parts of the mountain areas which formed the stable bases during the war were also extremely backward. Sometimes only one or two men could read and write in a mountain valley with a population of a thousand or so. On the other hand, after the beginning of 1938, Communist control extended to considerable areas which had a fairly well-developed school system before the war, including, for example, a considerable part of Tinghsien, which had been the scene of the most successful pre-war experiment in mass education.

Besides this wide variation in initial standards, the Communist educational system has usually had to work under considerable difficulties. During the war the area round Yenan was the only one which was not the scene of frequent fighting, and since the Japanese surrender the northern part of Manchuria has been the only comparatively stable Communist area. Thus even in single regions there has been a great variation in conditions for educational work. When conditions were temporarily comparatively peaceful, regional Governments would often embark on fairly elaborate schemes of education, which had to be abandoned or greatly modified when fighting became serious again.

The problem of trained teachers has also been more serious than in the rest of China. The Communists have controlled areas in the countryside and have, for most of the time, been cut off from all centres containing regular universities or even middle schools. Thus the supply of people with qualifications for teaching has been even more limited than in the rest of China, while the greater development of Government activities has produced a greater demand for the services of people with education. Education has had to compete for trained personnel with the demands of Government organisations whose work has often been of greater short-term importance. Normal schools and teachers' training courses have been set up in the Communist areas, but the increase in the supply of teachers is inevitably a slow process.

Finally, the isolation of the Communist areas has produced great difficulties in obtaining books and supplies. At the lower level the difficulty has not been so serious, as elementary school textbooks can be duplicated or lithographed locally from locally

made paper. But higher levels of education, which need reference books, and scientific education, which needs apparatus, have been seriously handicapped.

As against all these difficulties the Communist areas have enjoyed some advantages. The new forms of government and social organisation, with the emphasis placed on mass-movement organisations, have made it easier for the Government to carry its educational policies into the villages and to win popular support for them. Also, the new structure of government has created a new demand for education. In the traditional Chinese system the machinery of regular government did not penetrate very far down into society. It dealt, in general, not with the individual but with the traditional village community, which has been variously described as a local democracy or the feudal rule of the local gentry. Whichever description was correct, it remained true that the majority of the population lived, for most purposes, in a community that was sufficiently small and intimate for literacy not to be of very great importance. By extending the sphere of regular government right down to the individual, the Communists have made illiteracy much more of a disadvantage. In the Communist literature about education, ability to fill in forms (*k'ai t'iaoze*) is continually mentioned as a talking-point to be used in propaganda for education or as one of the reasons making people ask for a school in their village.

One other advantage which has helped educational work in the Communist areas is that the system of accounting in terms of a commodity standard has spared teachers the difficulties caused by inflation in the rest of China. Salaries have either been the equivalent of so many catties of millet or else have been almost entirely in kind. In some regions the regional Government provided grain, clothing, salt, shoes, etc., while the village authorities were responsible for housing, vegetables, firewood, etc. The part of the salary paid in money was only pocket money. Teachers in the Communist areas have had to face the hardships of life in the Chinese countryside under war-time conditions, but they have as high a degree of economic security as anyone else in the community.

There have been two tendencies in education in the Communist areas. The first has shown itself in the attempts of the various regional Governments to set up regular educational systems running from primary school to university whenever conditions were sufficiently stable. This has usually been combined with considerable efforts to develop various forms of adult education—winter schools, night schools, newspaper reading groups, etc. The second, which later become dominant, has shown itself in attempts to re-examine basic principles of education, to query the value of a regular educational system under the present conditions of China, and to encourage all sorts of new experimental forms.

A special impetus in this latter direction seems to have come from the failure of an attempt to introduce compulsory education in the Yenan area. The attempt failed because of popular opposition, which compelled the Government to withdraw its plans. The response to this opposition was to give up the idea of a regular uniform system of education and to say that general education should be based in the needs of the masses and should be organised by allowing the masses to choose the kind of education they want. The new slogans were: " Oppose the old ideas of regularity and uniformity in education," and, still more important, that education should be organised on the principle, " people manage, public help." That is, that the local village community should have the responsibility for primary education, and that the Government should confine itself to assistance and advice.

The new plan was for the authorities to try to arouse the interest of a few leading people in some village and to try to get them to suggest that the village should have a school run by the village itself. The Government would help in finding a teacher and meeting some of the expenses, but the village itself would decide what should be taught and how the school should be run. The extent to which the Government should intervene with persuasion and advice had to keep a careful balance between the errors of *laissez-faire* on the one hand and the errors of infringing on the principle of " people manage " on the other. (There are discussions on how to persuade villages which are so conservative as to want the old style classical education based on the Four Books.) The usual demands seem to have been for simple literacy and arithmetic and for various practical subjects, and the arrangements about schools hours and teaching arrangements varied very greatly to fit the times when children could be spared from production.

One interesting effect of the " people manage " principle was to inflict a serious set-back on experiments with romanisation. At one time there had been attempts in several areas to introduce romanisation, but villages almost always demanded that Chinese characters should be taught in their schools. The reason for this seems to have been that romanisation has only a very limited usefulness under present conditions. It can be learnt far quicker than Chinese characters, but those who have learnt it find that they can read only material specially printed for them and, still more important, that they cannot use it in Government business. Romanisation seemed to be satisfactory in material that could be read a paragraph at a time, but proved difficult in official documents that had to be unambiguous sentence by sentence or even phrase by phrase. Peasants who had learnt romanisation found it did not help them in dealing with official forms, or in any work they had to do if they were elected to the village council or other

public body. No doubt these difficulties are not insuperable, but they proved sufficient to discourage the romanisation movement. However, for the ultimate future of romanisation the failure of the Communist experiments may prove a good thing. The system used originated in Russia and shows signs of having been devised by people more familiar with the Cyrillic alphabet than with the Latin. Its successful use in the Communist areas might have saddled China with a system of writing with an unnecessarily large degree of ambiguity and a rather confusing system of spelling.

The " people manage, public help " approach to primary education proved very successful in the Yenan area. The developments then followed the usual pattern of Communist China. That is, the new ideas which proved successful in one area, not always Yenan, were reduced to general principles by the party theoreticians and then applied by other areas with modifications to suit local conditions. " People manage, public help " became the general slogan for the organisation of primary education and was applied even in areas like Shansi-Chahar-Hopei, which had already been fairly successful in developing a system of primary schools on more regular lines.

With this new form of education in primary schools there was also an attempt to rearrange the general principles of education on a Marxist basis. It was argued that the educational system reflects the system of social division of labour and the class structure in any society. The defects of the regular system of " new education " in China (as opposed to the old classical education preparing for the imperial examinations) came from its being too closely modelled on the systems of highly developed countries. In America, Western Europe, or even Japan the ordinary citizen needs a fairly elaborate education to fit him for life in a technically advanced society. Society can afford to take a considerable range of age-groups out of production for full-time education. Also the problem of adult illiteracy is so small that the educational system can concentrate on a form of organisation which starts with small children and passes them through a series of stages, each one preparing for the next. None of these conditions hold in present-day China. Children who go through the regular type of primary school learn little that is of use to them in their life as peasants, and are often merely rendered dissatisfied with life in the village. The small proportion who go through middle school or university are fitted only for certain types of Government service or technical work, and even for these the education is often too divorced from practice. On the other hand, there is a huge body of adult illiterates which offers raw material where educational efforts can yield a much quicker return in the form of more efficient social organisation than in regular education starting with small children. Also

there is, especially in the Communist areas, a very large group of people engaged on public or semi-public work who have valuable practical experience but little school education. Further education of this group can give very large social returns, but cannot be fitted into a regular school system where each stage only takes graduates from the one below.

From this analysis it was argued that educational work in present-day China, or at least in the largely rural Communist areas, should take the following forms. First, primary education should be on the "people manage, public help" principle, because it was practicable to extend this to the great majority of the children of school age as it involved the minimum interference with production and because it was a definite help to the great majority, who would continue to be peasants, instead of being a hindrance, like the former type of primary education. Secondly, there should be widespread adult education which should concentrate on political education and elementary literacy. Thirdly, education above the primary school level should concentrate on the training of cadres for Government service and technical work. This should be closely linked with practice, and its organisation should be such that older people with practical experience could be taken in to receive the more theoretical training they need. Throughout the whole system the emphasis was on flexibility. The forms of school, the curriculum, the length of period for study, and so on should all be adjusted to the need of the particular area at the particular period. A regular educational system with uniform standards and all the stages fitting on to one another might be desirable in the future, but its disadvantages were much greater than its advantages for present-day China.

In all forms of education great emphasis was placed on co-operation in the form of mutual-help groups among the students, joint research groups, students' self-government organisations, and so on, and also on discussion. In many cases the plans for courses suggest that each lecture should be followed by an equal period for discussion.

These general principles have produced a very variegated system of education. Under the "people manage, public help" principle the content and methods of primary education may vary from village to village. Even in a single region the directives for adult winter school vary from year to year and from area to area. At the higher levels there is a tremendous variety of schools. In Manchuria, for example, there are the Universities of Harbin and Kirin and old middle schools representing something near the usual type of regular education, but there is also a Youth College which experiments in education almost entirely by discussion, a Railways Workers' College, a Workers' University, night schools, teachers' training schools and courses, and numerous special training groups

and classes and other organisations. There has also been a great deal of educational work in the army.

It is very hard to estimate the results attained by this educational system, which could really be tested only by sampling of standards in literacy or other subjects. The statistical material available outside China is extremely meagre. On the side of primary education, figures available indicate a fairly complete system of schools in some regions. An article in the Manchurian *Tung Pei Jih Pao*, of June 12th, 1946, gives the number of primary schools in Shansi-Chahar-Hopei as over 23,300, with 1,404,700 pupils. In the old base area along the Hopei-Shansi border it was claimed that two-thirds of all children of school age were attending school and that in some counties half the pupils came from poor peasant families. (As these figures refer to a date near the end of the civil-war truce agreement in that region, it is quite likely that there has been a set-back since then.) Other fragmentary figures indicate increases in the number of schools, and claims are made that adult education work had produced a very great increase in literacy. Army education has certainly produced great increases in literacy. As far back as 1944, 40 per cent. of the men in some units were claimed to be fully literate (defined as ability to read and write over one thousand two hundred characters).

Adult education has certainly produced far-reaching results on the political side. There has been a very great increase in the proportion of the population actively participating in local government and other public work. Also, many people in villages which before the war had only local interests now take an interest in, and have some knowledge of, national and world affairs. However, this wider political education has suffered from a one-sided presentation of the Communist viewpoint. There has been an unresolved contradiction between the emphasis on discussion and the orthodox Communist dogma that there must be one, single, absolutely correct interpretation of political events, which implies that there can be only explanation but not discussion of politics.

At the higher levels of education there is even less material for judgement, as the majority of the higher schools are not even trying to give the same sort of education as universities or middle schools in other areas. In purely technical subjects, where comparison is possible, such as medicine, the reports from outside observers seem to indicate that very remarkable results have been achieved considering the material difficulties.

MICHAEL LINDSAY.

CHAPTER TWO

KOREA

The South

Historical Perspective

KOREA, in its 4,281st year of history, is a country with a singularly homogeneous population and a language distinct from the Chinese, Japanese, or other Oriental languages. Seventy years ago, the "Hermit Kingdom" came into closer contact with the outside world, and its first modern schools were established. Independent development ceased after 1905 with Japanese colonisation. With the coming of the American forces in 1945, all Japanese were evicted, leaving behind an educational system which had been highly restrictive and selective.

Increased Educational Opportunities

The desire of the Korean people for political independence is strongly coupled with a craving for greater educational opportunities for their youth. With universal elementary education as the common goal of the American Military Government and Korean educators, schools have opened their doors to children who would otherwise have been condemned to a life of illiteracy. (See Tables III and IV.) Expansion has reached the point where class size in elementary schools averages seventy, most schools running double, and some triple, shifts; in secondary education class size averages sixty, while enrolments in higher schools have nearly quadrupled—all of this in less than two years. More than two million illiterate adults are now able to cope with the simple Korean alphabet as the result of a vigorous adult education programme which has reached into the remotest village. Deprived of normal outlets for their great desire for political self-determination over a period of forty years, Koreans are anxiously grasping every opportunity to acquire knowledge and skill previously denied to them. This may be regarded as a natural development in a land whose social structure is undergoing a change from a stratified, feudal, patriarchal pattern. It is felt that the right of franchise, the development of a strong middle class, and the achievement of nationhood on an equal footing with other countries can be brought about by a widespread appliance of the great equaliser—education. Traditional Oriental admiration for the man of books, the realisation that the standard of living can be raised by

advancing the level of learning, the achievement of compulsory schooling in neighbouring Japan, these and other factors have brought about a firm belief in education for all. Solutions for quantitative increases are being found, but practical difficulties are making the qualitative improvement of the educative processes an often inachievable task.

Maintenance of Standards

The nightmarish economics of South Korea make it impossible to provide the schools of the country with such basic items as paper, ink, pencils, blackboards, glass, wire, and cement. A large percentage of the ordinary school supplies had always been Japanese products, while the industries which could produce construction materials are located in North Korea. Production of musical instruments, most visual-aids materials, laboratory supplies and equipment does not exist, reducing instruction in practical and scientific subjects to mere lectures. The paper situation is particularly disastrous considering the fact that in 1945 not a single textbook or reference book was available in what is now the language of instruction in all schools. While ready manuscripts are accumulating dust, teachers consult the former Japanese text, carefully weed out the tainted material, transpose the rest into Korean, and write the results on cracking blackboards so that the few students who can afford to buy paper may copy the lectures. While these are the most pressing problems which the schools face in their daily lives, their solution must await a stabilisation of economic and political conditions. An equally serious obstacle to the maintenance of former standards, particularly in secondary and higher schools, is the procurement and training of qualified teachers. With the abrupt leaving of all Japanese teachers, who held a large proportion of teaching and nearly all administrative positions, the better Korean teachers rapidly advanced to high Government posts, leaving only a comparative handful of experienced personnel in the classroom. (See Table V.) The vacancies created, and the added demand springing from increased enrolments, are being filled with the best available applicants, yet an increasing proportion of teachers are carrying on work at a level at which they themselves were just taught. It is also tragically true that those who are at this time stepping from the student's seat to the podium received much of their schooling during the war years, a time at which education took a back seat to war production and when the number of days per year actually spent in study was reduced by half. Through no fault of their own, therefore, new teachers are woefully inadequate, have terminated their own training too early because of the urgent demand for their services, have little material to work with, scanty supervision from inexperienced

administrators, and few opportunities for returning to the classroom for further study. Newly established teacher-training institutions are not yet ready to cope with the situation. Their strengthening should in time provide once again a group of trained persons capable of raising standards of instruction.

Use of the National Language and Hangul

No aspect of Japanese colonial policy was as much despised as the use of a foreign language in the education of Korea's children. When the schools reopened in October 1945, teachers and students were permitted for the first time to use their mother tongue. Hangul, the oldest phonetic and alphabetic system of writing in the Far East, became the written language in all elementary schools. While elimination of Chinese characters is the avowed aim of Korean educators, the present stage of transition presents distinct disadvantages to students and teachers alike. Many textbooks in the secondary schools contain notations or explanations in Chinese characters, although the body of writing is in Hangul. Material used in higher education still contains many ideographs, and those seeking post-secondary education will have to learn Chinese characters for years to come.

Hangul was invented by Koreans in 1446, but later relegated by scholars to be the written language of women only. It was once again used during the upsurge of nationalism which accompanied the Sino-Japanese war of 1895. From that time on, it has been used intermixed with Chinese characters, and was taught under the Japanese as a foreign language. After 1938, the teaching of the Korean alphabet was entirely stopped by the Japanese and those Koreans who promoted its use were subject to arrest by the "thought police." While forces of nationalism and progressivism have caused the Department of Education to take the position that Hangul is more suited to the daily life of the people than the clumsy characters, the great respect for the language of scholars constitutes a strong force of conservatism contributing to the continued use of the ideographs. One newspaper is now being published in Hangul, but changes in this condition are imminent as a larger percentage of the population is becoming literate in the national language without any knowledge of the characters. (See Table I.)

Korea is several steps ahead of other Oriental countries in language reform. The problems which are thereby caused and which, although the long-range effect will be beneficial, are actually an obstacle to immediate improvement of teaching, can be summarised as: (1) Koreanisation of technical words; (2) standardisation of Korean orthography; (3) elimination of dialectical difference in the pronunciation of standard orthography;

(4) method of writing, which has only recently changed from the traditional to the Western style left-to-right front-to-rear, and (5) syllabic grouping, which at this time still precludes the use of standard typewriters and linotype machines.

Rapid strides have been made in the effort to have the language of Korea catch up with the technology of the world. The effect, however, has been much like that of an industrial machine which has found it necessary to undergo complete retooling. It will take many years to assemble a body of Korean literature and standard reference works in Hangul and before the benefits of the change will accrue directly to the people.

Supporting the Schools

Subsequent to the liberation from the Japanese, the Korean people felt that freedom from the oppressor also meant freedom from the tax collector. The national Government could not keep up the salaries of its employees, and the maintenance of schools became the concern of parents, even though the percentage of public funds spent on education rose steadily. (See Table II.) Within two years, a vicious system of forced contributions had become the only method of keeping teachers from starving and buildings from collapsing. Parents' associations determine the subscription fee which a parent must pay before his child can be accepted for entrance to a school. The national Government is barely able to meet the official salary of teachers, which is then supplemented from monthly students' fees raised by "voluntary contribution." These practices, anathema to those who believe in a broad democratic basis for education, are admittedly makeshift and caused by the economic upheaval which followed bisection of the nation and separation from the comparatively well-balanced economic structure of the Japanese Empire. The cost of education is rising daily, due to the increased enrolments and runaway inflation, and is now estimated to be one-half of all the revenue raised by the national Government. It is believed that the American system of taxing the wealth locally and using national funds only for purposes of grants-in-aid to equalise educational opportunity might well be applied in Korea. If the people of Korea would be given the right to tax themselves for their schools, the basis of education would be firmer than under the present practice of having a paternal Government footing the bills. It is difficult to ascertain to what extent the Korean public is ready to institute such a radical change. The family is still at the core of social life, so that the Korean feels that the education of a child is principally the concern of his parents. No father feels it a moral wrong to pay exorbitant fees for the schooling of his child. The entire concept of equalisation of opportunity has not yet gained a foothold in a civilisation where little, if anything, was ever equal.

American Influence

The influence of America in Korean education over the past two years is difficult to gauge at this time. It is too early to tell which of the instituted changes will withstand the test of time, and which of the advocated changes—not yet accepted—will eventually be introduced. The change from the Japanese educational system to the pyramidal American 6-3-3-4 plan was accomplished in 1946. It has resulted in the nominal equalisation of all secondary schools, and its actual effect so far has been a devocationalisation of the non-academic schools, which are thereby attempting to overcome the stigma which was attached to all terminal secondary education heretofore. It has also resulted in the nominal promotion of higher schools to four-year colleges without the necessary concurrent improvement of teaching standards and facilities. It is already recognised that the extension of secondary education to six years has placed a severe strain on the schools at a time when they could least withstand it. Adjustments of the American plan to the local culture will be necessary in years to come. One might hazard a guess and predict that it will result in the re-establishment of post-elementary courses of a terminal and vocational nature, since these seem to be suited to the structure of society and economy in Korea.

There is now a much greater amount of personal freedom for the Korean teacher. He has subscribed to what is called " The New Education " or " Democratic Education," without having seen these phrases clearly defined in terms of educational objectives and national policy. This new freedom is a precious right to men who were subject to arrest for " suspicion of having dangerous thoughts " under the Japanese regime. Freedom of the press, freedom of expression, freedom to publish—all of them are indications of a more democratic way of life for the Korean nation.

Americans are helping the Korean educators to recognise and eliminate those traditions which run counter to democratic ideals. Human nature being resistant to change, it is not surprising that the change is slow. Because his training and experience are totally confined to the orbit of Japanese methodology, the Korean teacher frequently persists in his old habits simply because he does not know what to substitute. While some military customs in the daily life of the school continue, the former emphasis on rigorous training for army service does not. While students are still encouraged to memorise a series of unrelated facts for the passing of an arbitrary examination, new courses of study are finding their way into the curriculum to correct this weakness. While dogmatic ways of teaching persist, at least those teachers with progressive ideas are free to experiment and encourage student participation. While protracted lecturing without regard for pupil-understanding is still

common, it has at least been denounced as a poor teaching practice, and many principals are leading their faculties away from it. While overcrowded classrooms do not lend themselves to a shift from mass education to individualised learning, in many instances classroom teachers use methods which are less formal, give students a chance for self-expression, develop critical attitudes, and teach not merely for knowledge, but also for appreciation.

Perhaps the finest illustration of rapid progress has been the quick adoption of co-education, which was totally unknown under the Japanese. In some schools, boys and girls still occupy different rooms; in others, they share classrooms but sit on separate sides; and in the most daring of schools, they sit in alternate rows and talk to each other at times. This has taken place in a society where separation of the sexes springs from the home, the cultural traditions, and the religion. More equitable treatment for women is certainly an indication of a strong liberal trend and augurs well for the future.

It is quite possible that, given a chance for free and independent development, Korean education will veer from the traditional to the functional; from the tendency to produce minds which think alike to the developing of individuated reasoning; from a past of schooling for the privileged, to a system providing for more equalised opportunities. It must be recognised, however, that such fortunate developments are predicated upon a stabilisation of the political and economic conditions not only in the Far East, but throughout the world.

TABLE I

TEXTBOOKS PUBLISHED BY DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION SINCE 1945

Subject	*Number of Titles*	*Number of Copies*
Korean Language	13	4,839,000
Arithmetic . .	12	3,548,000
Social Studies	9	1,966,000
Music .	3	899,000
Science . .	3	418,000
Teachers' Guide . .	1	50,000
Courses of Study. .	3	30,000
Physical Education .	1	5,000
Penmanship . .	1	39,000
Home Economics . . .	2	60,000
Total	48	11,854,000

These represent Government-published elementary school textbooks only; due to paper shortage, only 22 per cent. of the original schedule of texts could be published.

Source.—Bureau of Textbooks, Department of Education, South Korea Interim Government, Seoul, Korea.

TABLE II

PERCENTAGE OF NATIONAL FUNDS EXPENDED ON EDUCATION

Year	*Percentage*	*Year*	*Percentage*
1936	5·1	1940	3·2
1937	4·5	1945	4·5
1938	3·9	1946	9·1
1939	3·6	1947	9·5

Source.—Chosen Nenkan, for data from 1936 to 1940. Bureau of the Budget, Department of Finance, South Korea Interim Government, Seoul, Korea, for figures from 1945 to 1947.

TABLE III

NUMBER OF SCHOOLS IN SOUTH KOREA

Year	1940	1945	1946	1947
Elementary Schools	2,757	3,037	3,172	3,354
Secondary Schools	247	394	344	409
Higher Schools	19	21	24	30

Source.—Office of Research, Department of Education, South Korea Interim Government, Seoul, Korea.

TABLE IV

STUDENT ENROLMENTS IN SOUTH KOREAN SCHOOLS

Year	1940	1945	1946	1947
Elementary Schools	950,546	1,372,883	2,159,330	2,493,462
Secondary Schools	55,370	79,846	111,924	227,449
Higher Schools	3,294	2,382	10,315	25,813

Source.—Office of Research, Department of Education, South Korea Interim Government, Seoul, Korea.

TABLE V

TEACHERS IN SOUTH KOREA

Year	1940	1945	1946	1947
Elementary Schools	12,098 {5,589 Jap. / 6,509 Kor.}	23,474	28,338	36,382
Secondary Schools	3,066 {2,169 Jap. / 897 Kor.}	1,186	4,866	7,933
Higher Schools	779 {529 Jap. / 250 Kor.}	753	1,170	2,775
Total	15,943	25,413	34,374	47,090

Source.—Chosun Shogakko Ichiran, 1940. Office of Research, Department of Education, South Korea Interim Government, Seoul, Korea.

RICHARD WERTH.

CHAPTER THREE

JAPAN

AMERICAN POLICY AND INFLUENCE

The End of Darkness

SEPTEMBER 1945: At eight minutes after nine o'clock on the morning of September 2nd, 1945 (Tokyo time), General of the Armies Douglas MacArthur, Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers in the Occupation of Japan, leaned over a table on the deck of the U.S.S. *Missouri* lying at anchor in Tokyo Bay, and in the name of the United States, the Republic of China, the United Kingdom, and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics signed the acceptance of the formal surrender of the Japanese nation. This, if any single moment in the stream of history can be so singled out, marked the end of the tragic, mysterious, and enormously powerful Japanese Empire.

What was this Empire which died? It was a political structure based on a tradition of twenty-six hundred years of uninterrupted Imperial rule; a ruler genealogically descended from the ancient gods; a belief that Japan could never be invaded or defeated; and an admiration for the military class and military accomplishment. It was a social structure based upon an imposed, and probably synthetic, State religion known as *Jinja Shintō;* a paternalistic ethical system introduced or strengthened by the importation from China of the Confucian concept of filial piety; and a feudalistic economic organisation which, even in industrialisation, produced stratified economic classes almost amounting to castes. This peculiar mixture of ancient Oriental myth with modern Occidental technology was perpetuated by what was certainly one of the most effective educational instruments of modern times—a school system which at the outbreak of the war enrolled 17 million students or approximately 24 per cent. of the total population, claimed the fantastic level of 99·6 per cent. adult literacy, and up until the Manchurian Incident (1931) spent more for education than the nation spent for army and navy combined. It was perpetuated by a philosophy of education founded on the *Imperial Rescript on Education* issued October 30th, 1890, by Emperor Meiji; by a philosophy of State expounded and canonised in the volume *Kokutai no Hongi* ("The Cardinal Principles of the National Entity") published in 1937 by the Thought Control Bureau of the Ministry of Education; and by the compulsory courses in *Shūshin*, or Japanese ethics, taught in all schools. The usual punitive apparatus of the orthodox

Police State enforced conformity. In the seventeen years preceding the end of the war, 66,000 Japanese were arrested for alleged violations of "thought control." Citizens for the Japanese State were stamped from a machine. Few cared and none dared to differ from the standard pattern.

On September 2nd, 1945, this house of cards came tumbling down. The traditional Japanese society, whose most powerful argument had been its proven survival value, faced two enormously expressive realities: defeat and occupation. The Japanese policy of cultural isolation, which had once lasted for two hundred and seventeen years (1639–1856) during the Tokugawa Shogunate, and had been progressively re-established by the Japanese military clique after the Manchurian Incident, was forcibly discarded. More than a third of the population had been born after the war with China had virtually halted all communication with the outside world. A generation of Japanese who had never read an uncensored newspaper, or heard an uncensored radio broadcast, was suddenly given access to the free information sources of the world.

What kind of a school system emerged from this darkness?

Perhaps no more concise picture can be presented than the frequently quoted first paragraph of the first report of the Education Division to the Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers (SCAP) on November 7th, 1945:

> Surrender Day found the Japanese educational system at a standstill: 18,000,000 students idle, 4,000 schools destroyed, 20 per cent. of the necessary textbooks available, military officers occupying responsible positions, textbooks impregnated with militaristic propaganda, teachers dispersed, the Ministry of Education a tool of the militarists, liberal educators in hiding from the Thought Police.

Yet even this appalling picture of destruction and chaos fails to present the full problem. The people of Japan were suffering something psychologically akin to post-operative shock. They had emerged from the comforting mysticism of their pre-surrender authoritarian society into the glare of reality: Japan without an ally or political friend in the entire world; Japan with its navy sunk, its army defeated, its industrial empire obliterated by the most savage series of air raids in the history of war; Japan with virtually every city but two (Kyoto and Sapporo) either eradicated or so severely damaged that it had ceased to be a military target. For the first time the Japanese felt the pitiless hostility of other people. They read of the proven lies, the established infamies and war crimes, and the insane misgovernment of the men whom they had always regarded as inspired or infallible leaders. The most sacred things of their lives—the Imperial Rescript, the Shinto tradition of divine Imperial origin, the *kokutai* or peculiar and eternal Japanese political entity—were treated contemptuously, or with hostility, or

perhaps indifference. Their Emperor was hardly more than a prisoner in his own palace, a fallen god who was granted an interview with the conquering soldier-governor, and appeared pathetic and humble when photographed beside him. The descendant of the gods, whose prestige had been so precious that no building could be erected that looked down on his Imperial palace, was received by a foreign invader in shirt-sleeves. . . .

In addition to the destruction, three other characteristics of Japan in the autumn days of 1945 were apparent to even the most casual observer: hunger, fear, and bewilderment.

Japan was hungry. It was already feeling the loss of production which came with ten years of diverting 91 per cent. of its fertiliser—commercial nitrates—to the production of war munitions. War babies and the first of the Japanese repatriates who in two years were to swell the population to 80 million—an increase of 11 per cent.—had pushed consumption to beyond pre-surrender levels. Japan had never been able to produce more than 60 per cent. of her needed food supply in the pre-war industrial economy, and now her overseas commerce, which had supplied the difference, was prohibited. The occupying Powers, primarily the United States, were faced with the necessity of supplying approximately three months' food-supply out of every year's minimum necessary total—roughly equivalent to 3 million tons of rice—if the people were not to starve. Hunger was everywhere, and student food strikes, absenteeism, the closing of schools to work the fields, lowered efficiency, the planting of playgrounds and school yards, and a constant emphasis on increased production and conservation were characteristic of this most primitive and crucial of problems.

Japan was afraid. The people were afraid of physical retaliation from the occupying troops. This fear they quickly learned was groundless. They were afraid of retaliation from the unconvinced and unreconstructed Japanese conservatives, whom they expected to constitute an underground. This also failed to materialise. They were afraid that past political actions and associations would be discovered and brought up to confront them in the purge. They were afraid of the uncertainty of the future. They were afraid of censorship, of being accused of obstructing the progress of the occupation, and of antagonising the occupation authorities. They were even afraid that the occupation might end, and thus rob them of a new-found security in a foreign-imposed military authoritarianism. . . .

Japan was bewildered. The Potsdam Proclamation of July 26th, 1945, had said:

> The Japanese Government shall remove all obstacles to the revival and strengthening of democratic tendencies among the Japanese people. Freedom of speech, of religion, and of thought, as well as respect for the fundamental human rights, shall be established.

But for people who have been raised in a totalitarian tradition, self-direction and democratic government are often mystifying and sometimes frightening. The first tentative attempts at the civil liberties were frequently ludicrous: children who considered censorship of their teachers and student strikes a part of their new freedom; young people who confused liberty with moral licence; and adults who felt that the Government ought to pass laws to force people to be democratic. Teachers' meetings were called to decide what was intended by the new occupation directives, and the meanings of the words " democratic," " liberty," and " freedom " became the most hotly debated issues of faculty groups.

One characteristic of the psychological setting was common to all residents, Japanese and foreign alike. It was the presence of a strong hope and faith in the future. The defeat, the collapse of the old Empire, the discrediting of tradition, and the colossal social upheaval of the occupation, provided an unprecedented opportunity for great change and fundamental reform. What was urgently needed was a firm policy and an informed and sympathetic leadership.

Policy: A New Nationalism

The opening sentences of the chapter entitled " Development of SCAP Policy on Education " in the definitive official volume, *Education in the New Japan,* published in May 1948 by the Education Division in the occupation headquarters (CI&E, GHQ, SCAP), are provocative—and euphemistic:

> Occupation of a defeated nation is a military operation equal in importance to the campaigns which precede it. Long before surrender, authorities in the Theatre of War planned the Occupation of Japan, and in the Zone of the Interior, officers and enlisted men were trained to control and guide the governmental and social reforms considered necessary to fulfil the purposes of the war. The importance of education to effect reforms to ensure democratic and peaceful development was recognised.

Actually, practically no planning for education and the control of the school systems had taken place before the creation of the Civil Information and Education Section by General Order No. 183 on September 22nd, 1945, three weeks after the occupation had begun. The United States Department of State was unable to define a policy until a year and a half after surrender. The Far Eastern Commission (FEC), composed of the representatives of the eleven occupying nations, was unable to write its authoritative policy on education until March 27th, 1947. The War Department and the Navy Department, acting through the State-War-Navy Co-ordinating Committee (SWNCC), had produced only four brief lines of educational policy before the capitulation of the Japanese. These were to the effect that " militarism, ultra-nationalism, and National

Shintoism" should be prohibited, democratic tendencies and a respect for the civil liberties should be introduced, textbooks should be censored, and teachers should be investigated and, if unsatisfactory, be removed. The only plan for educational control worthy of the name which existed at the time of surrender was one produced privately and unofficially by some of the military government officers who were later to form the staff of the Education Division. This became the basis of the operational plans in the first months of the occupation.

The absence of a defined official policy by the occupying Powers faced the Japanese and the local occupation authorities with the necessity of making two fundamental policy decisions in connection with immediately necessary administrative action.

The Japanese were faced with the alternative of wholehearted and sincere co-operation in attempting to carry out what was perceived as the fundamental policy of the occupying Powers, or of embarking upon a programme of obstructionism and indifferent compliance, with the object of defeating the aims of the occupation by passive resistance. There can be little doubt that the first of these two alternatives was early, honestly, and vigorously adopted. Even before the Allied General Headquarters was established in Tokyo, the Japanese had conducted a rough physical school survey and determined that 39,053 of their schools were usable; had initiated a programme of self-censorship of textbooks, and by radio and the Press announced what portions of existing volumes should be suppressed or deleted; re-established the Ministry of Education as a working body in its building in Tokyo; reopened the schools; and abrogated all orders designed to promote militarism and ultra-nationalism. The history of Japanese educational co-operation, with few and minor exceptions, from that date to the present, has faithfully followed this policy line.

The Allied occupational authorities—which at that time essentially meant the United States military forces—were faced with the alternative of attempting to impose a new way of life, and a new method of thinking, upon the Japanese through force, or of trying to guide and convince the Japanese into making what appeared to be necessary reforms through intelligent and voluntary choice. Despite vigorous denials to the contrary, there was not in the beginning a uniformity of opinion even among the officers of the occupation forces as to which would be the wiser choice. The first was a punitive policy which would purge teachers, ban textbooks, close offending schools, abrogate laws, direct a propaganda teaching line—and, when backed up by the weight of arms and control over food and currency, accomplish quickly and efficiently very impressive material changes. It might be summarised in the words of one of the Generals, who advocated "stamping out the bad and stamping in the good." The second was a slower and less direct policy of

attempting to guide the inner growth of the Japanese—to stimulate them to want to make the changes desired, but to avoid compulsion. This policy was based on the conception of democracy as a form of self-government, which would be defeated if the Japanese merely exchanged one military dictatorship for another. It was held that any change which was forced upon the Japanese against their will would be superficial and transitory. Despite powerful opposition from some political and military quarters, which were determined to enforce a "hard peace," this latter policy was officially adopted and has in actual practice, with few exceptions, been faithfully followed.

Thus, the "ultimate objectives" of the United States were defined in the *Initial Post-Surrender Policy for Japan* on August 29th, 1945, as:

> (*a*) To ensure that Japan will not again become a menace to the United States or to the peace and security of the world.
>
> (*b*) To bring about the eventual establishment of a peaceful and responsible government which will respect the rights of other states and will support the objectives of the United States as reflected in the ideals and principles of the Charter of the United Nations. The United States desires that the government should conform as closely as may be to principles of democratic self-government, but it is not the responsibility of the Allied Powers to impose upon Japan any form of government not supported by the freely expressed will of the people.

The volume *Education in the New Japan,* published in May 1948 by the Education Division of Occupation Headquarters, explicitly states:

> From the beginning, Occupation policy has been based upon the principle that the reform of Japanese society should be accomplished by the Japanese people themselves; that SCAP should not impose a blueprint; and that the function of General Headquarters and the Army of Occupation was not to govern Japan, but to supervise the efforts of the Japanese people to reform themselves and their society. This policy rests upon the belief that within the Japanese people an honest desire exists to build a democratic society capable of directing itself in reconstruction and reform to create a Japan worthy of a position of dignity in the community of nations.

It can readily be seen that these policies did not establish an educational policy, but only a method by which an educational policy should be evolved. The actual production of a working policy was accomplished by five procedures: SCAP and FEC directives; Japanese Governmental orders and laws; technical liaison between occupation officials and Japanese educators; the investigations and reports of technical missions such as the United States Educated Mission to Japan (USEMJ); and local policy interpretations and implementation by the Japanese.

On October 2nd, 1945, the basic SCAP directive on education, known as "Administration of the Educational System of Japan," AG 350 (22 Oct. 45) CIE, was presented to the Japanese Government. This contained broad provisions for a revision of the con-

tent of all instruction with a view to the elimination of "all militaristic and ultra-nationalistic ideology" and the introduction of new educational practices designed to develop an "educated, peaceful, and responsible citizenry." In addition, it directed that teaching personnel should be investigated and either approved or removed, and that the various teaching materials be censored. It directed that "a normally operating educational system" be established as rapidly as possible. This basic directive was periodically supplemented by other SCAP directives to the Japanese—the two most important being the so-called "Purge Directive" entitled "Investigation, Screening, and Certification of Teachers and Educational Officials," AG 350 (30 Oct. 45) CIE, and the Textbook Revision Directive, "Suspension of Courses in Morals (*Shūshin*), Japanese History, and Geography," AG 000.8 (31 Dec. 45) CIE.

On March 27th, 1947, the Far Eastern Commission (FEC) issued Directive Serial No. 74, entitled "Revision of the Japanese Educational System." This in essence recognised and regularised the *de facto* educational policy evolved in the occupation, and, with the exception of the recommendation made for the adoption of Romanised Japanese (*romaji*) as the standard writing system, the recommendations of the United States Education Mission to Japan, made on April 1st, 1946. The opening paragraph of the FEC Policy Directive states the objectives, and is now binding:

> Education should be looked upon as the pursuit of truth, as a preparation for life in a democratic nation, and as a training for the social and political responsibilities which freedom entails. Emphasis should be placed on the dignity and worth of the individual, on independent thought and initiative, and on developing a spirit of inquiry. The interdependent character of international life should be stressed. The spirit of justice, fair play, and respect for the rights of others, particularly minorities, and the necessity for friendship based upon mutual respect for people of all races and religions, should be emphasised. Special emphasis should also be placed on the teaching of the sanctity of the pledged word in all human relations, whether between individuals or nations. Measures should be taken as rapidly as possible to achieve equality of educational opportunity for all regardless of sex or social position. The revision of the Japanese educational system should, in large measure, be undertaken by the Japanese themselves and steps should be taken to carry out such revision. . . .

The United States Education Mission to Japan (USEMJ), composed of twenty-seven distinguished American educators and representatives of the U.S. Office of Education, Department of State, and War Department, under the chairmanship of Dr. George D. Stoddard, President-elect of the University of Illinois, worked in close technical liaison with committees of Japanese educators. It prepared a detailed report of their findings and recommendations for SCAP, and stimulated a very great deal of public and professional interest in the problems of the reformation of the Japanese

educational system. In substance this Mission recommended the decentralisation of administrative control; the extension of compulsory education to nine years in a 6: 3: 3: 4, tax-supported, free, and co-educational system; improved teacher training; autonomous higher education; and the adoption of *romaji* as the standard writing system. Perhaps the most important single outgrowth of the work of this Mission was the establishment by Imperial Ordinance on August 9th, 1946, of the Japanese Education Reform Council, an organisation holding Cabinet level. Results of the work of these two bodies are seen in the August 5th, 1946, Japanese Diet resolution on education; the provisions for academic freedom and the broadened civil liberties incorporated in the *New Constitution of Japan,* which became effective on May 3rd, 1947; and the November 4th, 1946, Japanese Government policy on education. The *Interim Report* of the Japanese Education Reform Council was published on December 27th, 1946, and was in a considerable measure responsible for portions of the now definitive FEC policy of March 27th, 1947.

Process: The Occupation as a Teaching Device

Two generations of educators have paid slavish lip-service to the inseparable link between education and its social setting since Professor John Dewey published his famous *School and Society* in 1899. Yet few among the thousands of his later students and disciples would have seriously advocated or dared to put into practice such a colossal application of this principle as has actually been attempted in the occupation of Japan. The occupation itself *is* the school system of Japan. The ruins and ashes of bombed cities are the classrooms. The constant stream of controlled propaganda —euphemistically termed " information "—which fills the newspapers, is published in every censored book, sounds from the radio, appears on the screen and stage, and is spoken in public form—this is the textbook. The impact of one great culture upon another, the contact of one people with another, the systematic revision of the legal, economic, and social system—this is the method. And a democratic theory of State, based upon an ethical system historically stemming from the Judeo-Christian tradition of Western Europe—this is the lesson.

It would be both impossible and unnecessary to tabulate all the thousands of specific changes which the years of occupation have produced in the greater society and the lesser included school. A few examples will suffice.

The traditional Japanese theory of State, the *kokutai,* has been abandoned, and the basis of sovereignty has been shifted from the Emperor to the people, by Article I of the *New Constitution of Japan.* The Emperor has voluntarily and explicitly denied the myth of his divinity by his January 1st, 1946, Imperial Rescript.

Militarism, the use of military force as an instrument of international policy, the exalted position of military services, leaders, and accomplishments—all were discredited and discarded with Article IX of the *New Constitution*, which " forever renounced war as a sovereign right of the nation." The army and the navy were disbanded, the Ministries of War and Navy were dissolved, military orders were abolished, and even the ex-soldier on the street was ignored or despised.

One of the earliest SCAP directives, the so-called " Japanese Bill of Rights," issued on October 4th, 1945, provided for the fundamental civil liberties which were won in the Anglo-Saxon world by a thousand years of uninterrupted struggle. The *New Constitution* specifically guaranteed them to " the people of this and future generations as eternal and inviolate rights." It specifically states that " all people are equal under the law and there shall be no discrimination in political, economic, or social relations because of race, creed, sex, social status, or family origin." Peerages and hereditary honours are abolished. Universal adult suffrage is guaranteed. The secret ballot is adopted. Freedom of thought, conscience, religion, assembly, speech, Press, and residence are guaranteed. The right to academic freedom; to freedom from unlawful arrest, detention, or punishment; to free choice in marriage; to organise, collectively bargain, and strike; and to own and hold property are stipulated. In a word, the basis of Japanese society has been shifted from the collective to the individual.

Perhaps the most perfect example of the manner in which the occupation has served as a school and has apparently accomplished fundamental social change, is the separation of Church and State by SCAP directive, " Abolition of Government Sponsorship, Support, Perpetuation, Control, and Dissemination of State Shinto (*Kokka Shintō Jinja Shintō*)," AG 000.3 (15 Dec. 45) CIE. This remarkable document, together with sympathetic and detailed liaison between the occupation officials and the Japanese Church authorities, freed the Japanese people from all compulsion to support financially or spiritually the mystical dogma of an official Shinto cult, yet protected their individual right to believe in that same dogma if they chose to as a personal religion. Less perfect, both in conception and execution, has been the series of basic economic reforms, designed to break up the great family economic cliques, or *zaibatsu*, and to reintroduce fair economic competition. Here the lesson has been less clearcut and more obviously subject to the criticism that the occupation was attacking success rather than abuse. The economic reform programme, as a lesson in the re-education of the Japanese, has suffered from the fact that not all the occupation authorities were themselves convinced that it was a proper lesson; the basic policy with regard to reparations and dissolution of the cartels has veered and even reversed itself; and the

monetary crisis in Japan has beclouded some of the issues. Yet, whatever the ultimate result of this policy, the Japanese have been profoundly shaken by the process and have learned some lessons—perhaps in part the lesson which was intended.

As directly applied to the educational system, this "School of the Occupation" has led to five great programmes of reform: revision of the legal structure of the schools; punitive action through purges and censorship; technical improvements in the instruments and organisations of education; decentralisation of administrative control; and development of more ready access to knowledge.

The obviously anachronistic, militaristic, and ultra-nationalistic laws and school regulations were abrogated by Ministry of Education Order No. 20, August 25th, 1945, before the occupation had formally begun. The new constitutional basis of educational laws was established when the *New Constitution of Japan* was passed by the Japanese Diet on October 7th, 1946—although it did not become effective until May 3rd, 1947. The Fundamental Law of Education was enacted on March 31st, 1947, and the School Education Law on March 29th, 1947. These two established a philosophical basis of education—largely in amplification of the Constitutional provisions already discussed and in substitution for the antiquated though still unrejected 1890 *Imperial Rescript on Education*—and provided for a better-articulated educational structure. A Boards of Education Law, designed to implement the policy of decentralised administrative control, has been under legislative consideration and will in all probability be put into effect with the beginning of the 1949 academic year. A number of other laws, designed to establish national standards for the elementary and secondary schools, to establish teacher certification requirements, and to govern the operation of the Ministry of Education and of higher educational institutions, are under consideration.

Punitive action has been of two kinds: a teachers' purge, and a programme of censorship and revision of the textbooks. When the war ended there were approximately 500,000 licensed teachers in Japan. The Japanese authorities, in anticipation of expected SCAP policy, voluntarily barred all military officers and prohibited the employment of any ex-military officers—commissioned or non-commissioned. On October 30th, 1945, the SCAP directive AG 350 (30 Oct. 45) CIE ordered the Japanese authorities to set up an organisation to investigate and screen both employed and prospective teachers. In compliance with this the Japanese, on November 1st, 1945, ordered the immediate dismissal without trial of all "known to be militaristic, ultra-nationalistic, or antagonistic to the policies of the Occupation," and on May 6th, 1946, issued Imperial Ordinance No. 263 establishing standards of acceptability, and procedures for the teachers to be investigated by local screening committees. By the time the first screening had been completed in April

1947 a total of 119,768 teachers—approximately 24 per cent.—had been purged or had withdrawn voluntarily in anticipation of being removed. Only approximately 5,000 of this number were directly purged as a result of SCAP directive or by order of the screening committees. The screening organisation, under authority of Imperial Ordinance No. 62, of May 1st, 1947, has the continuing function of approving all new teachers.

Textbook censorship followed a pattern familiar to every totalitarian and to many highly centralised but ostensibly democratic governments. It was novel and difficult only because of the inexperience of American officials, and because of technical deficiencies due to war damage. The Japanese first announced by radio a " scissors and paste " censorship of existing texts, which after such editing might be used on a temporary basis, and late in 1945 ordered the suspension of all courses in Japanese ethics (*Shūshin*), geography, and history. During 1947 interim textbooks, composed chiefly of reprinted editions of expurgated pre-war textbooks, were approved by a SCAP editorial board composed of Japanese and occupation officers. Some 191 books, and a total of 147 million copies, were printed and distributed. In conformity with the established policy of decentralisation—obviously in conflict with such powerful central governmental control as censorship and pre-publication authorisation—plans have been made for the local authorship and printing of textbooks. But the essential central control is still retained in a permanent Textbook Committee in the National Ministry of Education, which establishes " acceptable norms."

The policy of decentralisation of administrative control was directed by one all-powerful political consideration—the desire to place as many obstacles as possible in the way of facile manipulation of the school system by a ruthless minority temporarily in political power. Actually the extreme centralisation of power in the occupation headquarters and in the Ministry of Education, which is the direct point of contact in occupation-Japanese liaison, has tended to perpetuate the old, and rejected, system. The pre-war financial support of Japanese education was almost an ideal system of local support aided by Federal equalisation fund grants-in-aid, and as such has not been modified to any extent. Local screening committees were a deliberate first attempt to decentralise real administrative control—over the certification of teachers. A gradual shift of control from the Federal to the Prefectural (*ken*) Governments is contemplated, and with the implementation of the Boards of Education Law, may in fact decentralise some of the basic controls. To date this vital reform appears to be more in prospect than in realisation.

The Writing System: Obstacle to Reform

Sir George Sansom said that "as a practical instrument it is surely without inferiors." Professor Basil Hall Chamberlain notes that it is "the invention of a conciliabule of the demons to harass the faithful." Dr. Frank Alanson Lombard states that it has burdened the Japanese "with a greater task of mere memory in acquiring the ability to read and write than is undertaken by any other modern people." Professor Ingram Bryan says that it "enslaves the young mind." Marquis Saionji Kimmochi called it "the greatest difficulty of all connected with education in Japan." Baron Kikuchi Dairoku said it "enormously increased the labour and difficulty of learning the language." Even Dr. Nitobe Inazo, gentle apologist for things Japanese, said, "The use of Chinese ideographs is the root of all evil in this respect."

What, exactly, is this writing system which is so difficult that a blind child can finish secondary school, reading in phonetic Japanese Braille, in a year less than a normal child can complete the same course, when forced to read in the standard Japanese writing system? Is it possible to strip away the mystery and emotion from this cultural problem, which has perplexed every Japanese generation since the reopening of the Treaty Ports in 1856 brought Occidental phonetic writing systems into direct competition with their Oriental ideographic system—and demonstrated the overwhelming superiority of the foreign letters?

Japanese is written in at least sixteen common systems: Chinese ideographs (*kanji*); three types of syllabic letters (*kana*); a mixture of the two (*kanamajiri*); a mixture of the two with sidewriting (*furigana*) added; three common forms of writing with Latin letters (*romaji*); five types of Japanese shorthand; and two types of Japanese Braille. Since the mixture of Chinese ideographs and Japanese syllabic letters (*kanamajiri*) is the most commonly used, only this is of concern in analysing the problem.

Japanese *kanamajiri* may be written from left to right, from right to left, or from top to bottom in columns from right to left—the most usual form. The Chinese ideographs, or *kanji*, may be written in as many as one hundred and three different manners, differing from each other as much as, for example, English and German letters—but three forms, known as block form (*kaisho*), script form (*gyōsho*), and cursive or "grasswriting" form (*sōsho*), must be known by any Japanese who would be literate in the Occidental sense. These ideographs stand either for meaning (*mana* or *kanji*) or for sound (*kana*), and are frequently combined into so-called Chinese compounds called *gōseigo*. This multiple use of the ideograph leads to a multiplicity of readings—basically of three types: Japanese reading (*kunyomi*), in which a Japanese word is given; Chinese reading (*onyomi*), in which there is a Japanese rendition

of a Chinese pronunciation for the character, as of one of three basic epochs in Chinese history when the word was introduced into Japan; and " weird " reading (*atejiyomi*), in which an entirely different word—sometimes even a foreign one—is read in place of the one given. As many as eighty different sounds have been counted for a single character. The difficulty can be appreciated from the fact that by Japanese law teachers must include a phonetic transcription of their name in all public registers, and the name of so prominent a figure as Mr. Abe Yoshi-shige, Minister of Education in the Shidehara Cabinet of 1946, was misread "Abe Yoshinari" and "Abe Nōsei" by members of his own Ministry. Japanese may be written in a number of distinct styles, the four most common being vernacular (*kōgotai*), literary (*bungotai*), epistolary (*sōrōbun*), and Chinese Classics (*kambun*). For two-thirds of a century there has been a discernible trend towards the vernacular, and under the impact of the occupation this form has at last officially superseded the others for all public writings, even including the *New Constitution*, laws, and Imperial Rescripts.

One vital characteristic of the standard Japanese writing system has been omitted—the fantastic number of ideographs which must be mastered if a person is to read with understanding. The elementary schools taught 1,356 carefully selected *kanji* in the six years of pre-war compulsory education; Japanese typewriters contained 2,005 characters, with 859 in the rare-type drawer; newspapers which voluntarily restricted their use of ideographs to the 2,669 selected by the Ministry of Education in 1942, wrote in a manner somewhat akin to Occidental " children's classics " written within a vocabulary range determined by a word count; unrestricted newspapers varied from 4,000 to 5,500 ideographs; dictionaries for secondary school students have about 7,000 ideographs (not words); the *Daijiten* and *Jigen* (dictionaries comparable to *Webster's Collegiate*) have 14,924 and 10,373 characters respectively; and the *Kan Shi* lists 39,753, with an appendix of 7,463 rare *kanji*. Sir George Sansom, in his *Historical Grammar of Japanese* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1928, page 43), says:

> . . . it is not an exaggeration to say that absolute certainty in reading Japanese texts, whether ancient or modern, is almost unattainable.

Three fundamental questions must be answered if this problem is to be solved: Is the present system really inefficient and unsatisfactory? Is there any satisfactory simplification or substitution? Why have such reforms not already been adopted?

The present system of writing is wholly inadequate on two main —and a number of minor—counts: it costs too much in time and money to teach in the schools, with the secondary result that while technical literacy is high (99·6 per cent.), functional literacy is tragically low; and it makes most Japanese business methods—such

as typing, indexing, filing, and typesetting—incredibly inefficient and slow. Numerous studies conducted by both Japanese and Occidental investigators over the past three decades substantiate the impression which even the most casual observer must gain. Pre-war schools gave 42 per cent. of their compulsory education time to the task of merely acquiring the tool of reading; exposed the pupils to 1,356 *kanji*; and found that upon graduation the students on an average had a reading knowledge of 600. This discouraging result was obtained in a school system which, it will be remembered, was reputed to be one of the most efficient in the world—with a school year 30 per cent. longer than in America, and with *per capita* cost of instruction (in terms of national income), teacher-pupil ratios, and teacher training comparable to the United States. Tests made of factory employees after surrender indicated that only 29 per cent. of the workers could read simple sentences, and only 17 per cent. could read difficult sentences taken from a current news release from the occupation headquarters carried in all newspapers. Tests on typing indicate that typing a Japanese manuscript in *romaji* with a conventional Occidental machine is at least six times as fast and far less tiring than typing it in *kanamajiri* on a Japanese typewriter. Typesetting of conventional Japanese, of course, has to be done by hand.

There have been three main avenues of reform suggested: the artificial reduction of the number of Chinese ideographs to be memorised by a conscious restriction of the characters used in writing; the adoption of a phonetic system of writing by the sole use of one of the syllabaries, preferably cursive *kana* (*hiragana*); and the adoption of a phonetic system using Latin letters (*romaji*). A fourth alternative, the adoption of the English language in place of the native Japanese, although occasionally advanced and once seriously advocated by some of the Emperor Meiji's advisers, is categorically rejected by most linguists.

The artificial restriction of characters is appealing to many Japanese because it would retain in part the traditional writing, would preserve the artistic qualities of calligraphy, would to a considerable measure obviate ambiguities through homonyms, would continue to serve as a base for a scholar's knowledge of the complete system, and would not radically change the present reading habits of literate people.

Of the two phonetic alternatives, *romaji* offers virtually all of the advantages of *kana* and a number of practical gains connected with its similarity to Occidental writing systems. Either one requires the memorisation of under thirty symbols as opposed to the several thousand required for conventional Japanese, and thus cuts learning time to a tiny fraction of that required for even a faltering knowledge of *kanamajiri*. The technical advantages, especially of *romaji*, are obvious: phonetic filing systems; modern typewriters and

typesetting machines; alphabetical indexing; unambiguous proper names; more rapid and efficient printing and office procedures. The arguments usually advanced against such a solution are: that Japanese tradition, culture, and art would be sacrificed; that it would be an act of Occidental "cultural imperialism"; that it would cause economic and social chaos; that the "people" would reject and resist such a reform; and that *romaji* is inadequate to represent the Japanese language, primarily because it does not permit differentiation between the "unusually high percentage of homonyms."

The answer to the two most serious of these objections—that it would cause chaos and that it is linguistically inadequate—can be given with considerable positiveness. Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, the first President of Turkey, in 1928 demonstrated that the writing system of a nation could be changed in a matter of months in the face of economic vested interests, deep religious opposition, the powerful traditions of a great literary heritage, and the inertia of a tremendous mass of conservative population. The rejection of *romaji* on technical grounds is absurd. The idea that a phonetic alphabet is inadequate to represent any language is untenable to the modern linguist. There is, moreover, no reasonable room for argument in the case of romanised Japanese, because many of the great classics, and practically every level of modern literature, from children's books to doctoral dissertations in the several disciplines, have already been successfully published in *romaji*. The problem is no longer one of linguistics, but of political decision.

For more than fifty years before the war there had been a constant agitation for the adoption of a phonetic system, led by some of the most outstanding political and scientific figures of the nation —and unfortunately discredited to a certain degree by some misguided zealots. In 1937 they so far succeeded in their endeavours as to get Diet approval of an official system of *romaji*. Immediately after surrender the activities of some of these organisations, especially the *Kanamojikai* and the *Nippon Romajikai,* were re-initiated and a considerable amount of public interest was aroused.

When the *Report* of the United States Education Mission to Japan was published in April 1946, it was learned that this distinguished group had felt that the problem of the written language was so vital that "if no satisfactory answer can be found to this problem, the achievement of many agreed-upon educational goals will be rendered most difficult," and urged in the strongest language "that some form of *romaji* be brought into common use by all means possible." The impact upon the Japanese was profound. For weeks the newspapers were filled with articles, letters, and editorials debating the proposals. Some publishing houses made plans for immediate or gradual conversion to the new system. Many leading scientists, and some outstanding writers—such as Yamamoto

Yūzō, member of the Imperial Academy and of the House of Councillors in the Diet—unqualifiedly threw their support to a fundamental reform of the system. It seems highly probable that with even the slightest official encouragement from the occupation headquarters, the long-advocated and desperately needed reform might have been undertaken by the liberal Japanese.

Certain key advisers in occupation headquarters were adamantly opposed to the adoption of *romaji* on both linguistic and political grounds. On April 6th, 1946, when he released the *Report* of the United States Education Mission to Japan, including this recommendation, General Douglas MacArthur stated:

> The report may well be studied by all educators regardless of individual aspects. Some of the recommendations regarding education principles and language reform are so far-reaching that they can only serve as a guide for long-range study and future planning.

The conservative faction in occupation headquarters had won. The conservatives in the Japanese Government and educational system next took up the fight to stop a voluntary adoption. They followed a four-fold strategy: advance a barrage of technical arguments, many of them unsound, which would require time to demolish by controlled tests and investigations; conduct a delaying campaign in the functioning of all official and semi-official committees, such as the *Romaji Kyoiku Kyogikai*; divert attention from the fundamental objective of adopting a phonetic writing system, preferably *romaji,* by conducting a campaign for the improvement of literary style, and reduction in the number of ideographs as a " necessary preliminary " to more fundamental reform; and initiate long-term studies to " verify " the conclusions on which the need for reform is based. Time, the Chinese influence in FEC, and a strongly entrenched conservative element in the United States forces in occupation headquarters, were working on their side. It is one of the amazing evidences of a growing Japanese self-direction that this reform has not been entirely submerged in the face of such formidable opposition.

During February 1947 the Ministry of Education asked all elementary schools to indicate whether or not they were interested in introducing a forty-hour course in *romaji,* beginning at the fourth grade. Approximately 90 per cent. indicated that they wanted to adopt the optional course and 13 per cent. indicated that they wanted to adopt it beginning with the third grade. The textbooks for this course, long delayed, are now in use in a majority of the schools.

Renaissance or Shōwa Restoration

The President of Tokyo University, Dr. Nambara Shigeru, is credited with coining the clever slogan " Shōwa Restoration " to

advocate the present Emperor's seizing upon the unavoidable evil of the occupation as an opportunity to restore his Imperial lustre with a great social reform comparable to the Meiji Restoration. To the thoughtful foreign educator this slogan presents a provocative question: Will the educational efforts of the occupation directed at producing a democratic State succeed only in restoring to power a chastened and presumably benevolent monarch who will reign with new methods over his traditional authoritarian State?

Two lessons of the occupation's educational experiment are already clear. The first is that education as an instrument of political action has already demonstrated its effectiveness. It is only the goal of education—the ultimate objective of the political group in power—which is still in doubt. The second is that education for democracy suffers a severe—though perhaps not insurmountable—handicap in competing with education for totalitarianism. The educational process soon reaches a point where—if continued direction is given to ensure the adoption of desired goals, and continued force is resorted to in order to ensure compliance with those directives—the goal of democratic education is defeated by the means of securing it. Democracy can be taught but it cannot be forced upon a people. Authoritarianism does not suffer this handicap.

Will the educational reforms already adopted and those in process or contemplated be continued when the compulsion of an occupation force is removed? Which political path will the Japanese choose when free to make an unrestricted choice? There are three obvious possibilities: Russian Communism; a Japanese version of Western Democracy; or a conservative relapse into Japanese Imperialism, the *kokutai*. The occupation authorities are working on the assumption that it will be the middle of these alternative roads—that of a fair continuation of occupation policy. In support of this faith there have appeared a few straws in the wind, such as the Emperor's entirely voluntary use of the vernacular in public writings and speeches—an act which three years ago would have been unthinkable. Temporarily the pressure of outside political events, and their fear of Russia, align the Japanese with the Western Democracies as people having a common interest. But in the long run only a basically different concept of the position of the individual in society, a basically different ethical system, will ensure the continuation of a political, social, and educational policy parallel with the West. This is the next great problem which the Japanese liberal educator must face.

ROBERT KING HALL.

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